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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE SIXTEENTH PARLIAMENT, IN 1790, TO THE END OF THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE SEVENTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN 1796.

By ROBERT MACFARLAN, Esq.

"Verum enimvero is mihi vivere atque anima frui videtur, qui aliquo negotio "intentus præclari facinoris aut *artis bonæ* famam quærit."

SALLUST.

VOL. IV.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
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ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

Page.	*Line.*	
4	10	For *hvaing* read *having*
12	5	Put a comma inſtead of a full ſtop after *utterance* ; and in line 7, *auditors* for *anditors*
69	36	For *Pruſſia* read *Ruſſia*
81	13	Eraſe *Upper*
82	26	For *impſiong* read *impoſing*
96	15	For *tells* read *tell*
97	24	For *who* read *which*
124	9	For *contigencies* read *contingencies*
130	7	For *exhultation* read *exultation*
137	4	Inſert *and* between *proceed* and *to*
143	7	For *enemies* read *enemy's*
145	5	For *dis* read *his*
147	30	For *diſbuſrements* read *diſburſements*
149	12	For *tather* read *rather*
158	29	For *officers* read *offices*
164	36	For *Unitarians* read *Unitarian*
165	1	For *Madadi* read *Mahadi*
178	27	For *deprtued* read *deprived*
190	36	For *proliticks* read *politicks*
201	8	For *titizens* read *citizens*
219	3	For *Amozons* read *Amazons*
220	7	For *and* read *who*
229	36	For *country* read *county*
230	16	Before *this iſland* ſupply *in*
253	4	For *preceded* read *preſided*
257	10	For *paroxiym* read *paroxyſm*
257	27	and line 22, for *equalty* read *equality*
278	37	For *indiſpenſiable* read *indiſpenſable*, and every where *indiſpenſable* and *indiſpenſably* for *indiſpenſible*, &c.
276	29	For *upon* read *from*
807	37	For *miniſters* read *aſſembly*
313	15	For *union* read *uniſon*
328	12	For *meaſurse* read *meaſures*
334	12	For *raaſon reaſon*
339	13	For *armanents* read *armaments*
368	32	For *quality* read *equality*
370	22	For *one* read *three*
373	4	For *taciticks* read *tacticks*
377	18	For *ſeme* read *ſame*
378	7	For *interpeters* read *interpreters*
378	22	For *hairbreadth-eſcapes* read *hairbreath-ſcapes*
431	4	For *Notſithſtanding* read *notwithſtanding*
477	1	For *with* read *and*
496	23	For *Pruſſia* read *Ruſſia*

THE

PREFACE.

IN the preliminary part of the following ſheets an attempt has been made to obviate ſome objections that may be urged againſt a narrative of recent events, in which the author had no active ſhare. In addition to the obſervations there advanced, he might juſtify his conduct by the example of Voltaire, and other celebrated moderns, who have preceded him in this career, were it not that in domeſtick concerns and parliamentary diſcuſſions he ſees no advantage which the ſpeaker has over the hearer; and that in intereſting queſtions, concerning which he wanted information, he has for ſix or ſeven and twenty years attended the debates in the Upper or Lower Houſe, and not truſted ſolely to the intelligence deducible from the publications of the reporters, or from the communications of his acquaintances among the members, of whom ſome are ſtill alive, but more dead.

Some apology perhaps may be neceſſary for totally omitting the epithet *Mr.* before proper names throughout the whole volume. This omiſſion ariſes neither from plebeian inſolence nor from a levelling principle, but from an attachment to claſſical purity, and an averſion from feudal barbariſm; *Mr.* Pitt and *Mr.* Fox be-

ing as unmuſical in the author's ears as *Mr.* Cicero and *Mr.* Demoſthenes, and likely to reflect more ridicule than dignity on hiſtorical compoſition. Having, in his own opinion at leaſt, eſſentially improved the literary productions, that are daily and univerſally read, he wiſhes in hiſtory to approach, if he cannot reach, the ſtandard of antiquity. From the practice of antiquity, however, he has uniformly deviated in one material point, in ſtating before the commencement of each campaign the financial ſchemes and pecuniary reſources of the two principal nations at war, the Greek and Roman hiſtorians having generally left us in the dark about the annual ſupplies, and made as little mention of the ways and means as the writers of the old romances. Their heroes, indeed, performed great exploits; but they performed them, for aught that we can learn from their works, like Quixotick adventurers, without ſcrip or purſe.

A ſimilar apology, too, ſeems due to peers, who are ſeldom deſignated by the circuitous titles of ariſtocratical ceremony, but generally by the plain names, by which their own hands make them known in publick acts. The author hopes that even the nice and diſcriminating ſenſibility of that honour, which enabled ſome lords to diſcover a blot in the ſcutcheon of Warren Haſtings, will not be hurt at ſeeing hiſtory adopt, in imitation of Shakeſpeare, their own majeſtick brevity.

Though, ſince the enactment of two notorious laws, the writer has not, in the opinion of many, the rare felicity of living, like Tacitus, in an age which allows him to think what he pleaſes, and

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to ſpeak what he thinks, yet he flatters himſelf that he has diſcovered a mode of expreſſing his ſentiments ſo as not to diſgrace a freeman, either by the concealment or perverſion of truth, whoſe cauſe he has invariably eſpouſed, having courted no party, and endeavoured to write not only for contemporaries, but alſo for poſterity. If he has miſrepreſented any fact, or diſtorted any argument, his ear is open to better information, and his mind to ſounder reaſoning, ſo that ultimately the work may boaſt of unprecedented authenticity.

In the delineation of characters every perſon muſt be guided by his own underſtanding, and actuated by his own feelings. In the few attempts of this kind here made, the writer, biaſſed as he is by no injury, no favour, no predilection, may ſafely affirm that he has exhibited the genuine and well-known ſentiments of his heart. Should any ſtateſman, of whom he has in this volume expreſſed his opinion either way, be thought by him upon mature reflection not to have been faithfully portrayed, he is not ſo indiſſolubly wedded to any preconception, nor ſo tenacious even of a written judgment, as not in due time to retract, and to do him juſtice.

As the work, if not continued to the end of the war, would be lame and imperfect, and have therefore little chance of ſurviving the general wreck of the numberleſs annuals, that ſpring up like muſhrooms, and periſh with the rapidity of ephemerons, it is the intention of the author to perſevere in the ſame plan, till the concluſion of peace, by giving it a beginning, a middle, and an end, render the whole a complete drama. But, ſince

ſince he wiſhes to compoſe a real hiſtory, and not a chaotick maſs of inextricable elements, and is reſolved to write with ſuch brevity and conciſeneſs, as neither to oppreſs the preſent age with yawning, nor future generations with a nauſea, his *Annals of Europe* will be limited in their extent by his ideas of propriety and reputation, and not by any proſpects of influence and emolument.

ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

Page.	*Line.*	
188	19	Put *for* inſtead of *to*, and *to* inſtead of *for*.
491	22	After *faces* inſert *to croſs*.

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

[1790.

THE epochs or pauſes in hiſtorical compoſitions differ according to the different views of the writers. When a ſeries of great and intereſting events, that have a beginning, middle and end, becomes the ſubject of the hiſtorian's labours, it's completion forms a natural epoch. Annals or yearly accounts of tranſactions are from the very terms neceſſarily referred to the duration of the chief magiſtrate's office, whether he be Archon, Conſul, or King; and, as in wars, which from alternate victories and defeats, from ſcenes of exultation and diſtreſs, furniſh the moſt engaging topicks for hiſtory, the pauſe in action, or the ceſſation of a campaign, generally coincides with the pauſe in nature occaſioned by the revolution of the ſun, the termination of the year ſeems a proper reſting-place. The conſtitution of England, and conſequently its government, being of a mixed nature, the hiſtorian may refer what he records to a

reign, to a miniſtry, or to a parliament; but, as miniſtries are always fluctuating and often of ſhort duration, and parliaments neceſſarily die by law ſix months after the deceaſe of the ſovereign, the uſual title has been adopted in this hiſtory. In the preceding volumes a period of ten years for each was choſen, becauſe it ſeemed to furniſh matter ſufficient for the purpoſe: but in this, which will be found replete with a variety of extraordinary events treading one upon another in quick ſucceſſion, a circle of ſix years, to which the exiſtence of the late parliament was confined, is for the ſame reaſon thought abundantly ample.

Before the narrative commences, it may not be improper to premiſe, in a kind of Salluſtian preface, that the inſertion of the genuine parliamentary ſpeeches in the newſpapers, a practice for which the public is indebted to the hazardous perſeverance of the writer of this volume, has empowered the modern Britiſh hiſtorian of his own times to boaſt of an authenticity, which formerly could only be expected in hiſtories compoſed after the lapſe of many years from various documents and adverſe publications compared, contraſted and reconciled, and frequently attended at laſt with mere conjecture, or at moſt with ſtrong probability. The ſtruggle of political rivals extorts truth in ſo many ſhapes, the conflict of contending parties exhibits facts in ſuch different views, and the colliſion of oppoſite intereſts ſtrikes out ſo many ſparks of light to illuminate the whole ſcene that the ſecrets of the cabinet are no longer a myſtery confined to a few ſelect individuals, but known in a ſhort time by the publick, as well as the ordinary proceedings in parliament. The nation being thus poſſeſſed of facts, and its mind enlightened by oppoſite arguments, it will

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be its own fault, if the miniſtry carry into execution any important plan that is contrary to its intereſt and inclination. Was it not from this cauſe that the failure of Fox's Eaſt-India Bill and the delay, which at laſt rendered the regency bill unneceſſary, aroſe? Had the people been equally well inſtructed at the commencement of the American war, had they known what came to light at its concluſion, that the expence of bounties, and of governors and officers of every deſcription exceeded the profits of a trade, which they muſt neceſſarily retain, were America independent, would they ever have given their ſanction to the war, as the war of the people? The queſtion muſt be anſwered in the negative; and they would have ſaved much of the national blood, and more than a hundred millions of the publick treaſure.

An attempt has, for obvious reaſons, been made to give currency to an opinion that a writer cannot compoſe a good hiſtory of his own times, becauſe he is likely to be uninformed and prejudiced, unacquainted with the ſecret ſprings of action, and partial to a favourite claſs of ſtateſmen. This objection has already been half removed, when it was remarked that the publication of the parliamentary debates has unveiled the myſteries of the cabinet; and, were the other half, the charge of prejudice and partiality, to be allowed any degree of validity, what would become of the beſt hiſtorians, Salluſt and Tacitus, who wrote hiſtories of their own age, though the former was not in the leaſt, and the latter but little, if at all, engaged in any of the deſcribed tranſactions? Juſt hiſtories, as ſome affect to call compilations ſelected from various documents after a long interval of years, partaking of that languor which is apt to creep in his cloſet upon a recluſe ſtudent remotely concerned in the ſubject of his narration, are often

tedious, cold and unintereſting, and deſtitute of that dramatick intereſt, which conſtitutes the charm of ancient compoſitions. Here I ſpeak as I feel. Having freely expreſſed my opinion of the living, why ſhould I heſitate to deliver my ſentiments concerning the dead? From this cenſure on general hiſtories let me except Livy's firſt Decad, which, as I have admired it from my youth, I have endeavoured, but with unequal powers, to imitate, hvaing been always careful not to record ſpeeches, in which facts are not involved with the arguments, that the narrative and therefore the intereſt may never flag.

It is likewiſe urged that the ſuperior civiliſation of Europe and particularly the extinction of ſlavery, its moſt diſtinguiſhing feature, proceeds from the benign influence of the Chriſtian religion; and certainly its mild ſpirit, which repreſents all men as brothers, and finally doomed in another world to a fate ſuited to their deſerts, muſt be allowed conſiderable power, were men always guided by religion, and their practices not frequently at variance with their profeſſions. If this boaſted civiliſation had its origin in Chriſtianity, how came arts and ſciences, and learning, and their inſeparable attendant, civiliſation, to be according to all hiſtorians on the ſide of the Arabs in the days of Saladin and the Cruſades, when the Mahometan was more than ſix hundred years poſterior to the Chriſtian religion? How did the Roman world become brutaliſed during its reign? How were its fragments, the preſent ſtates of Europe, prevented from making any viſible progreſs in civiliſation till the cloſe of the fourteenth century, when the art of printing, which was probably borrowed from the Chineſe, among whom it prevailed from time immemorial, had rekindled the dying flame

ſlame of knowledge? The maintenance of peace and the conſequent increaſe of population are infallible proofs of civiliſation. Can Europe contend in this reſpect with China, which according to authentick documents obtained in Macartney's embaſſy, contains above two hundred millions of ſouls living almoſt always in amity and peace? Europe has hitherto borne a ſtronger reſemblance to the turbulence and anarchy of the Saxon Heptarchy than to the peace and order of civiliſed ſociety. Toleration too is an unequivocal ſymptom of improvement in reaſon and moderation. Have the Chriſtians, on this head, much reaſon to boaſt? Have not their religious wars been more bloody and much more frequent than thoſe of the Mahometans? Where is the hero among them that diſplayed more temperance in religious matters than the Turk, Mahomet the ſecond? If the ſubject Chriſtians pay the taxes, the Turkiſh government is ſatisfied and never moleſts them on account of religion.

But did Chriſtianity really effect the abolition of ſlavery? To ſay nothing of the Moſaic law, which certainly gives its entire ſanction to ſlavery, it does not appear from any text in the Chriſtian law that the emancipation of ſlaves was intended, but rather their paſſive obedience. Hence we find that for ſeveral centuries, after Chriſtianity became the eſtabliſhed religion, ſlavery prevailed over all Europe, and ſtill prevails partially in Ruſſia, in Poland, and in ſeveral parts of Germany, and univerſally without limitation in all European colonies in the Weſt and Eaſt-Indies. The clergy would undoubtedly recommend the manumiſſion of the ſlaves of the laity, that they might acquire property and have it in their power to make teſtamentary donations to the church, which

in thoſe days of ignorance and ſuperſtition derived a great part of its income from their fears of futurity. But were the eccleſiaſticks equally liberal with regard to their own ſlaves? By no means; for we find many eccleſiaſtical regulations both in France and Germany, by which no prieſt nor even biſhop was allowed to manumit a ſlave belonging to the patrimony of the church, without ſubſtituting two others of equal value each in his room. What is the reſult? The obvious concluſion is, that domeſtic ſlavery vaniſhed gradually and imperceptibly in proportion to the diffuſion of knowledge occaſioned by the art of printing. This was the caſe at leaſt in the Britiſh dominions; for in them there is no act relating to their manumiſſion upon record; though it is probable that here, as well as in France, the conteſts of the ſovereign and of the barons aided the lights of ſcience in effecting this deſirable event.

If the preſs, managed as it then was and dedicated almoſt ſolely to publications in a dead language, produced ſuch ſalutary conſequences as a reformation in religion and an improvement in life and manners, what may not be expected from it now that it is chiefly conſecrated to the living languages and to the diſcuſſion of the moſt intereſting queſtions of conſtitutional policy and government? America, perhaps, owes to the Britiſh preſs the firſt ideas of her freedom and independence, being wakened by the ſpeeches and diſquiſitions, which it poured forth, to a juſt ſenſe of her rights and privileges, and afterwards copying and improving them in her own. The great revolutions, which have taken place in the Netherlands and in France, may, in part, be traced to the ſame cauſe; for, though exceſſive taxes and other grievances, real or imaginary, gave the firſt impulſe to the

the machine, its different component parts could never have acted with vigour and effect without the aſſiſtance of the preſs. The flame thus kindled ſeems catching, and to be pervading the reſt of Europe; for the deliberations and debates, even of the Germanic diet, are ſubjected to publick inſpection and diſcuſſion. Let us then hope that, as the ſun of knowledge diffuſes its rays farther and farther over Europe, its different ſtates, like the different diſtricts of the ſame community, will feel the propriety of living in peace and friendſhip, and exchange war and depredation for commerce and mutual accommodation. But this is merely the vow of philanthropy never likely to be realiſed. For where is the power to which, in caſe of a quarrel, a reference is to be made for its peaceable adjuſtment? And quarrels, we know, will occur even in the beſt private families; and they can often be ſettled only by the coercive power of the magiſtrate. But among ſovereigns he, who has the power of coercion, is a maſter, a deſpot, or, if he will, a tyrant. The project of univerſal peace is therefore viſionary. A modern Amphictyonic council would prove as ineffectual as the ancient; and all that can be expected from the propagation of knowledge is a mitigation of the miſeries attached by nature to the condition of men.

The preceding parliament having reached the legal term of its duration, writs were iſſued by the Crown for the election of new repreſentatives; and, as the plans of the miniſter were upon the whole approved, the returns were in general conformable to his wiſhes. The abettors of oppoſition remarked that the elections proceeded with uncommon languor and inactivity, or in other words, with unanimity in ſupport of the miniſtry.

But what other event could reaſonably be expected? The miniſter from the commencement of his political career poſſeſſed the good opinion of the capital, and it has been obvious to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver that the man, who has the ſanction of London, ſooner or later unites the voices of the whole empire in his favour; ſo extenſive is its influence, ſuch is the opinion of its ſuperior information.

The miniſter, William Pitt, it is true, was in years only young, but in wiſdom mature, being, as North juſtly obſerved, *born a miniſter*, and in Barré's words, a man of *ſplendid eloquence*. However vain the art of phyſiognomy may have been proved by experince, men will always be prejudiced in favour of certain lineaments of face and proportions of limbs; and an impoſing countenance and graceful perſon will always be deemed the beſt introductory recommendations. Nature, who having many to gratify can ſeldom laviſh all her gifts on an individual, has been ſparing to Pitt of bodily accompliſhments; for his viſage is rather boyiſh and unexpreſſive; and his lank perſon conveys the idea of feebleneſs and languor more than of firmneſs and vigour; but, like Ulyſſes, he ſoon obliterates theſe unfavourable impreſſions, when his big manly voice iſſues from his breaſt, and compels his audience to think no longer of his figure and look, but of his wiſdom and eloquence. Clear, comprehenſive, and dignified in argument, he never loſes ſight of his ſubject, never indulges any idle ſallies of the imaginatation, nor amuſes his hearers with meretricious ornaments fitter for a ſchool of declamation than for a ſenate. His powers of amplification, it muſt be owned, are wonderful, and like thoſe of the Roman orator

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muſt excite the envy of his diſtanced rivals; and, accordingly, they accuſe him of enveloping his ſentiments in ſuch a cloud of words that his meaning is not diſcernible. But how can this charge be ſuſtained, when the ſame antagoniſts acknowledge his ſuperior eminence for lucid order, ſententious periods, and ſarcaſtic replies? His clearneſs of conception is evinced by method and arrangement in haſty as well as premeditated efforts. In a ſtudied harangue and in an extemporary ſpeech the ſtream of his eloquence flows with the ſame uninterrupted current, except that, where obſtacles occur, it is forcible, vehement, and irreſiſtible; and that, where the channel is clear, it is grand and majeſtic. The ſpeeches of other ſenators come often mended from the reporter's pen, but Pitt's always marred; becauſe his ſentiments are ſo noble and his expreſſions ſo appoſite, that to ſketch a faint picture of them requires, what will hardly ever be found, a mind of as much elevation and refinement as his own. In glowing expreſſions, in the lightening of ſpeech, in thoſe electric ſtrokes, which blaſt like the fire of heaven, Pitt may not *yet* equal his father, but in extent of political knowledge, in acquaintance with law and the conſtitution, and in the myſtery of finance, he may fairly claim a ſuperiority. When to the advantages of a happy genius, of the inſtructions of the ſpeeches and of the example of the late Earl of Chatham, we add the good fortune of the manlieſt and moſt commanding voice in either houſe of parliament, we need not be ſurpriſed at the power of his oratory; eſpecially, when it is conſidered that envy and malice, which are ever ſo eager to depreſs the exalted, have not been able to fix a ſingle ſtain upon his character. Having by a fortunate concurrence of circumſtances become

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prime miniſter, before the acceptance of a ſubordinate ſtation which he publickly diſclaimed, and its general conſequence, a connection with different parties, could furniſh calumny with a plea for ſtigmatiſing him as a faithleſs deſerter or an unprincipled apoſtate, Pitt commenced his courſe pure and untainted, and ſtill remains uncontaminated in ſpite of the artifices and calumnies of his active and able competitors. After introducing order into the deranged ſtate of the finances, after annihilating the pernicious practice of ſmuggling, concluding a beneficial treaty of commerce with France, adding ſeveral millions annually to the revenue, and eſtabliſhing a fund for the gradual liquidation of the national debt; after ſevering Holland from France and attaching her to Great Britain, after maintaining the honour and intereſt of the publick in the diſpute with Spain, after ſupporting the character and enlarging the commerce of his country abroad, and extending by various regulations her trade at home, it might be reaſonably preſumed that the miniſter ſtill enjoyed the full confidence of the nation; and the diviſions in both houſes in favour of his meaſures ſoon juſtified the preſumption.

The miniſter's competitor and the principal leader of the ouſted, and therefore adverſe, party, was Charles James Fox, now returned a ſecond time member for Weſtminſter, a gentleman long diſtinguiſhed by his admirable talents for debate. Deſigned from the firſt dawn of genius as well as the preſent lord of the aſcendant, for the ſenate, Fox was trained to argumentation and oratory by his father, who was himſelf no mean orator, and the proprietor of a rotten borough, which he bequeathed to his ſon, as a certain reſource, if his own abilities and exertions ſhould not enſure him a ſeat in parliament. The father having laboured under

under the diſadvantage of being ſtyled by London in a remonſtrance to the king the defaulter of unaccounted millions, the ſon was upon his early appearance in the houſe of commons eyed with ſuſpicion, which his youthful indiſcretion did not diminiſh; as the waſte of private is but an indifferent recommendation to the care of publick property. Countenanced however as Fox has been by great and reſpectable characters, it is but charity to ſuppoſe that his follies did not exceed the limits preſcribed by honour, and that verſatility and inconſiſtency are not held diſhonourable in a ſtateſman; ſince, in the courſe of a few months he was the vigorous champion and violent aſſailant of North, firſt the virulent enemy of the rights of election in the caſe of Wilkes, next the Man of the People in all conſtitutional queſtions; now, threatening to impeach as an evil counſellor, now haſtening to form a coalition with the miniſter, whom he accuſed of having diſmembered the empire, and with whom he once declared there could be no ſafety under the ſame roof. Theſe deviations from principles and profeſſions this conſpicuous man has had frequent opportunities of diſplaying as a ſenator, but few as a miniſter; for the duration of the coalition was ſo ſhort that no meaſure of much conſequence came to light but his Eaſt-India bill, which has been marked with the complete diſapprobation of the publick as an unconſtitutional invaſion of chartered rights. This luminary, whoſe complexion is ſwarthy, eye piercing and figure ſqualid, is in his perſon robuſt, athletick and maſculine; but, though once active, he is now heavy and corpulent, and was ſome years ago threatened with ſomnolence, which might have terminated in a lethargy, had he not been rouſed into action by the ancient rivalry between

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the houſes of Pitt and Fox, and aſhamed to allow a young and unexperienced racer to walk over the courſe, which he had ſo long trod without a match. With a ſhrill and harſh but piercing and impreſſive voice, with a rapid but diſtinct utterance, Fox never failed to engage the attention of his anditors, though he could not often communicate to them the heat which he felt in his own breaſt, as from the quick ſucceſſion of his crowded ideas he became ſuddenly agitated and impaſſioned, before he could raiſe in them correſpondent emotions; and his long pauſes for recollection at the cloſe of each argument interrupted the current of paſſion and weakened the general effect. The repetition too of the laſt words of a ſentence to catch the firſt words of the next gave this orator's premeditated ſpeeches too much the air of ſtudy and ſcholaſtic artifice, and belied the aſſertions of thoſe, who pretend in ſpite of his own ſerious declarations that all his effuſions are extemporary. In extemporary effuſions, however, it is that his native eloquence ſhines moſt conſpicuous, being then frequently argumentative, perſpicuous, and energetick, full of new matter and unexpected ideas, of pointed obſervations and happy alluſions. In ſhort, he is a better debater than an orator, better calculated for the captious diſputations of the bar than for the candid direction of a popular aſſembly, in which ſucceſs depends much not only npon being good, but alſo upon being thought good. Careleſs and negligent in his dreſs he diſcovers the ſame careleſſneſs and negligence in his ſtyle, having, it ſeems, been prevented by diſſipation from attending habitually to the ſtructure of a ſentence, as well as to the arrangement of a ſpeech, and by this defect miſſing what he would otherwiſe juſtly deſerve, the name of the Britiſh Demoſthenes, no

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leſs than his happier rival merits the title of the Britiſh Cicero. Fox's reaſoning is ſometimes circuitous and ſophiſtical, Pitt's always direct and fair; the former is an exact, the latter a great painter; the one by detailing minute particulars and leaving nothing unſaid is, though never frigid, occaſionally tedious; the other by grouping the ſtrong and prominent features of a queſtion generally intereſts, and never tires. Fox's ſcream on hearing the animating cry of his party reminds us of the hawk darting rapidly at his quarry, and his antagoniſt's voice of the ſounding courſe of the eagle ruſhing in his might to pounce the writhing and reluctant dragon.

Theſe two chiefs having ranged the various bands under the ſubordinate leaders began the political campaign, when the king's ſpeech, the ſignal for action, ſounded in their ears. The ſubjects of diſcuſſion propoſed in this ſpeech were the amicable termination of the quarrel about the Spaniſh encroachments, the ſeparate peace between Auſtria and the Ottaman Porte, and between Ruſſia and Sweden; the ſettlement of the diſturbances in the Netherlands, the Crown's intention of uſing its weight and influence in negociating a peace between the Ruſſians and Turks, the idea of giving a conſtitution to the province of Quebeck, and the ſtate of the war in India.

The ſubjects of complaint urged againſt Spain by the Britiſh miniſter were three, the breach of the peace ſubſiſting between the two nations by the violent ſeizure of Britiſh merchantmen and mercantile property, the publick inſult offered to Britain by taking down her flag, and the private injury ſuſtained by her ſubjects. Previouſly, therefore, to any diſcuſſion, he required the reſtitution of the veſſels; but, inſtead of this ſatisfaction he

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was called upon to adopt meaſures for the prevention of the Britiſh trade in thoſe ſeas, and of the ſouthern whale-fiſhery, the Spaniſh miniſter pretending that the South-ſea extended to the ſixtieth degree of north latitude, and that by various treaties Spain was entitled to the excluſive navigation of the South-ſeas. Could any thing be more extravagant and ridiculous than this extenſion of theſe two terms? In the diſpute about Faulkland Iſland had not Spain relinquiſhed this claim even beyond the fiftieth degree of ſouth latitude? How then could ſhe have the effrontery to maintain it in high northern lattiudes; eſpecially, as it appears from her own memorials upon this occaſion, that the ſolemn farce of occupancy did not take place till long after the ratification of the ſpecified treaties?

Indeed, nothing can be more abſurd than many of the claims of Europeans to newly diſcovered countries; ſince, if there are natives in them, they are the rightful proprietors; and, if there are no natives, the diſcoverers can only be entitled to what they can completely occupy and fully enjoy. In ſpite of theſe obvious and indiſputable principles of natural juſtice, the Spaniards have long been in the habit of enforcing theſe monſtrous pretenſions; and it is not to their moderation but to their weakneſs that the other European ſtates are indebted for a ſhare in the new world. Some praiſe is due to North for the firmneſs with which he reſiſted the antiquated claims of theſe proud monopoliſers; but it is the glory of Pitt to have ſettled them upon a ſolid and permanent baſis. Having been informed, as we learn from the king's meſſage to parliament, that Spain was preparing conſiderable armaments at the time that ſhe notified the act of aggreſſion to the Britiſh court, the miniſter

miniſter loſt no time, but armed with all diligence; and the embaraſſed ſtate of France, at this juncture, facilitated his ſchemes. It was well known that nothing but cruel neceſſity and the ſtrong arm of power could extort the required conceſſions from Spain, who has always been peculiarly tenacious of her claims in America; and it appears from her ambaſſador's application to France at this criſis, when ſhe threatened Lewis with her renunciation of the family compact, and with the ſearch of new friends and allies, if he did not firmly adhere to the ſacred ties of affection, and to the ſolemn engagements of treaties, that her weakneſs, not her will, conſented to a Convention in the following terms:

I. That all buildings and tracts of land ſituated on the north-weſt coaſt of the continent of North America or on iſlands adjacent to that continent, of which his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects were lately diſpoſſeſſed, ſhall be reſtored to them.

II. That the ſubjects of either of the contracting parties that may have been aggrieved by any act of hoſtility or by loſs of property ſhall be fully indemnified according to the nature of the caſe.

III. That the ſubjects of the contracting parties ſhall not be diſturbed nor moleſted either in navigating or carrying on their fiſheries in the Pacific ocean, or in the South ſeas, or in landing on the coaſts of thoſe ſeas, in places not already occupied, for the purpoſe of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making ſettlements.

IV. That for the purpoſe of preventing an illicit trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Pacific ocean and in the South ſeas, under the pretext of fiſhing, no Britiſh ſubject ſhall navigate or carry

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on his fiſhery in thoſe ſeas within ten ſea-leagues of any part of the coaſts already occupied by Spain.

V. That in all the ſettlements now to be reſtored, or already made or hereafter to be made, to the north of the parts now occupied by Spain, the ſubjects of both powers ſhall have free acceſs without diſturbance or moleſtation.

VI. That with reſpect to the Eaſtern and Weſtern coaſts of South America and the adjacent iſlands, no ſettlements ſhall be hereafter made by the ſubjects of either power in any part to the ſouth of thoſe parts of the coaſt, or of the iſlands adjacent already occupied by Spain; but that the ſaid ſubjects ſhall retain the liberty of landing on the the coaſts and iſlands ſo ſituated for the purpoſe of fiſhing, and of erecting huts and other temporary buildings ſerving only for theſe purpoſes.

VII. That in all caſes of complaint or infraction of the articles of this Convention, every officer of either party ſhall, without preſuming to commit any act of violence, be bound to make an exact and faithful report of the affair and of its circumſtances to his own court, that it may ſettle the difference with the other in an amicable manner.

To theſe ſtipulations ſo humiliating to Spain and ſo honourable and advantageous to Britain, the people could not refuſe their approbation. Accordingly addreſſes of thanks to the ſovereign were preſented by London, Edinburgh, and Briſtol; and the ſame feeling actuated the generality of the upper houſe, in which unqualified praiſe was beſtowed on the miniſtry by all, except Kinnoul, Portcheſter, Rawdon, Landſdown, and Stormont, all reſpectable names, but all candidates for office, and influenced therefore by private intereſt to magnify and diſtort. Stanhope, indeed, whoſe enthuſiaſtic

enthuſiaſtic but improvident zeal for liberty is ſo notorious, attributed the ſucceſsful iſſue of the negotiation to the pacifick principles adopted in the new conſtitution of France. Theſe eminent perſonages, aided in the houſe of commons by the ingenuity of Fox and North, and of their adherents, Grey, Windham, Loveden, Powys, Martin, Pulteney, Lambton, Pelham, Jekyll, and Fielding probed the treaty to the bottom, and found it unſound and rotten to the core.

"If the treaty, ſaid the minority, be entitled to our applauſe, why do you withold the documents from the examination of which the houſe ſhould form its judgment? Why are not all the papers ungarbled and unmutilated laid without diſtinction upon the table? Were there not ſomething myſterious and indefenſible in the negotiation, this ſatisfaction would not be refuſed. The Spaniſh fleet was at ſea a month before the Britiſh. Does not this negligence call for inquiry? After the expenditure of three millions in preparations the publick has a right to an account of the mode, in which the expence was incurred; and we, the repreſentatives of the people, whoſe office it is to inquire into the ſtate of the publick revenue, will act as unfaithful auditors, if we do not compel the ſtewards of the crown to prove that every ſhilling was expended with prudence, wiſdom, and œconomy. To what purpoſe do we aſſemble here as the grand inqueſt of the nation, if we allow any nuiſance to paſs unobſerved; and what can be a greater nuiſance than the improvident or profuſe expenditure of the national treaſure? The ſeaſon of confidence is paſt, and the hour of ſcrutany and conviction arrived. The negotiation is no longer pending, and therefore the diſcloſure of ſecrets is not to be feared. For how can that, which is

known to both courts, be a ſecret, or a ground of fear? From whiſpers and rumours it would appear that the treaty, which was concluded in November, might have been terminated with equal advantage in July. Why then did the miniſter continue the expence of armaments? Why did he ſquander away the people's money without an adequate cauſe? But perhaps the preparations were oſtenſibly made for one and covertly meant for another purpoſe. Perhaps the fleets were intended for the Baltic, not for the Mediterranian; and Ruſſia, not Spain, was the object. Were this the caſe, it ought to be avowed; as the Commons are upon principle bound to vote every penny of the public money for a ſpecific ſervice, and not to leave miniſters at liberty to divert it into what channel they pleaſe. The truth ſeems to be that the whole diſpute might have been amicably adjuſted without expence to either party, had the Britiſh miniſter acted with temper and moderation, and not piqued the Caſtilian pride by aſſuming the arrogant tone of a dictator inſtead of adopting the conciliating language, which ought always to be uſed by the ſervants of ſovereign and independent ſtates meeting upon equal terms for the adjuſtment of their differences.

But, ſince, in direct violation of the principles of the conſtitution, which always dictate jealouſy rather than confidence, we are denied the papers neceſſary for the complete elucidation of the ſubject, let us examine the treaty, naked as it ſtands, and ſee what will be the reſult. Far from challenging our approbation upon its very face, as you contend, the Convention merits our ſevereſt cenſure; as it ſecures none of the conteſted objects. Where is there reparation for the paſt or ſecurity for the future? The indemnification is merely verbal

bal and conditional; and the vague demarcation of the reſpective poſſeſſions is more likely to create than to prevent quarrels; ſince, where Britain may eſtabliſh a factory on one hill, Spain may erect a fort on another; and all this for a few catſkins and ſome lamp-oil and candles. For reparation you have yet only promiſes, and the value of Spaniſh promiſes is perfectly well underſtood from the manner, in which the ranſom of Manilla was paid. If it be true that in all former treaties we tacitly admitted the claims of Spain to the pacific ocean, is the fur-trade of ſufficient value to make us, on its account, forego the good-will and friendſhip of Spain? The value of the oil imported from the South ſeas is by one-fourth leſs in the market than the value of the oil fetched from the North. Ought then ſuch a large bounty to be allowed? A bounty is hardly juſtifiable, but where you have no other reſource; and, in this caſe, the Northern fiſhery exempts you from the neceſſity of ſuch an expence. The vindication of a nation's honour is perhaps the only juſtifiable cauſe of war; becauſe upon the maintenance of its honour depends its ſecurity. Was not Britain's honour ſufficiently ſecured by the conceſſions which Spain made in the latter end of June? They were verbal, it muſt be allowed, but no other reparation for our injured honour has yet been obtained. At any rate, it is evident that we have acquired nothing, but verbal ſecurity for what we had before. But what had we before? The whole Pacifick ocean. What have we now relinquiſhed? Part of our former rights. Before we had a right of ſettling; now we give up all but temporary huts for trading with the natives, who are cannibals; and carry on our fiſhery under the reſtrictions of a hovering act much ſeverer than any known upon our coaſt. Is

not this an important conceſſion? What is the correſpondent boon? Spain ſhall make no ſettlements to the ſouth of thoſe, which ſhe already occupies on the continent of America. Does any reaſonable man imagine that Spain wiſhes to extend her colonies on ſuch bleak inhoſpitable ſhores? Sound policy dictates the compreſſion rather than the dilatation of her force in theſe regions, where ſhe would be leſs vulnerable, if ſhe had leſs dominions.

But in ſpite of this reaſoning, which to us ſeems concluſive againſt the Convention, we are told that reaſoning muſt ſubmit to authority, and that the voice of London, of Edinburgh, and of Briſtol, ought to ſilence our clamour. If this be conſtitutional doctrine, why do we meet here to deliberate? All debate and diſcuſſion will thus become uſeleſs. A member for a great commercial city or for a rich and populous county has nothing to do but to ſtand up in his place, and to declare that his conſtituents, who make a large proportion of the moſt enlightened part of the community, have ſtamped any meaſure with their approbation and that there is no farther room for deliberation. Is this ſpecies of argumentation applicable to the Britiſh houſe of Commons, conſtituted as it is of equal votes? When a man takes his ſeat in this aſſembly, he ceaſes to be a partial, and becomes a general repreſentative; elſe there would, indeed, be no room for debate, and every member muſt, on every important occaſion, conſult his conſtituents. What would be the conſequence? We would force government in the moſt critical conjunctures to act with the ſlowneſs of Dutchmen, and our languor would unbrace the ſinews of the ſtate.

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That the language now uſed againſt the Convention proceeds at leaſt from honeſt conviction, and not from the peeviſh malignity of oppoſition, we have the right to argue, from the unqualified praiſe which we beſtowed on the meaſures which procured us the alliance of Holland. If we oppoſed for oppoſition's ſake, we ſhould not then have joined the ſtandard of adminiſtration, and therefore we cannot now be juſtly denied the ſame purity of intention.

The miniſters Pitt and Dundas, ſupported by Wilberforce, Duncombe, Rolle, Drake, Smith, Ryder, Sir William Young, Aldermen Watſon and Curtis, Serjeant Watſon, Stanley, Muncaſter, and Belgrave, in the lower houſe, and Montroſe, Glaſgow, Coventry, Sydney, and Grenville, in the upper, were at no loſs for an anſwer to theſe arguments. "The leaders of oppoſition would have a fairer claim to candour and ſingleneſs of heart in their unqualified approbation of the meaſures which attached Holland to the Britiſh intereſts, had they not on this occaſion ſtrained their invention in ſearch of far-fetched arguments, and by racking their ingenuity to diſtort the features of the Convention, in order to expoſe it to the public eye in a groteſque and hideous form, ſufficiently demonſtrated that the Revolution in Holland did not remain uncenſured for want of inclination, but of power. At that juncture they ſat tongue-tied through prudence and policy; and the ſame prudence and policy ought now to have extorted praiſe, or at leaſt dictated ſilence, as their voice, however loud and clamorous, can be but little heard in the torrent of popular applauſe.

The cenſure now directed againſt adminiſtration ſeems, like Eraſmus's encomium upon folly, meant only to ſhew what ingenious ſophiſtry can do in a

bad cauſe. Were not the cauſe bad, what could induce Fox to affront the common ſenſe of mankind, ſo far as to aſſert that members juſt come from their conſtituents, as we are all from ours, and declaring that they expreſs the genuine ſentiments of theſe conſtituents, amounting to more than two-tenths of England and Wales in numbers, ought to have here no more weight or influence than an equal number of repreſentatives from rotten boroughs? In a diviſion the vote of one member is as good as another's, as far as numbers are concerned. But is this a fair mode of ſtating the caſe, or is it the tendency of the argument? The gentleman's obvious intention is to delude the houſe for the moment into an opinion, that no regard ought in this aſſembly to be paid to the known ſentiments of two-tenths of the beſt informed and moſt commercial people of the empire in a commercial queſtion. The fact is that, when a ſenator delivers only his own ſingle opinion, it will have that influence which his character for wiſdom and integrity merits; and, when he expreſſes the ſenſe of a large maſs of the people, it will have that weight which is due to ſuch a weighty body; and we can have no doubt that the weight of the cities of London, Edinburgh, and Briſtol, and of the counties of York and Devon, will be felt this night in the iſſue of our deliberations. If a treaty, as you ſay, is to be tried by its own merits, what can more unequivocally prove the merits of this than the ſanction of ſo large a proportion of the people, and the ſilent acquieſcence of the reſt? Is it credible that this ſanction or acquieſcence could have taken place, were not the Convention upon the very face of it unobjectionable?

Why then do you call for papers to ſcan its merits? You ſuſpect, perhaps, that there may be ſomething

ſomething in the progreſs of the negotiation that may be liable to cenſure. But it is not to judge of a part, but of the whole, that you are here aſſembled. Surmiſes, whiſpers, and hear-ſays, may be very fit ſubjects for the ſchool of ſcandal in private circles, but are totally unworthy of a grave aſſembly of ſtateſmen. If there be any real foundation for cenſure, why is it not diſtinctly ſtated and brought home to the guilty? The vague and indefinite nature of the ſurmiſe, for it deſerves not the name of charge, evidently ſhews that it is meant for groſs food to be chewed by ignorance and malevolence, and to keep the party from ſtarving. Were miniſters always to tread the whole ground of negotiation a ſecond time to gratify the whim and caprice of curious politicians, or rather to ſecond the intereſted motives of miniſterial candidates, the buſineſs of government would become operoſe and impracticable, no ſtrength of body, no vigour of mind, would be equal to the taſk; and even as matters now ſtand, the drudgery of official duty, and the labour of parliamentary debate, oblige miniſters to make efforts more than human. If the whole plan of foreign politicks, which are ſo fluctuating and uncertain, and therefore wiſely committed to the wiſdom of the executive government, under the controul of parliament, is upon every trifling occaſion to be minutely inveſtigated by this houſe, it would be but honeſty in them to ſuperſede at once the executive power of the crown, and to appoint, like the National Convention of France, a committee of their own members to ſet the whole machine of ſtate in motion, and to be at once the adviſers, the executors, and judges of every operation. Twenty years ago an inquiry into the conduct of the courts of juſtice was pro-

poſed, but rejected for want of feaſible appearances; and time has ſanctified the rejection. Why ſhould not parliament now act, upon the ſame grounds, with the ſame diſcretion? No papers were demanded when the laſt peace was concluded, though the manner of its concluſion was cenſured by the abettors of the clamour now attempted to be raiſed againſt the preſent Convention. If papers, therefore, muſt be produced, it is not becauſe their production is invariably founded on precedent. Becauſe papers are refuſed in one inſtance, it does not follow that they are to be refuſed in all, as it is not the principle but its exerciſe that is conteſted; and, as you contend that without more papers you cannot approve, you ought not, by the ſame mode of reaſoning, to diſapprove.

The documents already upon the table are abundantly ſufficient for every purpoſe of fair diſcuſſion, and as ſuch they have been made the ground of violent but vain attacks. Reparation is ſaid not to have been made, becauſe the declaration and counter-declaration are merely verbal and promiſſory. But was any other reparation as yet practicable? Even the Deity cannot perform impoſſibilities. Why then ſhould miniſtry be accuſed of not effecting what is beyond the reach not only of mortal but of immortal power? The ſame force which procured the verbal conceſſion is ſtill in being, and enſures the performance of engagements, if honour and good faith are not tyes ſufficiently ſtrong.

Why may not the Convention be conſidered as a triumph not of war, but of reaſon over ancient prejudice and falſe ambition? The pretenſions of Spain were wild and extravagant; ſhe laid claim to what ſhe had been ſo far from occupying or coloniſing

coloniſing, that ſhe had not even diſcovered it. Taught, perhaps, by our fate, ſhe has begun to confine her views and to limit her deſires, and to think at laſt that the compreſſion of her force will give it more ſpring and elaſticity.

Is it not glorious for the preſent miniſtry to have realiſed the ideal projects of former miniſters, to have opened the South-Sea, a new world, not to other nations, as is pretended, but to the adventurous ſpirit of our merchants; an object which has reflected ſuch diſtinguiſhed luſtre upon his majeſty's reign, and which has coſt the nation much labour, much treaſure, and many a valuable life? Had this point been tamely given up, would not captain Cooke ſtart from his grave to reproach us?

If the negotiation was tedious, why is the miniſter, who knew the Spaniſh pride and ſlowneſs, and therefore wiſhed for the prevention of expence to ſhorten all previous diſcuſſion, accuſed of peremptorineſs and preſumption? Though not only reparation for the inſult to the public, and of the damage to individuals, has been obtained, but the right alſo of this country to the trade and navigation of the South-ſeas aſcertained, the treaty has not coſt more, nor remained longer in ſuſpence, than the conteſt about Falkland's Iſland, in which our rights were left unſettled. So true it is that the placid and yielding temper of a courtier does not gain its object with ſo much ſpeed and certainty as the peremptory and deciſive tone which becomes the miniſter of a great and free nation. To ſay nothing of the ſavings that may be made in ſtores, nor of the uſe that may be made of them in the north of Europe, if wanted, though certainly never at any time intended for that quarter, we may deſire thoſe who blame the length

length of the negotiation, and the expence of preparation, to conſider the language and claims of Spain at the commencement, and her almoſt inſuperable averſion from the interference of other nations with her commerce in America. Did ſhe not claim an excluſive trade by occupancy, by treaties, and by preſcription? Were all theſe claims to be ſettled in a moment, eſpecially when ſhe had confeſſedly been antecedently preparing for the criſis, and been therefore able to ſend a fleet to ſea a month before a Britiſh ſquadron was ready? Does not this circumſtance alone, which is imputed as a matter of blame to miniſtry, ſufficiently account for the tardineſs with which Spain acceded to any terms? And is it not evident from it that nothing but the impotence of France at the moment prevented her from putting every thing to the hazard of war? Her declaration to all the courts of Europe, and the manner in which ſhe endeavoured to move heaven and earth in her favour, clearly point out her original intention.

When ſhe has now relinquiſhed all her claims, why ſhould old wounds be again ripped open? Why ſhould the flame of diſcord be rekindled by the freſh mention of old grievances in our debates, which are detailed to all the courts of Europe even in our own newſpapers? The friendſhip of Spain has been repreſented as valuable, and ſo it is; but the way to ſecure it is to diſplay temperance and firmneſs in negotiation, and ſteadineſs and gravity in the ſenate.

The line of demarcation is thought too indefinite. But what are ten ſea-leagues, in ſo vaſt an ocean, to our four in the Britiſh ſeas, eſpecially when it is conſidered that no Spaniſh officer muſt preſume to moleſt our navigators, but muſt complain to his court for redreſs, whenever he thinks the

the treaty violated? As our hovering act has never occaſioned any ſerious quarrel, why ſhould this act have a different effect? Why ſhould ſmuggling be tolerated by Spain more than by England? Wherever we have made a conceſſion, Spain has returned it by a mutual ſtipulation in our favour; and, though we have acquired no new rights, we have ſubſtantiated the rights formerly claimed, yet never before allowed, but always denied, and often reſiſted; and theſe rights are obvious and new advantages. For who, that conſiders the amazing improvements of trade and navigation, for the laſt century, can doubt the probability of their further extenſion? What may not be expected from the induſtry of our whalers, who have in a few years raiſed the value of imported oil from nothing to a hundred thouſand pounds? It matters not whether cat-ſkins, whale's blubber, or dirty acres be the baſis of trade, provided it flouriſhes, and gives a lucrative employment to conſiderable bodies of citizens. The northern whale-fiſhery has been always deemed a ſource of riches and an excellent nurſery for ſeamen, but cannot vie with the ſouthern in either view, as the ſpermaceti oil fetches double the price, and navigation in all latitudes and all climates muſt render mariners more experienced and better ſeaſoned. Upon the whole the Convention ſecures many and great advantages, and to clamour againſt it becauſe it does not ſecure all, a thing which no treaty can do, is the exceſs of faction."

Cloſely connected with the conſideration of the Spaniſh Convention was the diſcuſſion of the expenditure incurred by the meaſure. Pitt, in conformity to his intimations in planning the gradual liquidation of the public debt, propoſed that the whole expence of the armament, amounting

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to more than three millions, after every deduction, ſhould be kept diſtinct from the annual ways and means, and be paid off, both principal and intereſt, in four years, as a ſeparate plan of finance. For this purpoſe it was ſuggeſted that the bank ſhould pay into the exchequer, out of the floating balance of unclaimed dividends in its hands, half a million; that a duty on ſugar, on Britiſh ſpirits, on brandy, on rum, on malt, on all aſſeſſed taxes but the land-tax and commutation-tax, and a double duty on game licences, amounting in all to 728,000l. ſhould be laid, and that in aid of all theſe means, bills of exchange, promiſſory notes and receipts, ſhould be put under new regulations advantageous to the revenue. However unpleaſant and liable to oppoſition every ſpecies of taxation muſt be, no material objection was ſtated againſt theſe taxes, except thoſe on bills of exchange and on malt, and the ſcheme of appropriating a portion of the unclaimed dividends to the public ſervice. Againſt the firſt was exerted all the eloquence of Sir Benjamin Hammett, an alderman of London, who, ever attached to the principle of intereſt, contended that the tax, as it principally affected bankers, a particular and ſmall portion of the community, was unjuſt, and therefore impolitick. But it was anſwered, that as bankers had found the means of rendering the circulation of paper, a commodity of no great coſt or value in itſelf, a lucrative trade, bills of exchange, which were not ſolely confined to bankers, were a fair ſubject of taxation.

The arguments urged againſt the malt tax were, that the brewery was already exorbitantly taxed, as it raiſed in its various branches a revenue of four millions ſterling; that the deficiency of the malt-tax for ſome years paſt clearly evinced the propriety

propriety of lowering rather than of increaſing the duty; that it would check the private brewery, and, as had been the caſe in all former additions, force the labouring claſs of people into alehouſes and upon drinking ſpirits to the great injury of their own morals and health and to the manifeſt detriment of their family and of the general produce of the iſland; that to a perſon, whoſe family conſumed a gallon of beer a day, the tax would be equivalent to a poll tax of five ſhillings, a burden too enormous to be endured; that cider ought rather to be taxed in order to render the burden every where equal; that there was no good reaſon for being ſo partial to porters and coal-heavers, who drank their malt-liquor for threepence halfpenny, while farmers paid four and ſometimes fivepence for beverage not ſuperior in quality; that this meaſure would diſcourage agriculture, and that, inſtead of exporting as formerly, we muſt now import more and more foreign corn; that we muſt now bid adieu to Old Engliſh hoſpitality and to the invigorating powers of that wholeſome and exhilarating beverage, which ſtrung the nerves and ſwelled the hearts of our anceſtors in every conteſt with our foes.

In reply it was contended that till men diſcovered that great deſideratum in politicks, a tax that would bear equally upon every individual in proportion to his abilities, particular taxes muſt be laid, and financiers muſt be contented with impoſing the publick burdens with as even a hand as poſſible upon the whole; that the deficiency of the malt-tax for the two laſt years proceeded from a ſcantineſs of the crops and not from a decay of agriculture; that the impoſt amounting only to a farthing on a gallon of the beſt beer and to a third of a farthing on the gallon of ſmall beer, and that

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for no longer a term than two years, could not be conſidered as a heavy burden, and could not poſſibly be attended with the bad conſequences predicted by the ſpirit of faction, which always laid hold of every tax, that affected the poor, in order to raiſe a clamour among the populace and to pave the way for the overthrow of the miniſtry; that a perſon, who could afford to his family a gallon a day, could not be deemed a neceſſitous member of the community, and could not therefore be oppreſſed by the payment of a poll-tax of five ſhillings a year; that the vigour of the meaſure would have an admirable effect upon the ſtocks, raiſe publick credit and give foreigners a high idea of the power and reſources of this country, objects of much greater importance than any little temporary inconvenience that might be felt by certain claſſes of the people.

As the Bank cleared above twenty thouſand a year by the intereſt of the unclaimed dividends, the tenacious ſpirit ſo prevalent among monied men induced that corporation to remonſtrate to the houſe of commons againſt the miniſter's plan as likely to alarm the publick annuitants and to affect the national credit, which, it was urged, depended greatly on the ſuppoſed reſponſibility of the bank. Though the bank conſiſts only of a body of publick accountants, who are paid almoſt a hundred thouſand pounds for tranſacting the publick buſineſs and never advance a ſhilling above what they receive from the exchequer, and therefore give no ſecurity but the publick, the miniſter by way of compromiſe agreed to accept from the bank half a million without intereſt as long as the floating balance of unclaimed dividends ſhould amount to ſix hundred thouſand pounds. To this propoſal from the bank an ear

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was lent the more readily that, notwithſtanding all the artifice of oppoſition and of the monied intereſt to create an alarm, the floating balance had accumulated to ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; an event which clearly demonſtrated that the accumulation proceeded from permanent cauſes, and that the publication of the names, which ſtood in the books of the bank oppoſite to the different ſums unclaimed, would not materially diminiſh the floating balance. It was in vain therefore maintained that individuals were to be robbed, that public credit would be ſhaken, that the national faith was to be violated and the proprietors of bank ſtock unjuſtly deprived of the uſufruct of the money depoſited in their hands. Every rational and diſintereſted man ſaw that, as they were liberally paid by the publick for their labour, they were clerks or agents and not bankers to the nation, which had frequently by act of parliament altered the nature of the ſecurity given to the publick annuitants by repealing certain taxes and ſubſtituting others in their place; and by converting to the publick uſe ſums of money which remained unowned and now belonged to it by law in lieu of the king. If the holders of annuities to the amount of eight millions of claimed dividends were ſatisfied with national ſecurity, was it not ridiculous to contend that they would not be contented with the ſecurity for half a million of unclaimed dividends, which were ſo far from being likely to find an owner that they were conſtantly and uniformly increaſing in number and magnitude, eſpecially as proviſion was made for their payment at the bank, if they ſhould be claimed, and the exchequer was never but once, and that during the king's illneſs, without funds more than ſufficient for the diſcharge

charge of them all, even if they ſhould be demanded, and it were poſſible to pay them, in one day?

The impeachment of Warren Haſtings being for duration unprecedented in the annals of Europe, and indeed unexampled in the hiſtory of mankind, demands a conſpicuous place in the hiſtorick page, as it leads to diſcuſſions, which develope the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of the age, and to inquiries which exhibit the actual ſtate of Indoſtan, one of the moſt renowned portions of the habitable earth. The ſpirit of the Britiſh government in the Eaſt will thus become a matter of notoriety, and the juſtice or injuſtice of the charges of peculation and cruelty urged againſt Britons in that region will no longer be problematical; for facts alone can aſcertain whether the national honour has been duly ſupported, and whether the clamour raiſed againſt the Eaſt India company's ſervants has not been excited by envy at home and exaggerated by rivalry abroad. Reſerving this diſquiſition for the final cloſe of our detail we ſhall now ſtate the arguments advanced againſt the renewal of the impeachment, which the lawyers in general maintained to be juſtified neither by precedent, nor by law nor by equity.

"As in this caſe, ſaid Erſkine, Sir John Scot Mitford, Pepper Arden, and the Lords Thurlow Kenyon, and Lanſdown, there is no ſtatute for our direction, we muſt be governed by the law of parliament, or by the orders of the lords, which conſtitute a part of that law. What do theſe orders ſay? In 1678 they affirm that a diſſolution of parliament does not preclude the renewal of an impeachment, and in 1685 they maintain the contrary doctrine. Of two oppoſite laws bearing

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ing upon the ſame point does not the latter always repeal the former? No axiom can be clearer. The order of 1678 is therefore reverſed and a dead letter, and the order of 1685 is in the caſe of impeachments the law of the land; and it is ſo with good reaſon; for the order of 1678 was made for the purpoſe of affecting the life of the Viſcount Stafford, who was impeached, and to whom the chancellor, Nottingham, would only allow counſel, if they did not ſtand near enough to prompt him. What was the iſſue of an order founded on ſuch a motive? A legal murder.

The next precedent worthy of notice was that of the Lords Saliſbury and Peterborough, who were accuſed of high treaſon in 1689, and upon a diſſolution pleaded it before the new parliament in 1690 in bar of proſecution. Theſe lords were diſcharged on a report, not in conſequence of a a pardon, which they had received; for a pardon was not pleaded; nor were the commons heard in defence of their privilege. Indeed Maynard and Somers remained ſilent, when the report made to the lords, that the precedents proved the abatement of impeachments upon a diſſolution, was read.

As it is acknowledged on all hands that the lords cannot take a ſingle ſtep in an impeachment without the preſence of the commons, how came they not to ſend a meſſage to the lower houſe, when they liberated Sir Adam Blair, Mole, Grey, and Eliot, the duke of Leeds in 1701, and the Lords Somers and Halifax? Becauſe their juriſdiction ended with a diſſolution.

Had not this been deemed ſound law, the earl of Oxford would never have grounded his plea on a prorogation, nor would the majority of the lords have acquieſced. In 1678, when a contrary doctrine

was adopted by the lords in order to come at the life of Lord Danby, the nation was in an univerſal ferment occaſioned by the Popiſh plot; and the lords and commons actuated by the general contagion breathed nothing but fury and perſecution. The lords certainly decided without inquiry, or rather ſuppreſſed facts, inſidiouſly concealing that the deciſion of 1678, on which they grounded the continuation of impeachments after diſſolution, was only an affirmance of the continuation of writs of error without containing a word about impeachments. Upon the whole therefore impeachments abate upon a diſſolution of parliament, if the queſtion is to be decided, as it ought, by precedent.

Let us now ſee how the matter ſtands at common law. Lord Saliſbury's application to the court of King's bench for his diſcharge was rejected by the Chief Juſtice Holt. But why? Becauſe the order of 1678 ſtill ſubſiſted in full force. But were the lords governed by the ſame principle? By no means; they diſcharged the priſoner for want of juriſdiction, and the commons acquieſced. In Charles the Firſt's reign the Duke of Buckingham was impeached and the commons proteſted againſt a diſſolution; yet the new commons far from adopting the plan now propoſed never mentioned the impeachment even in debate, but adviſed his diſmiſſion from the king's councils, though Lord Coke with all his reſentments and mean vindictive ſpirit was a leading member of that aſſembly.

But it is contended that impeachments ſtand in the ſame predicament with writs of error. Both no doubt, are judicial proceedings, but ſtill perfectly diſtinct in their nature, and affirmed by Lord Hale, one of the oracles of law, to have no identity or analogy, the one being governed by the

the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, and the other by the law of parliament; the one conſiſting of mere points of law, and the other of an accuſation grounded on fact, the former exhibiting always the ſame plaintiff and defendant, and the latter perhaps a new publick accuſer proſecuting poſſibly through want of knowledge a culprit, whom the old accuſer's interference might have acquitted before judgment.

Though it ſhould be allowed that the impeachment remains in the ſame ſtate at the commencement of a new parliament, that aſſertion can be only true of the articles, but not of the proceedings; becauſe the voice, the looks, and the geſtures of the witneſſes, which are very material in all criminal proceedings cannot be communicated in written evidence to the ſenſes of the new, nor recalled to the memory of the old judges who are to decide. According to this doctrine how can ſpeedy juſtice be adminiſtered? If an impeachment may be continued beyond one parliament, why may it not be extended to an indefinite term, or at leaſt during life? Had this idea been entertained at the revolution, would not the Bill of Rights, our ſecond great charter, have provided a remedy? A court of juſtice ſhould be free from bias and prejudice. But how can this be the caſe in a court, in which new Judges, and ſome of them even accuſers from the Lower Houſe, ſtart up by ſucceſſion or by creation without challenge? At the era of the union, a contrary doctrine muſt have been maintained, elſe a clauſe diſqualifying Scotch peers from ſitting in ſuch trials would certainly have been introduced into the act. Suppoſe a parliament diſſolved, when a priſoner truſting to the obſervations made by him on the evidence adduced has called no witneſſes, but

there reſted his defence, how can a new court conſiſting of old and new lords as judges and of commons, perhaps all new, proceed to judgement? By ſuch a mode of trial a ſparrow's life ought not to be touched, nor even a feather plucked from his wing. Lord Coke reports a caſe, in which a perſon pleaded a former conviction in bar of an indictment, and judgement could not be paſſed on him, becauſe the judges were changed. Let us imagine a peer, who is tried for murder in the King's Bench, brought by regular proceſs before the lords, and the parliament diſſolved, when a witneſs has not finiſhed his evidence, muſt not the trial begin afreſh in the new parliament? No rule of practice is better eſtabliſhed; for, as lord Coke obſerves in his reports, a trial cannot be hacked and minced ſo as to exhibit nothing but diſlocated members; the whole body muſt be viſible in all its juſt proportions. Why ſhould a commoner be treated worſe than a peer, equal juſtice being due to all? If a day be fixed for any proceeding, if impriſonment for contempt take place, if a bill of pains and penalties or even of attainder be brought up from the commons by meſſengers, and a diſſolution in the mean time happen, all the proceedings are completely ſuſpended and every thing muſt be recommenced anew. Nothing done by the parliament is valid but the acts ſanctioned by the three branches of the legiſlature; and impeachments being without a day muſt neceſſarily abate and the priſoners be entitled to their diſcharge. Here is a dilemma; if the lords cannot impriſon or bail beyond the duration of parliament and yet begin afreſh, their juſtice is an abſolute mockery, for they have no priſoner: if the reverſe be the fact, they may impriſon indefinitely, till it pleaſe the king to call a new

a new parliament, and thus fruſtrate the moſt ſalutary proviſions of the great charter and of the Bill of Rights. Why did the lords in 1665, when Drake was impeached, direct that in caſe of a diſſolution he ſhould be proſecuted by the attorney general in the court of king's bench, but becauſe they could neither bail nor impriſon after a diſſolution as from ſeſſion to ſeſſion? All the caſes, in which this doctrine was enforced and which were not mere writs of error, were criminal appeals directly contrary to the great charter according to the unanimous voice of all the lords after a reference to all the judges.

Some obſolete precedents may perhaps be found in remote periods, but then ſpecial orders were deemed neceſſary; and yet it does not appear that the ſubſequent proceedings were reſumed, where the preceding terminated. It is ridiculous to compare an impeachment to a proceſs in the court of chancery; the rigour of evidence required in criminal proſecutions renders the caſes totally different. The ſovereign indeed is from the nature of the caſe obliged to judge from written evidence; nor ought he like a court of juſtice to be ſtrictly bound and fettered in the exerciſe of mercy; and he ſhould be indulged with the ſame latitude in exerting his prerogative of diſſolving a parliament, when he thinks it doubtful whether an impeachment is approved or diſapproved by the people."

The contrary opinion was maintained by Pit, Burke, Hardinge, Anſtruther, Adam, Dundas, and Fox, in the lower houſe, and in the upper by Loughborough, Mansfield, and Grenville. "Were the abatement of impeachments upon a diſſolution of parliament countenanced by an uniform and invariable ſeries of precedents, there

might be ground for bowing to their authority in ſilence, and for the acquieſcence of the commons in the preſent caſe. But, as the conſtitution muſt thus receive a deep wound, the legiſlature would be bound to apply a ſpeedy remedy to a practice hoſtile to the privileges of the commons and ſubverſive of general liberty. Happily the fact is that there exiſts no evidence of ſuch an uniform rule of parliamentary practice. Without recurring to doubtful precedents drawn from remote antiquity or inſiſting on the duke of Suffolk's caſe in the reign of Henry VI, which indiſputably proves that impeachments continued from parliament to parliament, we find from the report of a committee to the houſe of lords in 1673 that writs of error, petitions of appeal and other buſineſſes of a judicial nature ought not to be narrowed as to time, but to extend from one parliament to another. Impeachments, therefore, as judicial proceedings, do not neceſſarily abate by a diſſolution. This doctrine is expreſsly confirmed and eſtabliſhed by the reſolution of 1678, in which impeachments are claſſed with writs of error and petitions of appeal. Nor was this a precipitate meaſure nor the effect of party-violence; but a ſober and unanimous deciſion founded after a lapſe of five years on the reſolution of 1673 to ſerve as a ſtanding precedent for the management of future impeachments. If the general belief of a popiſh plot had excited a ferment in the nation and unhinged mens minds in 1678, when the order was made, did the publick mind preſerve its equipoiſe in 1685, when it was reverſed? Was not this the era, when James II, a bigoted and popiſh prince, had procured a parliament obſequiouſly devoted to his will, and when ſome favourite popiſh lords were to be ſolemnly

lemnly impeached? Compliance in the parliament, however independent it might be, was at ſuch a period thought preferable to reſiſtance; and the parliament might with the beſt intentious get rid of the impeachments in contemplation by reſcinding the order of 1678. To which then of the two deciſions do the objections ariſing from the circumſtances of the times apply with moſt force? To the reverſal indiſputably.

But under the order of 1678 lord Stafford was cruelly and unjuſtly condemned? But did the cruelty or injuſtice depend upon the order? By no means. The order only regulated the mode of proceeding in caſes of impeachment upon the diſſolution of parliament, and did not in the leaſt affect the trial. Why then all this appeal to the paſſions, when the connection between the order and the trial was ſo ſlight? Under the order juſtice might be adminiſtered either way; and, however much the fate of Stafford may be deplored, the order was not blameable, but the ſpirit of the times. As the abuſe of an inſtitution can never be a proof of its inutility, the precedent remains unimpeached, and cannot be invalidated by eloquence or ſophiſtry.

The impeachment of Saliſbury and Peterborough abated by an act of general pardon, and therefore does not apply. The caſe of Sir Adam Blair and others ſtands exactly in the ſame predicament; ſince after a diſſolution they were held to bail and were bound in a recognizance. Hence the only juſt inference is that a diſſolution does not quaſh an impeachment.

If a diſſolution neceſſarily determined an impeachment, how came lord Danby not to be diſcharged upon the firſt diſſolution of a parliament? Three diſſolutions took place, before he was li-

liberated; and that becauſe the commons declined to proſecute. The ſame obſervations are applicable to the caſes of Somers, Halifax, Portland and Leeds; they were ſeverally diſcharged for want of proſecutors. On which ſide then does the weight of evidence from precedent incline? The ſcale preponderates clearly in favour of the continuance of impeachments after a diſſolution. Though the rule of 1685 was never formally, it was virtually, reverſed; as the lords acted in the preceding caſes. as if no ſuch rule exiſted.

Much of the confuſion, which formerly embarraſſed gentlemen of the long robe in deciding this queſtion, aroſe from their inattention to the double capacity of parliament, as a legiſlative and judicial aſſembly. Writs of error and petitions of appeal, which had among them created the ſame difficulties, are now allowed, as judicial proceedings, not to abate by a prorogation or diſſolution. Impeachments are judicial proceedings in the name of the commons and people of England, and therefore, though they may be ſuſpended, they cannot by the principles of the conſtitution abate, till final judgement paſs—The commons are exactly in the ſituation of the attorney general, who muſt proceed with all official informations or indictments commenced by his predeceſſor, and muſt bring a proceeding, which has aſſumed a judicial form, to a final concluſion. The publick proſecutors in the latter caſe are the ſucceſſive attorneys general, and in the former the ſucceſſive houſes of commons. No man in his ſound ſenſes will ſeriouſly contend that, becauſe the commons of England is an expreſſion unknown in law, they cannot be recognized in a court of juſtice.

Our anceſtors guarded ſufficiently againſt ſuch a ſoleciſm in politicks by ordering all ſupplies to be

be granted and all impeachments to be laid in the name of the commons, who have upon their own journals a reſolution aſſerting the continuance of impeachments from prorogation to prorogation, and from parliament to parliament, and therefore cannot reſign their privileges, which are in fact the privileges of the people, in favour of precedents, even if they were, what they are not, numerous and concurrent.

Now let us ſee what inference ought to be drawn from the deciſions of the courts of law and the authority of eminent judges. The venerable Judge Hale has been quoted as adverſe to the continuance of impeachments after a diſſolution. But why was he adverſe? Becauſe he conſidered them and writs of error as legiſlative acts, and accordingly repreſents both as abating by prorogation as well as diſſolution. Here then we find that the miſrepreſentation of Hale's opinion has produced the ſame confuſion as the miſrepreſentation of the precedents, and that, when the matter is fairly ſtated, the road before us appears plain and ſmooth. Indeed, had this reſpectable lawyer been ever ſo adverſe to abatement, his ſolitary name could never outweigh the multitude of others in the oppoſite ſcale, ſuch as Holt, Comyns, Foſter, and many more to be found in Carthews's reports. Nay, the preamble of an act of the 13th of the king, might be adduced as favourable by implication to this doctrine. What is the concluſion? The continuance of impeachments after a diſſolution has the oracles of the law as well as precedents for its ſupport.

In vain it is urged that in criminal caſes written evidence is inadmiſſible; ſince nothing is more common, even in the courts of juſtice, when oral teſtimony is practicable. The judge always addreſſes

dreſſes the jury from his written notes; from the written notes of a judge, from a written record and from written affidavits in extenuation and aggravation, other judges, who heard no part of the parole evidence nor ſaw the demeanour of the priſoner or witneſſes, determine, in caſes of miſdemeanour, whether a priſoner ſhall be fined a ſhilling or ten thouſand pounds, whether he ſhall be committed to the King's Bench for three days or to Newgate for three years. Are the miſerable ſcraps of written evidence in theſe proceedings to be compared to the full and circumſtantial documents on record in the proceedings of the Lords? The latter might warrant a court in taking away a man's life, while the former would hardly juſtify it for plucking a feather from a ſparrow's wing. What is the object of the learned profeſſion in thus attempting to impoſe upon the unlearned underſtanding of the houſe? Is it fact that here they do not feel themſelves at home, but mere birds of paſſage ready to take flight to another and better country flowing with milk and honey and abounding in riches and honour, for which they reſerve their beſt exertions, thinking the waſte and offals of their learning ſufficient for the commons?

The court, by whom impeachments are brought, is a fluctuating body; and ſo are the proſecutors, the commons. But is this a ſolid objection? If it is, it has always been ſo; and is rather an argument againſt the conſtitution than againſt this particular inſtitution. Has not the houſe of lords been a fluctuating aſſembly from time immemorial? Does it not fluctuate from prorogation to prorogation? If you admit its competence from forty to forty days, you cannot deny its competence from parliament to parliament. Its powers

indeed

indeed lie dormant from vacation to vacation, and from parliament to parliament, till put into action by the writ of ſummons; but, though ſuſpended, they are not extinguiſhed any more than the powers of the inferior courts by the ceſſation of their functions from term to term. The appearance and diſappearance of new judges or jurors by creation, by deſcent or by death, neceſſarily reſult from the conſtitution of the court, and are inconveniences for which there is no remedy, as long as the court ſubſiſts. All human inſtitutions are liable to defects. Can we then expect that our political ſyſtem ſhould be abſolutely perfect? Have we, has any nation, been able ſufficiently to abridge the duration of a proceſs in law? Why then do lawyers exclaim againſt the tediouſneſs of this impeachment, when they ſometimes continue their anſwers, replications, rejoinders and ſurrejoinders in chancery for twenty years, and at laſt eat the oyſter and leave only the two ſhells for their clients? The grand object here is juſtice to the publick as well as to the individual. Can either purpoſe be anſwered by the abatement of the proceſs? By no means. If a diſſolution ſhould ſtay all proceedings, publick juſtice would often be mocked and delinquents ſcreened. Impeachments are calculated for bringing to condign puniſhment criminals too exalted for the inferior courts, criminals who, to ſecure themſelves or their friends from all reſponſibility as miniſters of the crown, might adviſe a diſſolution, as often as it ſhould be required for their ſafety. Hence parliament would no longer be able to controul either the civil or judicial adminiſtration of the kingdom. The cabinet and the courts of law would remain equally without a check.

Nor

Nor would this be the only attendant evil. Let us ſuppoſe that a perſon commits at the eve of a diſſolution of parliament an offence, of which the conviction requires an impeachment, and that the proſecution is poſtponed till the meeting of a new parliament in order to avoid the repetition of the proceedings. What will be the conſequence? The eſcape perhaps of the delinquent. Suppoſe, on the other hand, an impeachment continued beyond the legal duration of a parliament, or an unexpected diſſolution. What would follow? A material hindrance perhaps to other publick buſineſs. In either caſe the national intereſt would ſuffer.

Now let us ſee how the ſuppoſed offender would be affected. The death of an eſſential witneſs might in the mean time materially alter the ſtate of the evidence, and by this mode of proceeding an impeachment might be converted into an engine of the moſt flagrant injuſtice and moſt cruel oppreſſion. The party accuſed might have made ſome progreſs in his defence, and even finiſhed it, while his enemies might by their influence procure a ſudden diſſolution of parliament, and convict him by a freſh accuſation fabricated out of his defence. By ſuch nefarious artifices an individual of real merit might be proſecuted all his life-time without a poſſibility of being declared innocent or guilty.

Is it not then clear from the weight of precedents, from the authority of the greateſt luminaries of the law, from the principles of the conſtitution, from the expediency of publick trials, from the immutable rules of equal juſtice, and from the dictates of common ſenſe that impeachments continue unaffected by a diſſolution? No propo-

propoſition of law not directly ſanctioned by a ſtatute can be clearer.

Should it be thought that, ſince the king's pardon is not pleadable in bar of an impeachment, he ought to diſſolve the parliament in order to take the ſenſe of the people, if he deems the impeached perſon a fit object of clemency, the only infallible mode of attaining that end is by the affirmance of the reſolution, which is now ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. The king by diſſolving a parliament may thus ſuſpend an impeachment; and if the new repreſentatives ſhould be of opinion that it ought not to proceed, it muſt end, and the object of the appeal to the people will he completely obtained. But, if it be once eſtabliſhed that an impeachment muſt after every diſſolution begin afreſh, the people, however zealous in the proſecution, will never have the means of bringing a culprit to judgement without the concurrence of the crown, and to diſſolve the parliament will have no other effect but to foil the people in the exerciſe of their moſt important privilege."

Theſe arguments prevailed on a great majority in both houſes to vote that the impeachment of Warren Haſtings was ſtill depending. But, notwithſtanding this deciſion, many members, who had originally been influenced by the partial evidence produced at their bar and by the eloquent harangues of the defendant's enemies to declare againſt him, began now to perceive that the object of the proſecution was not the attainment of publick juſtice but the gratification of private malice; and that Haſtings incurred the riſk of being cruſhed in the ſhock of the two conflicting parties. The ſwiniſh multitude indeed, who with the ears of Midas liſten greedily to the tale of calumny, entertained no doubt that the governor general of

Bengal,

Bengal, like every other Nabob, was guilty. His ſuppoſed wealth was deemed among them an infallible proof of every charge; and envy ſeconding the genius of their religion, which repreſents all mankind as baſe and corrupt, entirely overpowered that charity, which ſhould cover a multitude of ſins. In ſhort the united clamour of the two parties co-operating with the natural malignity of the vulgar of all ranks had already paſſed ſentence of condemnation on Haſtings.

The oppoſition knowing the univerſal prejudice entertained againſt the ſudden acquiſition of riches in the Eaſt, and imagining that Pitt would be forced to protect a favourite ſervant of his majeſty, endeavoured, it is ſaid, to wound one miniſter through the ſides of another, and to recover their power through the ſame channel, in which it had been loſt. Pitt again aware of this ſtratagem and unwilling to ſtem the torrent of obloquy, to which his patronage of the imagined delinquent would be expoſed, conſulted, as his enemies contend, his own ſecurity, and left him to his fate, enviouſly deſiring to blaſt the reputation of the man who had without reſources ſaved the Eaſt, while a hundred millions of treaſure had not preſerved the Weſt; that he and his aſſeſſors at the board of controul might have no rival with the king in the management of the Indian empire.

The miniſter's friends, on the contrary, alledge that his ſole view was the intereſt of the nation; that through the whole progreſs of the trial he had uniformly declared the charges to be too grave and weighty to paſs without inveſtigation, and that both for the vindication of the defendant's character and the nation's honour a regular and judicial acquittal or condemnation was neceſſary. This latter explanation of the miniſter's enigma-

tical

tical conduct in this proſecution ſeems beſt to accord with that magnanimity and diſdain of crooked politicks which have diſtinguiſhed his publick career. What ſtrongly confirms this opinion is that in ſupporting the expediency of proceeding with the impeachment he aſſerted that, if Haſtings ſhould be found innocent, few men would diſallow that he was entitled to ſome indemnification, an aſſertion which he never would have made, if he had been an enemy, or thought that there was no juſt cauſe for the proſecution. Nor would he have been ſo ſtrenuous an advocate for the retention of the charges relative to contracts, penſions and allowances, when Burke propoſed that for the ſake of more ſpeedy juſtice ſeventeen articles ſhould be abandoned by the commons. The ſame inference is deducible from other circumſtances.

Baſtard, member for Devonſhire, a very reſpectable ſenator, contended that, as he and many others had originally lent their aid to the proſecution, becauſe our territories in the Eaſt were repreſented as deſolated and depopulated by Haſtings's adminiſtration, and it now appeared from their own journals and from the annual ſtatements of the Indian Miniſter for ſeveral ſeſſions that the reverſe was the caſe; that ever ſince his acceſſion to power they had been in a conſtant progreſſion of improvement, that Sir John Macpherſon and Lord Cornwallis, his ſucceſſors in office, had uniformly followed his plans of adminiſtration and politicks; that theſe plans had been approved by the Eaſt India company and by the board of controul, and that the revenues, a ſure criterion of the ſtate of the country, were regularly and rapidly increaſing, the trial ought to be abandoned as futile and nugatory as well as cruel and oppreſſive.

Pitt

Pitt in reply urged that, as Haſtings meant, if one or all of the charges ſhould be ſubſtantiated, to plead ſtate-neceſſity as his excuſe, it became their indiſpenſible duty to proceed, that it might be ſeen whether he had not himſelf created that neceſſity, which would prove him ultimately guilty. Do not theſe expreſſions indicate a real conviction of Haſtings's criminality? In ſo great a character an error in judgement is more admiſſible than the meanneſs of ſacrificing an innocent man to the vindictive prejudices of his principal perſecutor for the ſake of effecting a deſertion among the leaders of oppoſition.

The reſult was that the ſame managers were continued, and the charges confined to four, the injuſtice alledged to have been done to the king of Benares, to the princeſſes of Oude, and the extravagant profuſion in contracts and allowances. The evidence relating to the two firſt had been cloſed; and the managers proceeded to prove the two laſt before the lords in Weſtminſter-hall.

The preceding debate and the enormous coſts of the proceſs originated in commerce, which, like every other bleſſing is attended with its inconveniencies. At the firſt view commerce, ſince it promotes civilization and multiplies the enjoyments of life, may ſeem favourable to peace and good neighbourhood; but on nearer inſpection it will be found to extend the ſphere of war in proportion to its extenſion of claſhing intereſts. Hence Britain, that trades in every region and in every clime, can ſeldom expect to be at peace in all parts of the globe at once. As the trade to Nootka Sound in the north-eaſt of Aſia gave riſe to the quarrel with Spain, ſo the trade to the Turkiſh ports on the weſt of the ſame continent produced a ſimilar

quaarel

quarrel with Ruſſia. That ambitious empire indeed had in the American war given juſt cauſe of offence and even of retaliation to Britain by the formation of the armed neutrality, which declared that free bottoms made free merchandize, and meant to deprive her of the advantages reſulting from her ſuperior navy. The concluſion of a treaty of commerce with France and the expiration of that with England without renewal were not forgotten, when the rapid ſucceſſes of the combined armies of Ruſſia and Auſtria threatened the ſubverſion of the Ottoman throne in Europe. Pruſſia and Sweden, whoſe intereſts would be deeply affected by ſuch an event, were ſet in motion, and the efforts of the latter aided by the revolt of the Netherlands detached Leopold from the alliance and procured to the Porte, under the mediation of Britain, the reſtitution of nearly all the Auſtrian conqueſts.

Notwithſtanding this defection, the Imperial Catherine proud of her triumphs and ſecured by her inland ſituation and diſtance diſdained all foreign intervention and inſiſted on the moſt humiliating terms from the Divan. In a moment ſo critical to the balance of power in Europe what was to be done, ſince the wavering and irreſolute Frederick William, intimidated by Auſtria and ſeparated from Ruſſia by Poland, refuſed to act with deciſion? A young northern hero, the king of Sweden, was brought upon the ſtage. The derangement of the French finances having cauſed an involuntary ceſſation of any ſubſidy from that quarter, a treaty with Turkey founded on the ſame principles but more lucrative was propoſed, and ſpeedily accepted by the enterpriſing monarch. This ſtep was the more readily taken that Guſtavus knew Raſomowſki, the Ruſſian ambaſſador at Stock-

holm, to have the leaders of the Swediſh nobility in his pay, and to be the real head of the ariſtocratical party that thwarted all his meaſures, and aimed at the ſole direction of the kingdom. The nobles, who conſiſt of two thouſand families, having, at the death of Charles XII. ſeized the helm under the ſpecious name of liberty had reduced the regal power almoſt to a non-entity, and being divided into two factions had been penſioned by France or Ruſſia. At his acceſſion this ſpirited prince feeling himſelf a cipher, but diſdaining to be of no importance in a country, where his anceſtors had acquired ſo much renown, declared himſelf proud of being a Swede and the firſt citizen of a free ſtate, and uſed every art to gain the affections of the people. Diveſted of all the trappings of royalty and of every appearance of grandeur he ſet apart three days in the week for giving audience to all petitioners without diſtinction, heard every complaint with the greateſt temper and patience, canvaſſed all litigated points with the minuteſt exactneſs, and beſides redreſſing grievances and doing every act of juſtice within his power, inquired into their private affairs and converſed upon them familiarly in the language and character of a friend and father. Hence, even thoſe, who received no benefit, quitted his preſence with ſatisfaction, and all were charmed with his affability, his condeſcenſion and gracious manner. To complete the attachment of every order of the Plebeians he adopted the enthuſiaſtic cant of the Swediſh clergy, and by ſolemn and frequent appeals to heaven in his harangues intermingled the fervours of religion with the artifices of politicks.

At this juncture Sweden, which ſeldom produces a ſufficiency of corn for the conſumption of its inhabitants, felt almoſt all the diſtreſſes of famine

mine, and the king's partiſans by a dexterous uſe of the preſs, and of the ſcarcity, the moſt favourable circumſtance of any to a revolution, made the populace believe that the ſupineneſs and inattention of government, whoſe venality and corruption had become odious, were the principal cauſes of the grievance. The king's ſpeeches too filled with dark inſinuations and ambiguous charges were publiſhed, and exaſperated the public mind. Having, like Guſtavus Vaſa, the reſtorer of the monarchy, viſited the ſubterraneous mines of Dalcarlia and ſecured the affections of their iron inhabitants, he found a pretext for introducing a body of them into the capital. Every art that policy dictated, had been in the mean time uſed to gain the good will of the ſoldiery; and ſuch bodies as were deemed moſt favourable to royalty had been ſtationed near Stockholm.

When the plan was ripe for execution, Guſtavus did not heſitate; but in one day and without bloodſhed overturned the ariſtocratical government and reſtored the regal authority to its former ſplendour. Having ſurrounded the ſtates with armed men provided with artillery and matches ready lighted he obliged the conſtituted magiſtrates to reſign their offices and ſubſcribe to a new body of inſtitutions of which the king was to be the ſoul. By this conſtitution he was to impoſe no new taxes, except in extraordinary and temporary emergencies, but by the conſent of the nobles, the clergy, the burghers and the peaſants, the four orders, whoſe repreſentatives form the diet or parliament of Sweden; and this was the only limitation of conſequence under which his authority was laid, for he might convoke or diſſolve the diet at pleaſure. Thus did Sweden follow the example of Denmark in preferring one deſpot to thouſands,

but without annihilating her diet, a fatal precedent, which Denmark could never have ſet but in an age of groſs ignorance.

By this revolution which the king effected in 1772, when he was only twenty-five years of age, he found his hands unchained; but willing to let time conſolidate his power he remained quiet till this period. Indeed however eager he might be to gratify his own ſpirit of adventure and to employ the minds of the Swedes upon any ſubject rather than the conſideration of the change in their government, no opportunity had before occurred, Denmark being cloſely connected with Ruſſia, and the maritime powers having hitherto declined to promiſe any naval aſſiſtance, which was indiſpenſably neceſſary for maintaining a ſuperiority in the Baltic. After enſuring, as he imagined, the forbearance of Denmark through the intervention of Britain and Pruſſia, he reſolved by expedition to ſupply his real deficiency of ſtrength, and by ſurpriſe to fall upon his enemy like a thunderbolt. For this purpoſe in the autumn of 1788 he joined his army in Finland, leaving orders with his brother, the duke of Sudermania, to follow with twelve ſhips of the line, but without any preciſe orders for the commencement of hoſtilities. In this uncertainty his brother, who met Admiral Deſſin with four capital Ruſſian ſhips deſtined as a reinforcement to encourage the Danes to fulfil the defenſive treaty exiſting between the two courts, did not hazard a rupture by capturing this ſquadron, but remained content with the honours of the flag, and thus miſſed an opportunity of giving a fatal blow to the Ruſſian navy. Had the king himſelf been preſent, this capital miſtake could not have been committed; his deciſive character would have caught occaſion by the forelock, and crippled

crippled the Ruſſian armaments at the outſet. The duke acting a ſecondary part had probably ſtrict orders not to precipitate the war, till the king could aſcertain the temper of his army, and how far their fidelity might be truſted in ſeconding his military ardour.

The event proved that there was juſt ground for this precaution. The troops in Finland inſtigated by their officers, who were almoſt all nobles cloſely connected with Ruſſia, proteſted againſt the war as illegal, ſince it had not the ſanction of the ſtates, refuſed to enter the enemy's territory, and without conſulting him concluded an armiſtice with the Ruſſian general. Thus, while in the ſouth of Europe Peterſburg was thought to be trembling and the empreſs ready to fly from her palace, was the king of Sweden ſuddenly arreſted in his career by intrigue, and forced to acknowledge that for the time he was no more a ſovereign. His chagrin and vexation at ſo cruel a reverſe may be more eaſily conceived than expreſſed. Accuſtomed however from his infancy to ſee not only himſelf but the king his father in ſhackles he had learnt to ſmother his reſentment and occaſionally to ſacrifice paſſion to politicks. Therefore, after providing for the defence of the garriſons on the frontiers, he repaired to the center of his kingdom, which a new enemy had thrown into the greateſt conſternation.

Denmark allured by the proſpect of becoming ſole arbitreſs of the entrance into the Baltic by the poſſeſſion of Gottenburgh, a Swediſh commercial town and fortreſs ſituated in the ſouth-weſt extremity of his dominions, availed herſelf of his preſent embarraſſments to accompliſh her plan of ambition under the ſpecious pretext of fulfilling her engagements to her great and good ally. Ac-

cordingly twelve thouſand regulars under the prince of Heſſe penetrated from Norway into Weſt Gothland, and after defeating ſome Swediſh detachments and capturing others inveſted Gottenburgh and ſummoned it to ſurrender. The governor, who ſeems to have been actuated by the ſpirit of the Finniſh army, was for an immediate capitulation, and adviſed the townſmen to forbear a vain reſiſtance. But the armed burghers deſpiſing his puſillanimity and treachery prepared for a vigorous defence, and obliged the enemy to loſe much precious time in various arrangements, till the heavy artillery, the ammunition and battering train arrived. In the mean time Guſtavus, who had traverſed a conſiderable part of Sweden, animating the citizens of Stockholm and rouſing the miners of Dalcarlia and the inhabitants of other diſtricts to co-operate with him in repelling this unjuſt invaſion and in puniſhing the perfidious violators of a peace of forty years, unexpectedly appeared to revive the deſponding hearts of his ſubjects by his perſonal efforts and the promiſe of ſpeedy ſuccour.

During theſe tranſactions Elliot, the Britiſh miniſter, aſſured of being countenanced by the other two allied courts of Pruſſia and Holland reminded Denmark that, when ſhe agreed to ſupport Ruſſia with a large proportion of her naval and military forces, ſhe had ſolicited the good offices of Britain to effect a reconciliation and peace between the two contending powers; that, though Turky and Sweden had declared their willingneſs to treat, the pride of Ruſſia had unfortunately for the cauſe of humanity rejected all propoſals for ſtopping the effuſion of blood; that thus the Ruſſians might juſtly be conſidered as the aggreſſors and the war on their part offenſive; that the treaty between

between Denmark and Ruſſia being merely defenſive exonerated the former from any interference on this occaſion; that, if ſhe perſiſted, Sweden would be juſtified in calling upon the three allies for their aſſiſtance in maintaining the balance of power in the North; that even if ſhe were bound in juſtice and honour to adhere to the treaty, it would be better policy in both cabinets to waive it for the preſent than to encounter the armies of Pruſſia and the navies of the maritime powers, who would never abandon ſo eſſential an object, as the free navigation and trade of the Baltic, nor allow a ſingle power to give law, where their intereſt was ſo materially concerned.

Theſe repreſentations extorted an armiſtice for ſix months, to which Guſtavus reluctantly conſented, as he had now collected a force capable of intercepting his enemies and making them repent of their temerity. In the ſpring the ſame arguments extended the armiſtice into a declared neutrality, with this proviſo that the Daniſh fleet ſhould convoy ſix Ruſſian men of war, that had for months annoyed the Swediſh trade in the Sound to a ſafe latitude, and that the allies ſhould give no kind of aſſiſtance to the Swedes.

This was an unfortunate conceſſion at ſuch a juncture. Had an Engliſh and Dutch fleet of moderate force been diſpatched to the Baltic, Britain would in the ſequel have ſaved three or four millions ſterling and prevented much diſſenſion and animoſity. This omiſſion or rather want of policy, however, while it endangered the balance of power and empoveriſhed Sweden, furniſhed Guſtavus with a theatre for the diſplay of heroiſm in oppoſing domeſtick foes as well as foreign enemies. His firſt attempt was to cruſh faction at home; and for this purpoſe upon the concluſion

of the armiſtice he convened at Stockholm a grand council of the principal magiſtrates and the moſt reſpectable inhabitants to ſerve as the baſis of a general confederation of Swedes. Having in glowing colours painted to this aſſembly the cruel check, which the intrigues of Ruſſia and the treaſon of the Swediſh nobility had lately given to his arms, he conjured them to exert the ſame patriotick zeal that animated them in the management of publick affairs, with which they were entruſted during his abſence. Flattered by the continued marks of his confidence and the unuſual ſtyle of his addreſs they readily adopted his ſpirit and made him a tender of their lives and fortunes.

The nobility, however, ſtill remained obſtinately hoſtile, and at every meeting of the diet, which was now aſſembled, treated Lewenhaupt the marſhal and the king's repreſentative with ſo much indignity and contempt that he at laſt declined to attend, ſince every meaſure propoſed by him was ſure to be rejected, and the diet's time was diſagreeably conſumed in bitter invectives againſt the introduction of a body of Dalcarlians into the capital.

The king ſecure of ſupport from the three inferiour orders repaired himſelf to the diet, and demanded ſatisfaction for the inſults offered him in the perſon of the marſhal. The demand being treated with contempt and even with inſult provoked Guſtavus to ſtand up and to affirm that there were in the aſſembly nobles who did not bluſh to ſell their country for gold, and who rather than relinquiſh their corrupt and ambitious views would ſubmit to the diſgrace of receiving laws from a Ruſſian in the heart of Stockholm.

At theſe words the equeſtrian order quitted the hall, and the king, after diſclaiming all intentions

tions of aſſuming abſolute ſovereignty, declared that, if the criminal deſigns of a faction, that wiſhed to wreſt the ſceptre out of his hands ſhould force him for a time into acts of deſpotiſm, they ſhould continue no longer than the ſalvation of the country, a duty paramount to all others, rendered them abſolutely unavoidable. His expreſſions were not more deciſive than his actions. Before the concluſion of his harangue to the three orders, that remained, the armed burghers by his orders arreſted ſome of the leading nobles; and twenty five of them were ſent priſoners to the caſtle of Frederickſhoff. Similar diſpatch and ſecrecy were uſed in apprehending the officers, who had been the principal actors in the infamous mutiny and in its conſequence, the convention with Ruſſia. Many of theſe traitors were tried and condemned at Stockholm; and ſome eſcaped to Ruſſia. Few, however, were executed, and that more to excite terror than to gratify vengeance; for a hero is never cruel but among barbarians.

In conſequence of theſe vigorous meaſures the nobles in general reſigned their civil as well as military offices, and the king moulded the army to his own mind; for the plebeians, who during the firſt days of this ſecond revolution could hardly be reſtrained by all Guſtavus's authority from offering violence to the perſons and houſes of the equeſtrian order, became ready and excellent ſubſtitutes. To complete the plan thus far happily executed he inſtituted in the place of a refractory ſenate a new council of ſtate ſelected from all orders indiſcriminately, and under his own immediate controul; and incorporated the whole maſs of the people into a kind of general council bound by ſubſcription and oath like a Roman army under its conſul, to co-operate with him

him in maintaining the national intereſt and honour.

Having thus by addreſs and courage re-eſtabliſhed internal tranquillity and equipped his naval and military forces he took the command of the army in Finland, where the Ruſſians, notwithſtanding ſo many calls for men on the frontiers of Turkey and Poland, had by extraordinary efforts collected a body of troops conſiderably ſuperior in number. Had the Swedes been even ſtronger than their enemies, the face of the country is ſo uneven, rocky and abrupt, ſo full of faſtneſſes and ſo interſected with lakes, ravins and inlets of the ſea that, without a ſuperiour navy of ſmall frigates and gun boats, it is impoſſible for the beſt army under the ableſt general to make a rapid progreſs. Many ſevere actions, however, took place, and many gallant exploits were performed with little advantage in the reſult. In one of theſe rencounters the king, who ſerved as a volunteer, ſeeing the Swedes yielding to the number and fury of their enemies leaped from his horſe, advanced at the head of his rallied troops, repulſed the Ruſſians, and took their camp, baggage and artillery. A ſimilar fate attended the Ruſſian arms upon ſeveral other occaſions, and particularly under Michelſon and Schultz, who were each in his turn defeated by baron Steding. Had the Swediſh army acted in the preceding campaign with the ſame alacrity and ſpirit, the ſucceſs would have been ſplendid, and neither the king nor the reſt of Europe been miſtaken in their expectation of ſeeing Peterſburg ſhake.

Now the Ruſſian forces outnumbered the Swediſh at ſea as well as on land. The duke of Sudermain, who had laſt year fought with eclat but

with

with no deciſive advantage a ſuperiour Ruſſian fleet under admiral Greg, was not able to prevent the junction of the diviſion at Revel with the two united ſquadrons from Copenhagen and Cronſtadt, an event, which rendered them arbiters of the open ſeas. Nor were the Ruſſian flotillas leſs powerful. The prince of Naſſau, whom his exploits againſt the Ottomans in the black ſea had made famous, acted in the narrow ſeas with ſeventy veſſels of all deſcriptions, while Guſtavus could muſter only forty. The king, who had already ſurmounted difficulties, which to leſs ardent courage would have appeared impoſſibilities, was not diſmayed by this fearful diſparity. Imperious neceſſity had converted into prudence what in any other ſituation would have been juſtly deemed raſhneſs. The action began at ten in the morning and laſted for ten or eleven hours without intermiſſion, ſhip being matched with ſhip and man with man, as in the naval engagements of the Greeks, Romans and Carthaginians. In one place the ſpectators on the ſhore beheld veſſels diſmantled and ſinking with their decks ſtrewed with the dead and dying, in another gallies driven on ſhore or ſtriking againſt the rocks, or, when boarded, abandoned by the ſoldiers and marines, who plunged into the ſea to avoid the ſwords of the enemy. Hagenherſon, a Swediſh major, rather than to be taken choſe to blow up his ſhip and periſh with his antagoniſts. Amid the general carnage and the exploſion of gunpowder many daring acts of valour paſſed undiſtinguiſhed from their frequency; and the retreat of the army on land, which this unſucceſsful effort had now made unavoidable, was attended with ſimilar conſequences. No ſhip, however, nor any conſiderable body of men was taken on either ſide. So determined

was

was the valour of the Swedes. Both parties claimed the victory; but the Ruſſians enjoyed all its fruits, if not its glory; for they remained maſters of the ſea for the reſt of the year, and inſulted the Swediſh coaſts.

Guſtavus, whoſe active mind was ever fertile in expedients, was not diſconcerted by theſe untoward events, but found reſources in his own genius againſt the overwhelming ſuperiority, which by his fate he was deſtined to encounter. Knowing that to repair his loſſes and enable him to act with any proſpect of ſucceſs in the next campaign it would be neceſſary to lay heavy burdens on his ſubjects he reſolved to conciliate their affections by a new and unexpected favour. The places of honour and profit, which the nobles had from time immemorial monopoliſed, he laid open to all the orders without diſtinction according to their reſpective abilities and talents, aſſociating certain proportions of the nobility, the clergy, the burghers and peaſants in every department of the ſtate. By this boon he gained much and loſt nothing; he made the commons enthuſiaſtic in his cauſe, and the nobles, whoſe hoſtility could admit no increaſe, he rendered impotent. Hence large ſupplies amounting to one million ſix hundred and forty thouſand pounds, a ſum hitherto unknown in that poor country, were granted with the greateſt cheerfulneſs and unanimity. People, who have paid taxes on gloves, hats and hair powder, will not be ſurprized, when they are told that the wearer of a ſingle watch paid a conſiderable ſum, and the wearer of two much more; and that horſes, oxen and all animals capable of yielding profit or pleaſure were made the ſubject of revenue. In addition to theſe ways and means ſome of the great cities full of zeal and attachment paid a voluntary

luntary tax by building, manning and equipping gunboats, and by raiſing, cloathing and arming bodies of volunteers for his ſervice.

Thus prepared and ſupported Guſtavus anticipated the enemy and boldly penetrating into Ruſſian Finland and Savolax towards the end of April carried ſeveral ſtrong and important poſts. The empreſs enraged at the inroad into Savolax, which was ſo near her capital, diſpatched ten thouſand men, of whom two thouſand were guards, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the Swedes and to chace them out of her territories. The Swedes hardly exceeded three thouſand, but they were advantageouſly poſted and ſtrongly entrenched, and had not yet forgotten the traditional hiſtory of thoſe times, in which they never inquired into the number but the ſituation of the Ruſſians. The artillery of the Ruſſians was formidable, and, as uſual, well ſerved; but it made no impreſſion on the Swedes, who withſtood the fire of cannon and muſketry and the charge of bayonets without flinching, and repulſed the aſſailants. Aſhamed of yielding the honour of the day to ſuch a handful of men the hardy Ruſſians renewed the attack, but met with the ſame fate, and beſides two generals and many officers of diſtinction left two thouſand men dead upon the field. No victory could be more complete, where the numbers did not admit a purſuit. At the ſame juncture the king with infinite gallantry and perſeverance ſtormed and took the fort of Valkiala in Finland with the entrenched camp by which it was defended, and improving his advantage ſeized ſeveral magazines and ſtrong poſts. Animated by this ſucceſs he determined to ſtrike a great and effective blow by attacking the fleet of Ruſſian gallies lying at Frederickſham, a ſtrong and well defended

port

port and arſenal in Finland. The king, though not recovered from a contuſion received at Valkiala, went on board the Amphion and at the head of his gallies ſtormed and forced the defences, took thirty-eight veſſels, ſunk ten and burnt forty gunboats, with thirty tranſports loaded with proviſions, deſtroyed the docks and ſet fire to all the timber and ſtores accumulated for building and equiping fleets of light veſſels. In any other country but Ruſſia, where labour is cheap and naval ſtores are inexhauſtible, the loſs would have been irreparable.

The duke of Sudermania was not ſo fortunate. Having with the Swediſh grand fleet reached the port of Revel, where half the enemy's fleet was ſtationed, he penetrated, in ſpite of all the formidable obſtacles of forts and batteries on ſhore and the fire of ſhips in the water ready to receive him, into this fortified harbour, and for hours maintained a doubtful conflict in the center of the hoſtile fire. Towards evening, when the Ruſſian fire began to ſlacken and to afford a glimpſe of ſucceſs, a ſtorm aroſe, and obliged the Swedes to retreat. This manœuvre could not be effected without loſs. A ſhip of ſixty guns being diſmaſted was taken; another was wrecked and ſet on fire by its crew; and a third having run aground could not be diſengaged but with the loſs of part of her guns. In this diſabled condition the duke accidentally met the Ruſſian fleet coming from Cronſtadt, but not being able on the firſt day to bring it to a cloſe action effected nothing deciſive. The ſhips being repaired in the night as much as time and circumſtances would permit, the engagement was renewed in the morning, and with advantage on the ſide of the Swedes, till the Ruſſian fleet from Revel appeared behind and placed the duke directly between

tween two fires. His ſituation from the poſition and the great ſuperiority of the enemy was ſo critical, that his capture ſeemed inevitable, and a veſſel was diſpatched to Peterſburg to announce the joyful news to Catharine, whoſe capital was greatly alarmed by the news of ſo many doubtful battles, and the proximity of ſuch an enterpriſing enemy. All theſe hopes vaniſhed before a ſudden ſhift of the wind, ſeconded by judicious manœuvres and bold exertions. The duke extricated his fleet and took ſhelter in the iſland of Biorko, where he was joined by the king with his flotilla.

But this prince, who could live only in a ſtorm, no ſooner ſaw his people diſengaged from a great danger than he expoſed them to a ſtill greater. Eager to equal the moſt renowned of his anceſtors in military glory he reſolved on the attack of Wyburg, the capital of Carelia, and diſtant only ſeventy miles from Peterſburg. Beſides the *eclat* that would attend ſucceſs, he was tempted by the hopes of taking or deſtroying a large diviſion of gallies that lay in the harbour. Having landed a conſiderable body of troops that ſerved on board as marines, he formed them into two diviſions ready to inveſt the place, and ſecond the efforts of the fleet againſt the harbour. Scarce were theſe arrangements made, and the men of war ſtationed in the bay and preparing to begin the attack, when, what there was ſo much reaſon to expect and ſo much cauſe to dread, actually took place; the Ruſſian grand fleet and flotilla appeared ſteering directly for the harbour of Wyburg. Four capital ſhips were moored two on each ſide of the narrow inlet leading from the ſea into the bay, where the Swediſh ſhips were now incloſed as in a net, and had before them the alternative either

of

of ſurrendering at diſcretion, or of forcing their way through their enemies.

To brave men determined to maintain the honour of their country or to periſh the choice could not admit a moment's heſitation. The van under admiral Modec, aſſiſted by a favourable gale, paſſed the ſtrait without any material damage, firing their broadſides with great ſpirit; but the ſucceeding ſhips either from confuſion or from the ſmoak miſſed the channel, ſtruck againſt the rocks, and were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. The remainder were purſued along the coaſt during the whole night and the following day, and eſcaped, after the loſs of two ſhips more, with the duke to Sweaburg. Nor did the king and his flotilla eſcape without paying the fine due from raſhneſs. Six of his ſtouteſt veſſels, with eight hundred of the guards on board, were taken; ſixty other veſſels were loſt; four of the oldeſt and beſt regiments ſuffered ſeverely, and ninety officers were killed, taken, or miſſing. In both engagements the Swediſh loſs in men was computed to amount to ſeven thouſand.

Yet ſtill Guſtavus's high ſpirit was not depreſſed, but roſe ſuperior to misfortunes. Collecting as it were by enchantment a freſh navy, he exhibited, after he was thought undone, ſuch a ſudden and unexpected diſplay of heroiſm, that the reader is apt to conſider the narrative of real events as mere romance and not ſober hiſtory. Determined in ſome meaſure to efface the memory, if he could not totally remove, the effect of his late diſgrace, he refitted the wrecks of his late flotilla, and reinforced by the Pomeranian diviſion of his light ſhips, haſtened to intercept the Prince of Naſſau in his paſſage to Frederickſham. The prince, who pretended to be the king's maſter in this ſpecies

cies of warfare, did not decline the combat, but bore directly down upon the Swediſh fleet which was drawn up in three diviſions. The king, who commanded in perſon and gave the ſignal for a general engagement, ſoon convinced him that he was not fighting in the Black Sea with Ottomans. Though his veſſels in general were furniſhed with twenty-four or thirty pounders, and with howitzers diſcharging balls that weighed 42 pounds, his left wing began about noon to recoil. But upon the arrival of freſh ſuccours to both parties the battle was renewed with redoubled fury along the whole line. At four, however, ſome of the large Ruſſian veſſels quitted their ſtation, ſome ſtruck, and ſome foundered, and ſeveral were taken. The main body retreating and firing till ten in the evening, embraced the opportunity of night to eſcape by diſperſion, but many of them were ſtranded, and in the night burnt by their crews, or in the morning taken by the victors, who purſued the fugitives without relaxation till ten, and captured forty-five veſſels with 4,500 men. The total loſs of the Ruſſians cannot be aſcertained, as numbers of veſſels were wrecked, burnt, and blown up; but the veſtiges of ruin viſible upon an extenſive line of coaſt demonſtrated that the damage in ſhips, ſtores, and men, muſt have been immenſe.

This was a mortifying blow to Catharine, as ſhe found her forces moſt vulnerable where ſhe thought them invincible. Such unparalleled proweſs in an antagoniſt, whom ſhe uſed to treat with contempt, made it evident that, if ſhe continued the conteſt, and refuſed to liſten to reaſonable terms of peace, he might with the aſſiſtance of the allied powers, whoſe active interference ſhe had now reaſon to dread, become irreſiſtible. Influenced

by theſe conſiderations this politic princeſs employed emiſſaries to ſound his intentions, and to diſpoſe him to peace. The difficulties in which Guſtavus was involved, and the tardineſs of the allies, ſmoothed every obſtacle. A direct communication between the two ſovereigns enſued, and a peace was, without the intervention of any other power, concluded by a general reſtitution of all conqueſts on both ſides.

So ſudden a pacification was a thunderbolt to Britain and Pruſſia, who wiſhed by a ſimilar reſtitution to preſerve the Ottoman empire in its integrity, and who, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, adhered ſteadily to their purpoſe. Catharine, however, could not by all their remonſtrances be induced to relinquiſh all her ſplendid conqueſts, but inſiſted on the retention of Oczakow, and the deſert plains between the Bog and the Nieſter, as firm ſecurities to her frontiers, and ſtanding memorials of her ſucceſs. This moderation was not voluntary but extorted. The ſame Pruſſian army, which had dictated the peace concluded by Auſtria and Turkey, was now ready to act in conjunction with a powerful Britiſh fleet in the Baltic.

1791. The policy of this meaſure was violently conteſted by the oppoſition in both houſes of parliament. "Self-defence, and not expediency (ſaid Grey, Fox, and their adherents) is the only juſtifiable cauſe of war; and this ſelf-defence may be exerted in repelling an attack, in recovering a right, and in providing for future ſecurity. Has Ruſſia attacked us or any of our allies? No. Has ſhe then invaded, or does ſhe withold, any of our rights, or of the rights of our allies? No. But ſhe endangers, you will ſay, the balance of power; and our miniſter, as the great poſture-maſter of this

this balance, muſt weigh out in patent ſcales of his own what quantity of territory each ſtate ſhall poſſeſs. Now that the French government, aſhamed of its former intrigues, has aſſumed the character of plainneſs and ſimplicity, ours is to adopt its exploded faſhions and to become buſy and meddling. Will not ſuch a conduct expoſe us to deſerved odium either as the political goſſips or hectoring bullies of Europe? Suppoſe the Empreſs ſhould interfere in our quarrel with Tippoo, and inſiſt upon the reſtitution of all the conqueſts which the allies may eventually make, would not the inſolence of the propoſal be ſpurned with indignation? Catharine, however politic ſhe may be, has never diſcovered any want of ſpirit; and in this inſtance we ought to eſtimate her feelings by our own, which would teach us that nothing but the laſt extremity can induce an independent ſovereign to grant ſuch humiliating demands. What then muſt be the conſequence of this once defenſive but now offenſive alliance but a war, and a war too with a power whoſe trade employs 850 ſhips, trains our beſt ſeamen, yields a yearly revenue of 300,000 pounds, furniſhes raw materials for our manufactures to the amount of two millions, and takes in return manufactured goods not leſs in value than a million ſterling? So lucrative a traffic ought not to be ſacrificed but to ſome great object. What is that object? The preſervation of an empire inhabited by a barbarous and ſavage race that has been habitually connected with our rival, a race that, for the ſake of religion, of humanity, civilization, and commerce, ought to be exterminated from the continent of Europe. The jealouſy of the Ruſſian empire's aggrandizement is a modern idea, as well as the partiality for Turks and Mahometans. Twenty

years ago Ruſſia owed to Britain the power of diſplaying her flag in the Mediterranean; and the Britiſh miniſtry, when invited in 1782 by Spain to join her in checking Catharine's encroachments in the Black Sea, refuſed to concur; and the reſult was that Crimea and the Cuban were annexed to her vaſt empire. What has happened ſince to render a ſtate ſo extenſive and ſo thinly peopled formidable? Moſt politicians have declared that the Ruſſian dominions are already too vaſt and unwieldy to remain long compact and undiſmembered. Will the addition of a ſingle fortreſs, and of a few hords of roving Tartars, be of any moment in either ſcale? Our miniſter ſeems reſolved that for the increaſe of his patronage and influence we ſhall ſquander away twice as many millions to ſecure bear-ſkins in the Weſt, as we did to preſerve cat-ſkins in the Eaſt of Aſia. Oczakow does not abſolutely command the Nieper, and the Ruſſians have been much nearer Conſtantinople without any interference on our part, and without any cataſtrophe fatal to our new antichriſtian friends. Let us not then be ſo much guided by Pruſſian counſels, or ſo much blinded by commercial prejudices, as to hazard a preſent and certain good for a future and doubtful advantage."

The following is the ſum of the arguments uſed by Pitt and the miniſterial phalanx: "Political maxims, like other rules, are ſeldom ſo general as to include every particular caſe; and, were ſelf-defence one of the number, and univerſal in its application, ſtill it is evident that it will not exclude prevention, the moſt rational, the ſafeſt and moſt effectual ſpecies of defence. Would you remain motionleſs and torpid till the ſword deſcend upon your head, or the bayonet be aimed at your breaſt? Such knight-errantry is fit only for the wild

wild regions of Romance, and not for the cultivated walks of enlightened policy. The ideas are too abſurd to be hazarded by any but political mountebanks tempted by foreign gold to give their country a wrong bias, and to throw her off her centre of gravity. Were not the picture too ludicrous for ſo ſerious a ſubject, might not ſuch counſellors be deemed monkeys with caps and bells perched on the back of a dancing bear to amuſe and delude the gaping vulgar? Vulgar indeed and deluded muſt that people be who can believe that an acceſſion of rich and populous territories, furniſhing the real ſinews of war, will render a poor but military nation leſs powerful. For ſome time paſt Britiſh miniſters have acted as if it were their opinion that ſtrength neceſſarily begets weakneſs, and that the more gigantick an empire is, the more eaſily it is overthrown.

The two leaders of the preſent coalition enabled Ruſſia to overwhelm Turkey firſt in the Mediterranean and then in the Euxine. But does it follow that, becauſe North in ſpite of Chatham's remonſtrances allowed this ambitious power, by means of Britiſh officers and Britiſh ſeamen, to give law in the Archipelago, and Fox, by following the ſame ill-judged policy, gave it the command of the Black Sea and the Liman, the miniſter of the preſent day ſhould not adopt better counſels, the counſels of his own father, who with a prophet's intuition foreſaw that this imprudence would raiſe up againſt us a dangerous rival at ſea? The commercial treaty then ſubſiſting between us and Ruſſia, and the cloſe connection of Turkey with France, might excuſe theſe miniſters for not oppoſing, but could not juſtify them for aſſiſting, the Ruſſian arms. Had Pruſſia been grateful, and made a ſuitable return for their countenance and

ſupport, forbearance on this occaſion might be a proper ſubject of conſideration. But did ſhe not in the hour of our diſtreſs meanly take the lead in the armed neutrality for the expreſs purpoſe of crippling our navy? At the expiration of the commercial treaty did ſhe not decline its renewal? Not ſatisfied with this neglect ſhe obliged our merchants to pay in duties 25 *per cent.* more than what is exacted from other countries, though they give half a year's credit for their exports, and are always a whole year in advance for their imports. Why then ſhould we be tremblingly alive to the fear of giving offence, when ſhe gains a million a year by our commerce? Ruſſia is not the only country capable of furniſhing us with naval ſtores. Hemp, the moſt eſſential article, is principally the growth of Poland, and may be circuitouſly conveyed to the Baltic by other channels, by Memel, Dantzic, and Elbing. Ought we not to ſtrengthen as much as poſſible the hands of Pruſſia, both as a counterpoiſe in the northern balance, and as a repoſitory of neceſſaries in a maritime war? Pruſſia thinks her ſecurity endangered by the aggrandiſement of Ruſſia; and ſurely her aſſiſtance in wreſting Holland from the graſp of France merits ſome compenſation. Beſides no friend to Britain can wiſh to ſee a ſingle power, and that one of the moſt ambitious, monopolize what ſhe ſells to us at a dearer rate than to other nations. The object of the Imperial Catharine is to fix one foot on St. Peter's in her own capital, and the other on St. Sophia in the metropolis of the Ottoman empire. This was indiſputably her view in the conference with the emperor Joſeph; and, had the death of the great Frederick happened earlier, the diſmemberment of European Turkey would have been ſooner undertaken.

dertaken. The empreſs did not think it prudent to allow him a dangerous equivalent near her capital for his ſhare of the ſpoil; and ſhe knew him too well to imagine that, when partition was in agitation, he would remain idle. Frederick's ſucceſſor, it was thought, would prove leſs vigilant or at leaſt more tame. When theſe are obviouſly the deſigns of Ruſſia, when the Czarina clearly aims at the throne of the Cæſars, when a female aſpires to the Roman purple and to the direction of the cabinets of Europe; when ſhe haughtily rejects all mediation and declares ſhe will make peace and war, when ſhe pleaſes, and without regard to other potentates; when ſhe makes and unmakes kings of Poland, keeps the kings of Denmark and Sweden in dependence, erects a new kingdom, and entertains an emperor and a king under a triumphal arch, will you paſſively allow her to unite the Baltic and the Mediterranean, and to ſecure the trade of the South by the naval ſtores of the North? Thus ſhe will ſoon have no occaſion for your trade, ſhe will ruin your commerce in the Levant, and become your moſt formidable rival within the columns of Hercules. While ſhe is confined to the Baltic, which continues frozen for ſix months, her exertions by ſea cannot excite much alarm; but give her the range of the Mediterranean, and her fleets will in a few years give you ample ground for repenting of your preſent ſupineneſs. Nor is the trade to the Levant ſo inſignificant as declamation would make us believe; for it ſupports the pride of Marſeilles and of the twenty thouſand country houſes, with which its environs are adorned, and is in fact the ſalient point that gives life and animation to all the buſy ſcenes obſervable on the ſouthern coaſt of France. When the adventurous and perſe-

ſevering ſpirit of our merchants is making ſuch a rapid progreſs towards ſuperiority, can we be ſhort-ſighted enough to check their ardour? If the declaimers in favour of Ruſſia are, as they pretend, eager for the introduction of true religion, civiliſation and humanity into Turkey, they ought not to forget the character of Ruſſian humanity, which at Iſmailow did not heſitate to maſſacre thirty thouſand people in cold blood. The politeneſs of a Swiſs civilized in Holland is proverbial. But who, after this abominable carnage, will ever talk of Ruſſian humanity? Yet where there is no humanity, you will in vain look for civilization and politeneſs much leſs for religion, of which the eſſence is humanity. To civiliſe Turkey by means of Ruſſians is to improve the diſcipline of the Greeks and Romans by the barbariſm of the Goths and Huns. But how, you will ſay, does Britain diſplay her humanity by extending the horrors of war? By an armed negotiation, as by an armed neutrality, ſhe enforces the concluſion of peace and ſtops the effuſion of human blood. The miniſter's partiality for peace is notorious, and nothing can divert him from it but dire neceſſity; ſince it muſt be deſtructive of thoſe economical retrenchments, upon which his fame has been eſtabliſhed. But knowing that preſent œconomy is often future profuſion he is not ſo tenacious of his ſyſtem as to ſacrifice the permanent intereſt of his country to temporary reputation. A great mind looks for a higher meed, the applauſe of poſterity, and, what is more, the approbation of his own conſcience. Senſible that the Ruſſians, by granting an aſylum to the rebellious governor of Wallachia, and by demanding the ceſſion of Beſſarabia, of Oczakow and Akerman, the keys of the Euxine, were the aggreſſors; and that the balance

balance of Europe, the intereſt of our allies and the commerce of Britain, as the paramount naval power, are materially concerned, the miniſter has interfered with vigour, and it is to be hoped with effect; ſince, though the fortreſs of Oczakow and the adjacent territory are in themſelves inconſiderable, they are from their commercial ſituation ineſtimable."

The clamour of the manufacturers engaged in the Ruſſian trade was ſo great, and the diſlike to war ſo prevalent that, though the majority in favour of the miniſter amounted almoſt to a hundred, he thought it prudent to relax, and to perſuade Pruſſia and Turkey to accomodate all differences according to the plan propoſed by the empreſs. Thus did the efforts of oppoſition, whoſe ſole object was to render Pitt unpopular, and who, we hope, would not in the ſame circumſtances have acted the ſame part, ſecure to the rapacious Catharine a new harbour and fortreſs and an extenſive tract of the Euxine coaſt.

The duke of Leeds ſecretary of ſtate in the foreign department, an honeſt and able ſtateſman as well as a candid and elegant ſpeaker, having been adverſe to the armament againſt Ruſſia ſeceded from adminiſtration, and was ſupplied by Henry Dundas, a Scotch advocate by profeſſion, and for ſome years treaſurer of the navy. On many occaſions and particularly in a committee on Eaſt-India affairs he diſcovered uncommon talents for buſineſs and was therefore choſen as his ſecond in the lower houſe by Pitt, who in the formation of a cabinet attended more to merit and ability than to birth and connection. In perſon Dundas is huge but manly; his viſage, though marked with the lines of thinking, is not impoſing; but being a potent drinker he ſoon overpowers this repulſion

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by his conviviality. His lungs are Stentorian, and conſequently his voice is ſtrong but rough; and, were it any claim to oratory, his elocution exhibits the imperfection of Demoſthenes's. His accent and dialect are tinctured with provinciality. But though not always happy either in the choice of words or in correctneſs of phraſeology, yet conſcious of internal rectitude and accuſtomed to the contentions of the bar he is not eaſily abaſhed by any accidental ſlip, but proceeds unembarraſſed to ſtate the eſſentials of a queſtion with clearneſs and preciſion. To that laborious induſtry and unwearied patience, which he derives from the habits of his early life, he joins ſteadineſs and fortitude, the fruits of a ſound judgment matured by experience. And, what is very rare, though he has acted with different parties, he has never forfeited the character of conſiſtency. Open, bold, and ſuperior to all obliquities he may be juſtly ſtyled a wiſe ſenator and a worthy co-adjutor to his great leader.

To the ſettlement of foreign affairs ſucceeded arrangements of domeſtick policy. The firſt of theſe was the diſcuſſion of the laws relative to libels, which had ſince the year 1771 agitated the publick mind. The inſtitution of juries is ſo excellently calculated for the preſervation of life, liberty and property that we need not wonder at the Engliſh for claiming the honour of its invention and for attributing it to ſuch a favourite hero as Alfred. Certain, however, it is that this diſcovery, if not coeval with ſociety in its rude and infant ſtate, may be traced up as high as the laws of Solon, whoſe wiſdom was copied by the Romans and gradually diffuſed through the Roman world. As the jurors were, as their names import in Greek and in Latin, the judges, they muſt have decided queſtions

queſtions of law as well as fact and would naturally have communicated the ſame ſyſtem to the provinces, and conſequently to the Saxons, who learned it from the Britons in the towns of Britain and not in the woods of Germany. That this was the right of juries we have the authority of Bracton, one of the moſt ancient writers upon Engliſh law; and the doctrine is corroborated by the opinion of Camden, Loughborough, and other ſages of the long robe. Yet the ſtarchamber in the reign of the Stuarts introduced another practice in caſes of libel and narrowed the province of juries to mere matters of fact, leaving the deciſion of the law to the judges in all indictments and official informations. To rectify this abuſe, which, notwithſtanding ſuch auſpicious events as the revolution and the ſucceſſion of the Hanoverian family, had ſtood its ground for a century, and boaſted as its patrons ſome of the greateſt names in the legal profeſſion, the late Lord Mulgrave and after him Dowdeſwell under the tuition of Burke and the ſanction of Rockingham's adherents attempted to procure an act declaratory of the antient law and of the immemorial right of juries. But the praiſe of this reform was reſerved for Fox, who contended that, where any ſpecial matter of law is pleaded, the judge and not the jury, is to decide; but that, where a general iſſue is joined, the law is ſo implicated with the fact that they cannot be ſeparated, and therefore the jury muſt as in all other criminal proceſſes bring in a general verdict declaring the culprit guilty or not guilty. With theſe ſentiments Pitt's coincided; and, though the oppoſition of Thurlow and other legal characters hindered the object from being gained in this ſeſſion, a declaratory act to quiet the public mind on this head and to prevent the endleſs controverſies, to

which

which the doubts upon the queſtion gave riſe in the courts of juſtice, received the royal ſanction in the next.

In order to ſecure the rights of election and to prevent vexatious proſecutions for political purpoſes a law was enacted depriving the attorney general in right of the crown and every other individual in his own right of a power, to diſturb the poſſeſſor of any franchiſe in a corporation after having quietly exerciſed it for ſix years.

After the examination of this point in the civil code came the inveſtigation of eccleſiaſtical regulations. At the period of the reformatson, when the authority of the Roman pontiff in England was aboliſhed by ſtatute, it could not be expected that an act of parliament ſhould at once alter the opinions of men and produce a perfect agreement. The Proteſtants therefore, who were the predominant party, were obliged to enact many ſevere laws againſt the Catholicks, who adhered to the pope and endeavoured to reſtore his power. Accordingly no leſs than ſeventy pages are employed in one of our books on eccleſiaſtical law in enumerating the penal ſtatutes ſtill in force againſt the Catholicks. The cauſes, which had produced theſe ſanguinary laws, having ceaſed, it was thought reaſonable that the effects ſhould alſo ceaſe. The lenient hand of time had gradually ſo mitigated the virulence of religious rancour and the general diffuſion of knowledge by means of the preſs had ſo changed men's ſentiments, that a body of Catholicks proteſted againſt the pope's authority in temporal concerns, and denied his right to excommunicate princes and to abſolve their ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. As an encouragement to others to follow the example of theſe proteſting Catholicks, Mitford, the ſolicitor general,

general, procured an act exempting them from the operation of the penal ſtatutes, contending that, as they had now neither the will nor the power to be dangerous to the king or the conſtitution, it was the duty of the legiſlature to extend to them, as well as to other good ſubjects, every poſſible happineſs and comfort. Both parties in both houſes were unanimous in granting this indulgence; but it was maintained by Fox, Burke, and Lanſdown, not to be ſufficiently comprehenſive.

"When univerſal toleration is eſtabliſhed in Pruſſia, in France, in Holland and America, in two monarchies, one ariſtocracy and many democracies, why ſhould it be rejected in Britain, which boaſts the advantages to be derived from all theſe forms of government? All the Catholicks of every denomination ought to be included in the exemption, or rather all the diſgraceful ſtatutes ought to be totally expunged from our law books. Muſt all Catholicks, but proteſting Catholicks, be guilty of high treaſon for worſhiping God in their own way? Muſt men be liable to be hanged, drawn and quartered, as they actually were in Charles the Second's reign, for hearing maſs, or for having in their houſe a maſs-book, which they cannot underſtand? While ſuch tyrannical ſtatutes exiſt, and make juſtices of the peace inquiſitors, and neighbours enemies to neighbours, foreigners will be entitled to laugh at your encomiums on your code of civil juriſprudence as idle and groundleſs vaunts."

From the Catholicks in Britain the tranſition was eaſy and natural to the Catholicks in Canada, to whom at the peace of Fontainbleau, when it became a Britiſh province, the Britiſh conſtitution was promiſed by royal proclamation. The oppoſite intereſts of the Engliſh and French inhabitants, their

their different languages, laws and cuſtoms, and the jealouſies and adverſe pretenſions ariſing from them had till this period prevented the promiſe from being fulfilled. The influx of ſettlers into the colony from the United States after their ſeparation from England had greatly increaſed its population, and rendered its diviſion into two provinces neceſſary. Lower Canada now extends along the banks of the river St. Lawrence to the lake Ontario, and the upper ſtretches indefinitely to the north-eaſt of the lakes, Ontario, Erie, Huron, Illenois, and Superior, of which the laſt is fifteen hundred miles in circumference, and none of the others leſs than ſix hundred, conſtituting the greateſt inland navigation and the largeſt pieces of freſh water in the known world. The St. Laurence, which they feed, runs a winding courſe of ſeven hundred and fifty miles, and may be eaſily made navigable to its ſource. This country, which, except the banks of the river, its numerous iſles, and ſome ſpots on the lakes, remains as it came from the plaſtick hand of nature, is covered with immenſe foreſts of trees of a ſurpriſing height and thickneſs, and continues almoſt the excluſive habitation of the wild animals; for a traveller will not perhaps in a thouſand miles on the ſides of the lakes, and of the numerous and noble ſtreams that ſwell the St. Laurence from the north and ſouth diſcover a ſingle veſtige of a man; and the few ſolitary and naked ſavages, that occaſionally meet the eye, are ſo ſhy, and look ſo fierce and barbarous that, inſtead of humaniſing the ſcene, they make the wilderneſs ſeem more wild. As in Africa the blacks muſt go armed againſt the treachery of the whites, ſo here in return the white muſt guard againſt the force or fraud of the red ſpecies, not indeed for fear of ſlavery but of murder

der, the rude aborigines having not yet learned to labour themſelves or to benefit by the labour of others. The Indian leaving to his wives, for he is a polygamiſt, the care of his ſcanty field of maize, makes war or hunting his ſole occupation, the one to gratify his revenge, and the other to procure ſkins in exchange for articles of neceſſity or luxury. The latter are confined to one commodity, ſpiritous liquor, which he calls ſtrong water; and the former hardly extend beyond a coarſe blanket and a gun with powder and ball. In winter, which laſts from the middle of December to the end of April, the whole face of the country is uniform, being entirely covered with ſnow to the depth of five or ſix feet, and paſſable only in ſnowſhoes, though it lies between the latitude of 50 and 55. The cultivation of the continent will in a future but remote period bring the climate to the temperature enjoyed on the ſame parallels in the old world. At preſent both provinces contain one hundred and fifty thouſand whites employed in agriculture, and furniſhing corn, lumber, peltry and ſome iron and fiſh for Britain and the Weſt Indies to the amount of four hundred thouſand pounds, and importing Britiſh manufactures of nearly the ſame value.

For both theſe provinces a legiſlative council and an aſſembly ſimilar to our two houſes of parliament were eſtabliſhed. The members of the council are to be hereditary or for life at the king's option, and the members of the aſſembly are to be elected by proprietors of freeholds equal in value to forty ſhillings, and in towns or townſhips by the owners of houſes worth five pounds or by renters of houſes paying ten pounds in ſix months. This provincial parliament is quadriennial and meets once at leaſt in the twelve-month at the call of the governor, who repreſents the ſovereign

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and may refuſe his ſanction to any propoſed law, till the final reſolution of Britain is known. In the Lower Canada, of which the population conſiderably exceeds a hundred thouſand, the aſſembly muſt not be leſs in number than fifty, nor the council leſs than fifteen; and in the upper the aſſembly muſt not be leſs than ſixteen, nor the council leſs than ſeven. The clergy are allowed one-ſeventh of the land in lieu of tithes, and a biſhop of the Engliſh church with a voice in the legiſlative council is to be nominated by the crown. Internal taxation by the Britiſh parliament is completely renounced, but the external regulation of trade and commerce as ſtrongly aſſerted.

Fox and his party at firſt acquieſced, but finding at laſt that the ſyſtem was not univerſally ſatisfactory "contended that the provincial conſtitution ſhould be as free as poſſible, that the people might ſee nothing enviable in the neighbouring ſtates; that for this purpoſe the council ought to be choſen by the aſſembly; that there was in the province neither property nor reſpectability ſufficient for the ſupport of an hereditary nobility; that this plan looked like an attempt to revive the exploded order of chivalry; that the eſtabliſhment of the clergy, which was chiefly preſbyterian, was enormous; that the diviſion of the country into two provinces would retard and not accelerate the coalition of the French and Engliſh, and the adoption of the Britiſh laws and cuſtoms; that the ſhadow only and not the ſubſtance of liberty was granted, and therefore a ſeparation would ſoon take place."

This was the ſum of the miniſtry's anſwer. "Has not Canada by this act the Britiſh conſtiſtution as completely as it can be conveyed? Nothing but external regulation is retained, and the king's power of attaching the province to the reſt

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of the empire by the occaſional creation of nobles as in Ireland, where, except mutual intereſt, the ſame language, the ſame religious eſtabliſhment and the ſame laws and cuſtoms, the upper houſe is the only bond of connection. The Canadians have already our criminal law and the law that ſecures perſonal liberty; and it is allowed that the French commercial law does not eſſentially differ from the Engliſh. Time, intermarriages, mutual intercourſe, and experience of the ſuperiority of our laws and cuſtoms will gradually do the reſt; for it is not by the operation of force but by a ſenſe of intereſt that nations aſſimilate. In Upper Canada, where the ſettlers all ſpeak Engliſh and uſe Engliſh cuſtoms, nothing is requiſite but this conſtitution: but in Lower Upper Canada, where the French are to the Engliſh as five to one, gentle modes of conciliation muſt be adopted, and the conquered muſt be allowed time to incorporate with the conquerors. Hitherto much diſcord and many unpleaſant feelings have prevented a coalition; and the diviſion of the country into two provinces is thought the only practicable expedient for allaying the ferment. What then beſides all this is wanted to the ſum of their happineſs but the Britiſh conſtitution in their legiſlative aſſemblies? An elective council independent of the crown would render the whole ſyſtem democratical and ſoon detach the colony from Britain. The council to reſemble our ariſtocracy and to ſerve in conjunction with the crown as a counterpoiſe to the growing maſs of the people muſt in the balance be nearer to the regal than to the democratical weight. This is the happy contrivance in our political ſyſtem that has ſo long retained the different bodies of which it is compoſed, in their reſpective orbits; and the ſame principle ought to be applied to the ſmaller ſurrounding ſyſtems, that they

may gravitate regularly towards the principal. To render the ſimilarity and connection between the ſupreme and ſubordinate ſyſtems more complete the clergy in each muſt have a ſimilar proviſion, and one-ſeventh in land is not deemed equivalent to one-tenth in produce. Nor would the crown have ſo good a hold of the ariſtocracy nor conſequently of the colony in general without a gradual infuſion of the hierarchical order, which will here, as in Ireland, prove one of the ſtrongeſt cements to conſolidate the empire."

The next commercial queſtion, that engaged the attention of the legiſlature, was the trade carried on to Africa for ſlaves, a ſubject which had now been in agitation four years, and originally introduced by Wilberforce, member for Yorkſhire, a reſpectable ſenator diſtinguiſhed for his private worth and publick virtue, and as remarkable for wiſdom and diſintereſtedneſs as for talents and eloquence. That the nature of this trade may be the better underſtood, it ſeems neceſſary to premiſe a few obſervations on its origin. Though war, according to the maxims of civilized nations, confers on the conquerors the right only of preventing the conquered from committing a future injury, or at moſt of impſiong a tribute as an indemnification, barbarians, who are accuſtomed, after the ceſſation of all reſiſtance, to conſider the lives of their enemies at their diſpoſal, hold ſlavery to be a ſpecies of mercy, being in their eſtimation a leſs evil than death. In fact the impoſition of a tribute is but another mode of enſlaving men in a body; and, as this is impracticable in the rude beginning of ſociety, the cuſtom of making ſlaves of captives ſeems to have been univerſal. This is a truth evinced by the moſt ancient literary monuments, by the Pundit laws, by the ſacred books of the

the Arabs, by the poems of Homer, and by the legal inſtitutes of the Egyptians, of the Greeks and Romans. A habit once contracted and naturally ariſing from the gradual and ſlow progreſs of civiliſation cannot be altered but with an alteration in the ſtate of ſociety. Hence on the coaſts of the Mediterranean, which ſeem never to have been thoroughly humanized, the practice of kidnapping prevailed from time immemorial, as it does at this day. The Portugueze therefore, upon diſcovering in 1418, and ſoon after conquering, the ſouthern coaſts of Africa, did not begin a new trade, when they brought to Portugal black ſlaves for domeſtick drudgeries; they only continued in blacks the commerce which before they carried on in whites; and in 1530 they extended it to the Brazils, of which they accidentally took poſſeſſion in 1500. Here this adventurous nation introduced into America the culture of the ſugar-cane, which has been the ſource of ſo many woes to the Africans, and of ſo many crimes among the Europeans. Whether this plant came originally from China, or is a native of the Weſt as well as of the Eaſt-Indies, antiquarians have not yet been able to decide. Certain it is that the Arabians tranſplanted it into Cyprus and that from thence it ſpread over the Mediterranian iſlands and coaſts, till it reached the Madeiras, the Canaries and the Brazils, and was at laſt conveyed in 1641 to Barbadoes, which ſerved as a nurſery for the plantations of the other Britiſh poſſeſſions in thoſe regions. In theſe new ſettlements white labourers could not be procured, and, if they could, they were ſoon found to periſh under the ſcorching rays of a vertical ſun. The native Indians were unwilling or too feeble to work. The example of the Portugueſe was therefore imitated by the other Euro-

pean nations, and negroes accuſtomed to the tropical heats were imported from Africa. Though the Angles and Saxons formerly ſold even their own children as ſlaves, time had ſo improved their manners and laws that ſlavery had now diſappeared, and even that ſpecies of it called villanage ceaſed from the days of James the Firſt. Yet ſeduced by intereſt or blinded by the colour and religion of the Africans this nation, which diſclaimed all ſlavery within the realm, acknowledged its legality in the Weſt-Indies, and its deſcendants in North America are not aſhamed to make temporary ſlaves of their white progenitors, who have been inveigled by treacherous captains to emigrate.

This traffick in human fleſh had grown to ſuch an enormous magnitude that in 1768 fifty-three thouſand blacks were exported from Africa by the Engliſh alone, and almoſt as many by the other ſtates of Europe. The arguments advanced againſt the ſuppreſſion of this trade may be thus ſtated.

"In the diſcuſſion of the preſent queſtion three intereſts are to be conſidered, the intereſts of the Africans, of the Weſt-Indians and of Britons; and we muſt not allow our ſympathy with the diſtreſſes of the firſt to render our hearts callous to the ſufferings of the other two. Though the majority of the black ſlaves are captives in war, convicts or predial bondſmen, many are certainly kidnapped, and their fate deſerves commiſeration. But would their ſituation be meliorated by our relinquiſhment of the trade? The reverſe would be the conſequence. The inveſtigation of this ſubject in the Britiſh parliament has excited the attention of all Europe; aye, and of all America. Americans and Europeans are all waiting the iſſue of your deliberа-

deliberations, and, when you once pronounce the word abolition, will preſs with crowded ſails to the ſcene of action. The French are ſo far from concurring with you in annihilating the trade, as ſome enthuſiaſtick republicans would inſinuate, that the committee, who were ordered to make a report upon the ſubject, adviſed the continuance of the trade; and their advice was adopted. French ſettlements have been eſtabliſhed at Bonny and Anamaboo on the Gold-coaſt, as well as at Melinda, Cabenda, and Loango; and in Whidah, Dahomey, and Angola our rivals have a decided ſuperiority. In order to confirm this ſuperiority they endeavour to inveigle the Britiſh captains to trade under the French flag; they procure aſſortments of goods from Mancheſter for the African market, and allow a bounty on the importation of negroes into their iſlands. The Spaniards too have contracted with Dawſon and Baker at Liverpool for the importation of five thouſand ſlaves at one hundred and fifty-five dollars a head; they employ Spaniſh merchants in England to inquire into the nature of the trade in order to take an actual ſhare in it, and relaxing their uſual jealouſy open certain Tranſatlantic ports not only for the free importation of ſlaves but alſo for the payment of a bounty of four dollars. Not ſatisfied with theſe exertions private companies have embarked conſiderable capitals in this commerce. The Philippine company in particular has fitted out for this purpoſe four ſhips that will each carry eight hundred ſlaves. Nor is this all the intereſting information in the evidence upon your table. Denmark already active will acquire double activity by your remiſſneſs; and Holland, that uſed to ſhut her colonial ports to all foreign ſhips, has opened ſeveral for the extenſion of this traffick.

Veſſels deſtined for this trade from Maſſachuſets, Rhode Iſland, Virginia and Carolina have been lately inſured at Lloyd's. Will the contention of ſo many claſhing intereſts; will the incumbent weight of ſo many rival nations ruſhing into one vortex to fill up the vacuum left behind by you, prove leſs oppreſſive to Africa than your regulated intercourſe? The fervour of new enterpriſe and of freſh hopes will give an electric ſhock to the trade, and urging it on with tenfold velocity multiply and aggravate the deplored misfortunes of the blacks.

"Nor would this be the only grievance occaſioned by the ſucceſs of your project. In the place of captivity, you would ſubſtitute maſſacre. From time immemorial convicts and priſoners of war have in Africa been condemned to death, where purchaſers could not be found. Had not the Iſhmaelites appeared at a critical moment, Joſeph could never have ſaved the Jewiſh nation in Egypt, nor ſhould we now enjoy the benefits of the Chriſtian religion. Mark the following authentick narrative; Hearne, a factor, having accidentally joined a body of Indians then at war with the Eſkimoes, ſaw them ſurpriſe a cluſter of huts, or a village, from which the inhabitants, men, women and children, ran naked, the ſurpriſe having left them no means of ſafety but flight. Such of the fugitives as the Indians could not diſpatch in darting out of the doors, they purſued and hewed down with their tomakawks or pierced with their ſpears without remorſe or pity. Neither the ſhrieks of the females, nor the groans of the aged, nor the cries of the young, which harrowed up my ſoul, could arreſt their fury. A girl, that ſeemed about eighteen years old, when ſtuck with the firſt ſpear fell claſping my legs and imploring mercy. No anſwer was made to my preſſing ſolicitations, till

ſhe

ſhe was fixed to the ground with two lances. The two barbarians then looking fiercely at me aſked tauntingly if I wanted an Eſkimo wife, and appeared quite inſenſible to the ſcreams and agonies of the poor girl, who lay bleeding, and twiſting about their weapons like an eel. Such are the tender mercies of Indians; and Africans being equally barbarians are equally cruel. Have you forgot the picture of the Emperor of Dahomey's palace ſtuck round for miles with the heads of many thouſand captives as its proudeſt ornaments? Have you forgot that the ſlaves preſerved for the Weſt Indies might have been ſacrificed, like the Trojans, immolated by Achilles on the tomb of Patroclus, as victims at the funerals of their great men, or at the annual watering of their graves with blood? If you will not allow the purchaſe of ſupernumeraries, when what is common in Africa, exceſſive droughts and ſwarms of locuſts have occaſioned a famine, muſt not they have recourſe to cannibaliſm? Thus in various ways your miſtaken humanity will ultimately end in real barbarity. That ſpecies of ſubordination called ſervitude cannot be excluded from ſociety, becauſe among creatures unequal both in body and mind equality cannot exiſt. And what is ſervitude but mitigated ſlavery? It is not yet two centuries ſince ſlaves attached to the ſoil might be found in England; and the feudal ſyſtem, which is a ſyſtem of ſlavery, ſtill maintains its ground in many inſtances. Why then ſhould you prematurely attempt to force upon the Weſt Indies what you have not been able fully to eſtabliſh in England? More knowledge, other habits, and provincial laws gradually introduced are the genuine remedies for all your complaints. In theſe laws the coloniſts have already made a conſiderable

progreſs, and without your officious interference will complete the work. Slaves in the Weſt Indies are generally treated with kindneſs, becauſe it is dictated by intereſt as well as by humanity. The planters are men of as nice feelings and as generous ſentiments as other Britiſh ſubjects; and their character is juſtly delineated in the Comedy called the Weſt Indian. Though examples of barbarity ſhould be found among the coloniſts as in other ſocieties, is the whole body to be ſtigmatiſed for the crimes of a few? As well might you repreſent the whole Britiſh nation as cruel and barbarous, becauſe London produced a Brownrig and a few other anomalous monſters. The ſtories detailed to your Committee concerning the cruelties of Captains, drivers and ſuperviſors loſe all credibility by their enormity. Human nature could never arrive at ſuch a pitch of depravity. If you ſuppoſe the ſtories true, you muſt ſuppoſe the perpretators inſane or maniacs. As to the hardſhips ſuſtained by Negroes in the middle paſſage, they have by various regulations been removed, and never occaſioned a mortality equal to what is experienced by regiments tranſported to the colonies. The evidence proves that of the latter ten in a hundred periſh, while in the ſhips fitted out by Liverpool only five in the hundred are loſt; and theſe five perhaps convicts condemned for witchcraft, which in Africa is tantamount to the poſſeſſion of the ſecret of poiſoning.

"Having diſcuſſed your ſyſtem of humanity to the Africans, let us now ſee what kind of humanity you exerciſe towards your own children in the colonies. You invited and perſuaded them by acts of Parliament to engage in this trade, that their plantations might furniſh you with what you muſt otherwiſe have bought from other nations, and

and that the carriage of their productions might rear up a navy and marine: yet now, when they have a capital of ſeventy millions embarked; when ſeveral iſlands lately occupied and therefore thinly peopled, require a conſtant ſucceſſion of freſh ſupplies; when twenty millions of debt in mortgages and deeds of conſignment preſs heavily on their ſhoulders, you ſuddenly deprive them in open violation of repeated acts of parliament and without indemnification, of the only means by which they can be relieved from the enormous load. But why ſhould we mention the word *ſuddenly?* your procraſtination in this inquiſitorial proceſs has for theſe four years depreciated their property and endangered their lives. The ſlaves hearing that Maſſa King Wilberforce is to make them free have formed the moſt atrocious deſigns againſt their maſters and forced the Whites to proclaim martial law. But inſtead of freemen this plan will render them doubly ſlaves; for, ſince it is found that ſlaves on the beſt eſtabliſhment decreaſe at the rate of five per cent. in five years, when the influx of freſh ſlaves ceaſes, their numbers will diminiſh in proportion; and as the ſame quantity of produce will be neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of the Britiſh creditors, their labour will increaſe. Nor will this be their only miſery. The mortgagee finding the planter plunging into the gulph of inſolvency will foreclose the mortgage; and they with their wives and families will be confined in priſon, and ſold each perhaps to a diſtinct purchaſer for the benefit of the creditors. Here then you renew the diſtreſsful confinement and ſeparation of which you complained ſo much in Africa and in the middle paſſage.

"After theſe examples of your ſympathetic exertions for the good of the Africans and Weſt Indians

dians let us ſurvey the manner in which you conſult your own intereſt. The Britiſh, foreign and Eaſt India goods exported to the Weſt Indies in five hundred and twenty ſeven ſhips giving a tunnage of one hundred and twenty four thouſand, four hundred and fifty four amount in value to one million ſix hundred and thirty eight thouſand ſeven hundred and two pounds; and the imports from them in five hundred and ſeventy three ſhips giving a tunnage of one hundred and thirty one thouſand nine hundred and thirty four, and being equal to one eighth of the whole tunnage employed by Britain are eſtimated at three millions ſeven hundred and forty nine thouſand, four hundred and forty ſeven pounds, and yield in exciſe and cuſtoms a revenue of one million ſix hundred and fourteen thouſand ſix hundred and eighty nine pounds. Are you ready to purchaſe the fee ſimple of this vaſt property of ſeventy millions? Are you with all your debts and incumbrances able to bear ſuch an immenſe defalcation from your revenue? In your relative ſituation as a maritime power is it prudent for you to deſtroy at once a nurſery of more than ten thouſand failors? Conſider what a number of manufacturers, of Baltick ſhips, of carpenters, ropemakers, ſmiths and other artificers will be immediately out of employ by the revolt of the coloniſts. What! you ſtart at the idea. Yet it is but what you may naturally expect. Allegiance and protection are reciprocal duties; and, when you not only withdraw the latter, but add oppreſſion, you may juſtly dread the former. The ſeparation of America ought to have made you wiſer; for it added a hundred millions to your debt. Will the ſeparation threatened by this plan diminiſh the national debt, or reduce your taxes? From the eagerneſs and fervour with which

which it is preſſed by certain miniſterialiſts giſted with religious inſpiration one might be apt to imagine this to be their belief. How ſome luminaries on the oppoſite ſide came to be infected with this new light is a ſecret inexplicable to all but thoſe to whom the revelation has been communicated. However much diſtinguiſhed for brilliant talents, they ſeem defective in common ſenſe, which is worth all the reſt; and there is little reaſon to fear that their viſionary doctrines will overpower the ſound judgment of the houſe to whom twenty other reaſons againſt the abolition might be given. But, as the Duke of Marlborough ſaid to the governor of a fort, who in excuſe for its haſty ſurrender, declared he had a hundred reaſons to alledge, and firſt of all the total want of cannon, "that is reaſon enough, and I will ſpare you the trouble of detailing the ninety nine," we ſay that the firſt argument againſt the abolition is its impoſſibility, and ſpare you the trouble of hearing the other nineteen. You will not gratify your humanity at the expence of ruin to your country, nor meddle with troubled waters which will in the iſſue prove bitter, and waters of affliction. The trade may be ungenteel and unpleaſant; and ſo is a butcher's: but they are both neceſſary, and reſult from the myſterious but unchangeable arrangements of providence."

Wilberforce, Pitt, Fox, Francis, Smith and others argued in the following manner for the abolition. "Of being charged with enthuſiaſm in the ſacred cauſe of humanity, no Britiſh ſenator ought to be aſhamed: but well might every man bluſh to acknowledge that revelation, and a new light are neceſſary to ſet in motion the principle of benevolence, the beſt ingredient in our nature, that principle, which is the ſoul of all morality and

and all religion, and particularly of the Chriſtian. Long may ſuch enthuſiaſts and ſuch millenarians be ſhining lights in this houſe; for, when they fail, the ſun of Britain is ſet. But this feeble attempt at ridicule will be as ineffectual as that ſtudied miſrepreſentation, which would involve emancipation in abolition, and paint Britiſh lawgivers as violators of colonial rights. The abettors of this meaſure in attempting to procure juſtice to one claſs of men are far from meaning to injure another by encroaching on their property, or by enacting internal laws. Their aim is ſolely directed to the regulation of the Britiſh trade to Africa, which is divided into numberleſs communities imperfectly civiliſed, and governed either by elders or by kings more or leſs abſolute, and with powers very ill defined. The inhabitants, according to the report of your Committee, are cheerful, hoſpitable and patriarchal in their mode of living, the ſlaves, like old Cato's, ſitting and eating with their maſters; they have a turn for muſick and diſplay ingenuity in various kinds of manufactures, eſpecially in the interior parts of the country, where European commerce has not occaſioned degeneracy. Yet ſcripture is perverted to convince us that the colour of theſe men is a mark of divine vengeance; that they are of an inferiour ſpecies and incapable of civiliſation, and fit only to be treated as black cattle, or rather worſe, ſince the field ſlaves commonly bear the marks of the whip on their bodies, while horſes, noble animals undoubtedly, but not comparable to the loweſt ſpecies of men, though treated badly enough, God knows, by coachmen and carmen, even in the preſence of their owners, ſeldom exhibit theſe flagrant ſigns of brutality. But does not hiſtory prove that Egypt was the cradle of the ſciences? And does not obſervation

evince

evince that, ſince all the figures of men obſervable among the ſtupendous monuments of that country have the complexions, the features and proportions of African blacks, the original inventors of arts muſt have been the progenitors of theſe vilified and traduced men? Conſider the character of the preſent Greeks. Who would ſuppoſe that their anceſtors were Spartans or Athenians? Carthage, the emporium of commerce, is become an abſolute neſt of pirates. Human affairs are in a ſtate of conſtant fluctuation. Civilization and barbariſm follow in ſucceſſion, as one continent emerges from the deep, while another is ſwallowed. By what fatality this vaſt continent came to be ſo much benighted, it is not ſo much the buſineſs of a civiliſed people to inquire as to enlighten its darkneſs, to accelerate, not to retard, its progreſs towards improvement. Inſtead of adopting this policy, which our intereſt and the extenſion of our commerce obviouſly dictate, we allow rapacious traders to brutaliſe its inhabitans by inflaming their appetites and paſſions. It is in evidence that a prince who was in the moment of intoxication induced by ſome preſents and many promiſes to allow a whole village of his own unoffending ſubjects to be ſwept away by theſe piratical depredators, in the hour of returning reaſon curſed his ſeducers as his bittereſt enemies. The chief legal cauſes of ſlavery in Africa are acknowledged to be witchcraft and adultery. For witchcraft! a crime which you know to be impoſſible, even if you ſuppoſe according to its wreſted ſignification that it is the ſecret of poiſoning by charms, you will inflict the ſevereſt of puniſhments not only upon the ſuppoſed culprit, but upon all his family; inſtead of removing the ſuperſtition and informing the judgment of theſe unfortunate men.

Adultery

Adultery too! needs a Briton make a voyage to Africa for the puniſhment of this crime? Could the blacks retaliate, might they not annually freight in this country a fleet of ſhips with cargoes of white adulterers? Being compoſed of ſuch frail materials, it certainly does not become us to caſt the firſt ſtone. This mode of aiding the police of Africa is not the way to eſtabliſh the purity of our own character. But neither theſe two ſources of ſlavery nor the enormous fines purpoſely impoſed for peccadilloes are ſufficiently abundant for the ſupply of the fluctuating and variable demands of the Weſt Indies. Other inventions and more powerful engines muſt be contrived. Accordingly the princes of the country are enticed by preſents of rum and brandy, of cutlaſes and fire-arms, and of powder and ſhot with conditional promiſes of larger ſuppiles to "cry havock and let ſlip the dogs of war." This fact is corroborated by clouds of unimpeachable witneſſes, by officers in his Majeſty's army and navy, by curious men of ſcience and by traders, who overpowered by humanity, ſhrink with contrition and conſcious ſhame from ſuch ſcenes of fraud, violence, oppreſſion and murder. The invariable inſtructions of principals to their agents are to encourage the princes and rulers by brandy and gunpowder to go to war and collect ſlaves. Hence in the river Senegal armed parties are diſpatched in the night to ſurround and fire the villages, and to ſeize the men, women and children in their flight. The captives are till the morning kept tied back to back in huts on ſhore, whence the ſhips receive them as part of their cargoes. On the windward coaſt there were lately to be ſeen the remains of burnt villages, and, except the corn ſtanding, every ſign of recent deſolation. To theſe enormities the villanous

villanous practice of kidnapping is added; for the Captains of Guineamen can ſtoop to any baſeneſs. Three of theſe had the effrontery to propoſe to General Rooke to ſeize one hundred and fifty men, women and children, who had unſuſpectingly come on board one of his Majeſty's ſhips partly for trade and partly out of curioſity, and to ſend them as ſlaves to the Weſt Indies. What firmneſs and conſiſtency muſt this abominable practice have acquired, when not only one or two but three Engliſhmen could be found hard-hearted and impudent enough to hold ſuch language to an enlightened and liberal-minded Britiſh officer! His refuſal only drew from theſe traders a ſmile of contempt at his ſcrupulouſneſs of conſcience. Hence we find that the dealer in ſlaves is ſometimes confounded with thoſe whom he ſells. One of theſe merchants having diſpoſed of a young female negro, whom he had kidnapped, and finding himſelf, after being inveigled on board, kidnapped alſo," ſaid what take me too, grand trader! "Yes you and every one elſe that we can clutch." Theſe merchants frequently pretend to act as mediators between two contending parties that they have deſignedly helped to ſet at variance, and with the aſſiſtance of the European trader bring them together by hurrying them tyed back to back into a ſhip for the land of bondage. The conſequence is that, when a ſhip appears on the coaſts or in the rivers, the inhabitants are obliged to go always armed even at their ordinary work, and never venture on board, till they know whether ſhe is a man of war or a ſlave ſhip. For they know that theſe grand traders, who by the uſe of falſe weights and meaſures debaſe the character of trade, have a logick peculiar to themſelves, and never inquire whether the vender of a black, or of what they deem

deem the ſame, a ſlave, poſſeſſes the right. According to the evidence both for and againſt the trade, he would be thought a fool that ſhould propoſe ſuch a queſtion. In general the children make one-fifth of a cargo, and on the Gold-coaſt one-fourth; and as there are but few that can be procured in what is called a legal way, the reſt muſt be kidnapped. What crimes worthy of ſlavery can children commit? It is not they that are criminal, but their oppreſſors that are unjuſt. Even the ſuperintendence of this iniquitous traffick and the very air of the regions in which it is carried on, ſeem to pervert men's notions of juſtice, and to affect their veracity. The African Committee tells you that in forty years they have never heard but of two inſtances of miſconduct; and John Barnes, who, ſince his return from Africa has dealt in wine, informed you that he did not ſee how the additional duty on wine could prevent its adulteration, of which he knew nothing; and now in a ſimilar ſtrain he acquaints you that he knows nothing of kidnapping. Though long engaged in the wine trade he knows nothing of the adulteration of wine, and though long on the coaſt of Africa with all means of information at hand, he knows nothing of kidnapping. Thus in ſpite of poſitive teſtimonies, of the conceſſions of their own evidence, of particular inferences and general reaſonings, and of authentick hiſtories, the minds of theſe men are ſo warped by inveterate prejudice as to contradict the uniform experience of ages. Captain Knox, a witneſs on whom they placed great reliance, has upon this principle made aſſertions that are phyſically impoſſible, contending that in a veſſel of a given tunnage, he had conveyed a given number of ſlaves comfortably accommodated to the Weſt Indies, though from her dimenſions it

was mathematically demonſtrable that ſhe could not contain even the men, much leſs the neceſſary water and other ſtores. After theſe ſpecimens of veracity in the patrons of ſlavery we need not wonder at the ſophiſtical arguments, by which they reconcile their own judgement to their intereſt and endeavour to ſway our opinion. In juſtification of ſlavery they contend that it has been univerſal from time immemorial; as if antiquity or univerſality could ſanction crimes. On this principle murder and every other atrocity practiſed ſince the days of Cain might be juſtified.

But, if you abandon the trade, it will be more eagerly purſued by other nations, and the ſlaves will be worſe treated. What is this but the reaſoning of a man addicted to felony who conſcious of his paſt guilt ſays, "Here is a man, whom I have an opportunity of robbing on the highway, but become fully ſenſible of ſuch an action's criminality I would not take his purſe, did I not know that farther on the road there is another highwayman, who will take both his money and his life. Gain without juſtice ſhould never be a motive of action to a great nation, which ought always to be jealous of its character and ſerve as an example of juſtice and honour to inferiour ſtates.

But let us relieve our eyes by quitting the melancholy ſcenes on the African ſhores and turn to ſome ordinary wickedneſs. Alas! this relief is ſought in vain. Shunning Charybdis we daſh againſt Scylla; the middle paſſage, a gulf ſtill more horrible opens to the view. Figure to yourſelves a ſhip in a ſultry climate brimfull of wretches torn from their connections, ignorant of their deſtination, chained two and two to the bare boards without ſufficient room to extend their cramped limbs or repoſe on their excoriated backs, ſur-

rounded with filth and ordure and inhaling peſtilential vapours—but you have ſeen the ſection of a ſlave-ſhip, and it is needleſs to finiſh the horrid picture. No deſcription can equal that repreſentation. Now behold theſe miſerable beings releaſed from this infernal dungeon by couples in fetters, and on deck ſinging, dancing and eating by compulſion and by the ſmart of the laſh, like a pack of dogs diſciplined by a whipper-in, ſome with ſymptoms of inſanity or marks of deſpair in their countenances refuſing food and compelled to eat by dureſs and the application of fire to their mouths, ſome ſlit by the captains from ear to ear for obſtinacy, others leaping overboard and triumphantly exulting at their eſcape by drowning and with waved hands bidding their friends adieu on their departure to a happier clime, and others keelhawled for ſulkineſs with their bodies cut in twain and bleeding under the teeth of ſharks. You ſhudder with horrour at this picture, and well you may, for it is taken from life, and but too well authenticated. The only anſwer attempted is that the tale is too monſtrous to be believed without ſuppoſing the perpetrators raving madmen. But the fact is that unlimited power, which the captains of Guineamen and planters confeſſedly exerciſe, proceeds by long uſe to acts ſo extravagantly cruel that they aſſume the appearance of inſanity. Thus Nero, Caligula, Caracalla, Domitian, Commodus, and Heliogabalus, ſix Roman emperours no way connected by blood nor deficient in knowledge and ſcience, became in the exerciſe of uncontrouled power ſo horribly cruel that their conduct ſeems inexplicable without the imputation of madneſs. Perhaps our Richard the Third or at leaſt our Henry the Eighth will be ranked in this claſs. And may not the extra-

vagant

vagant cruelties, which we are diſcuſſing, be accounted for upon the ſame principle?

The attempts made to invalidate the teſtimonies concerning the cruelties practiſed on board of the Guineamen have proved ineffectual; for with all the ſubtlety of croſs-examination one of the witneſſes only can be charged with variations or rather doubts relative to the day or the year, in which the fact happened. Of many enormities committed by captains the following deſerves to be recited. "A boy ten years old turned ſulky and refuſed to eat. The captain taking him up ſaid "damn you, I will make you eat or I ſhall kill you." The child was then ſcourged with a cat, and with that and other ill uſage his feet ſwelled. To reduce the ſwelling the captain ordered ſome water to be heated; but the cook upon touching the water ſaid it was too hot. Damn him, replied the captain, put in his feet. In the operation the ſkin and nails came off. His feet were then wrapped in oiled cloths, and he was tied to a heavy log, till two or three days afterwards the captain caught him up again and gave him a ſecond ſcourging, which in a quarter of an hour put an end to his miſerable exiſtence. But the captain's ſavage cruelty was not yet ſatiated: regardleſs of the indignant murmurs of the ſlaves, whom in the plenitude of ſecure tyranny he ordered to be ſpectators of the horrible ſcene, he compelled the wretched mother to take up her murdered child and with averted face to drop him into the ſea as a feaſt for the ſharks. You will aſk "was this barbarian gibbeted? No; and ten thouſand ſimilar cruelties have been committed in this abominable trade with equal impunity.

But the planters are men of refined feelings and generous ſentiments. Yes; but theſe reſide in

Britain. The laughs juſt now excited by the ſtory of the murdered infant are a proof of *their* ſenſibility and tenderneſs of heart. General Totenham's evidence will give you a ſample of their generoſity and refinement. " In the publick ſtreets of Bridge-Town, the capital of Barbadoes, I met a youth about nineteen entirely naked with an iron collar having five long projecting ſpikes about his neck; his body both before and behind was covered with wounds; his belly and thighs were almoſt cut to pieces and appeared nearly one running ulcer; a finger might have been thruſt into ſome of the wheals. He could not ſit down, becauſe his hinder parts were gangrened, and it was impoſſible for him to lie down on account of the prongs of his collar." His maſter having in a fit of barbarous rage rendered him unfit for work was not ſatisfied with turning him adrift with nothing to eat and with allowing him, like an old horſe, to periſh in a ditch; his vengeance would not permit him to reſt or to ſleep.

" In a French Iſland a ſlave hardly uſed had obeyed the firſt impulſe of nature, and by flight attempted to regain his liberty. When he was apprehended, the planter to prevent the repetition of the offence ſent for his ſurgeon and ordered him to cut off the man's leg. The ſurgeon, who had more humanity than the planter, refuſed, declaring it to be his office to mend, not to maim. Then, ſaid the planter, what you decline as an act of friendſhip to me I will compell you to do as an act of duty. At the word he broke the poor man's leg, and ſaid " Now you muſt cut off his leg or the man will die."

Perhaps our generous Weſt-Indians will think this extraneous matter and nothing to the purpoſe, becauſe

becauſe the cruelty was committed in a French ſettlement. Let us then ſee what are the tender mercies of our own iſlands. "Roſs, a reſpectable witneſs, excited by uncommon ſhrieks from a barn or outhouſe ran to give relief. But what was his ſurprize, when at his entrance he ſaw a young female quite naked tied to a beam by the wriſts, and in the act of involuntary ſwinging and writhing, while her maſter, the author of her torture, ſtood below holding a lighted torch in his hand and applying it to every part of her body, as it approached him." Had this been a ſolitary inſtance of cruelty and had the perpetrator been puniſhed, it would no more diſgrace the character of the Weſt Indians, than a Brownrig diſhonours the name of Briton. But in England crimes, which in the weſtern hemiſphere would be deemed innocence itſelf, are puniſhed with death, whereas the moſt enormous barbarities there paſs unnoticed. Even ſince the commencement of this inquiry, "a female negro fifteen years old was ſcourged by her maſter, till ſhe fell down ſenſeleſs. In that ſtate ſhe was dragged to an hoſpital, where ſhe died." The maſter indeed was tried, but acquitted by his peers. And why? Becauſe his intereſt forbad him to intend her death, as the ſlave was his own; and where there is no malice prepenſe, there can be no murder. Thus, according to theſe conſcientious peers, paſſion juſtifies murder; and, as the teſtimony of ſlaves is never received as evidence, trials in the Weſt Indies are a perfect mockery of juſtice. Such in the colonies is the miſerable ſituation of ſlaves, of whom one half die in the middle paſſage and in the ſeaſoning upon a change of climate and diet; ſo that in one year fifty thouſand ſometimes periſh. And yet the ſituation of our freeborn and highminded

peaſants is inſultingly compared to the abject ſtate of theſe beings, to whom freedom is given as the beſt reward of faithful ſervice, who, though ſmarting leſs than others under the whip, will purchaſe their liberty with their laſt ſhilling, or, if they think their own life not worth buying, will purchaſe that of a ſon or a daughter or a brother or a friend; who often commit ſuicide as a deliverance; who in Africa attend funerals with ſorrow and lamentation, but in the Indies with joy and exultation as preludes to their return to thoſe regions, where free from tyrants and maſters they will enjoy without the alloy of inceſſant labour and unexampled cruelty the ſociety of their congratulating relations and friends.

Enough, perhaps more than enough, has been ſaid to expoſe the abomination of this traffick in human fleſh in its three ſtages, on the African coaſt, in the middle paſſage and in the iſlands. Now let us conſider the probable effects of the abolition on the colonies. The principal argument for the continuance of the trade is the alledged impoſſibility of maintaining the ſtock of negroes without freſh importation. The loſs in Jamaica for twenty years ending in 1788 appears from authentick documents to have been one in a hundred, to have been formerly greater and to be conſtantly diminiſhing. Beſides in this period the American war intervened, and the conſequent ſcarcity and badneſs of proviſions cauſed an epidemick diſorder, which ſwept off fifteen thouſand; and now proviſions are furniſhed by the iſland itſelf. Inſtead therefore of a diminution there is reaſon to expect an increaſe; eſpecially if proper regulations are made; if the ſlaves are put under the protection of law; if marriage is encouraged

encouraged in the place of promiſcuous intercourſe; if the uſe of ſpirituous liquors be reſtrained; if puniſhment be inflicted on maſters and overſeers for ill uſage; if abundance of wholeſome food and proper medical aſſiſtance be given; and, what has never yet happened, if due attention be paid to the eſſential articles of breeding and rearing. In America, a climate unfavourable to negroes, the ſlaves have in fifty years increaſed from two hundred to five hundred, and Bencoolen ſtands nearly in the ſame predicament. Why ſhould they diminiſh in Jamaica or St. Vincents', when the Maroons and Caribs increaſe? In Barbadoes, Nevis and Montſerrat there is no decreaſe. In Dominica the births exceed the burials; and Grenada and St. Vincent are probably in the ſame ſtate. Even in Antigua the decreaſe is only three fourths per cent in fourteen years. What reaſon then have we to ſuppoſe that the colonies are not come to that degree of maturity and improvement, which is ſufficient for maintaining and even augmenting their population? Did not the barbarous and cruel practice of importation make the planters imagine that purchaſe is cheaper than breeding, and that a pregnant woman and children are a burden and not an advantage, their drivers would not with a cart-whip rouſe to their work the mothers, when giving the breaſt to their infants in the fields, nor would their overſeers give away children like a litter of puppies thirteen to the dozen. Aſk the planters, aſk the overſeers, aſk the ſurgeons, how their attempts to rear up young negroes have ſucceeded. They will tell you that they know nothing of the matter; that they never made the attempt and that pregnant ſlaves generally procure abortion. In a latitude ſo congenial to the conſtitution of Africans nothing but

this

this culpable inattention could have prevented their increaſe and multiplication; as labouring people in a good climate and eaſy circumſtances are found to be more prolifick than any other claſs of ſociety. In this way the colonies will acquire ſtability and have no inſurrection to dread; for on all hands it is ackuowledged that the newly imported negroes are the fomenters of rebellion, and that, when moſt obedient and tractable, they are not half ſo valuable as homebred ſlaves, who become domeſticated by long uſage, and attached to the family like old ſervants. Thus it appears that the intereſt of the Weſt Indies is better conſulted by the abolition of the trade than by its continuation. And were it not ſo; no ſmall degree of expediency, no light balance of profit, nothing but abſolute ruin to the colonies, ought to outweigh an evil of ſuch magnitude, an evil which diſcredits our morals and police at home as well as our national character abroad.

Having thus demonſtrated that the abolition will be ſo far from ruining that it will improve the Weſt Indies in every reſpect we ſhall find no great difficulty in ſhowing that what is good for them cannot be bad for Britain. In the firſt place the loſs of the African trade cannot injure the Britiſh marine; becauſe it is the grave rather than the cradle of ſailors, two thouſand ſix hundred and forty three out of twelve thouſand periſhing in a twelvemonth, whereas only one hundred and eighteen out of ſeven thouſand ſix hundred in the Weſt-India trade are miſſing in ſeven months. According to lord Rodney Guineamen are but a bad nurſery for the navy; for the ſailors that they furniſh or that run away from them through bad treatment are from bad example or inveterate habit generally ſo debaſed in their moral character,

or

or ſo infected with bodily diſorders that the few, who happen to be preſſed or to enter muſt generally be diſcharged for fear they ſhould communicate the contagion either of vice or of diſeaſe. Do you deſire a ſpecimen of their ſeamanſhip and humanity? A crew of them having through want of ſkill and exertion ſtranded their veſſel on an iſlet of Jamaica made for the ſhore in their boats and left a cargo of four hundred negroes to periſh. When the ſlaves by various arts gained the land, apprehenſive of wanting proviſions they maſſacred them all, as they came, except thirty three, who were ſold as ſlaves. Can the navy then derive much aſſiſtance from this ſeminary? No; nor will Liverpool be a great loſer by the abolition of the trade; as Africa conſumes only a thirtieth part of its whole exports, and it is only a lottery yielding a profit to ſome lucky individuals but cauſing a loſs in the aggregate.

Much miſrepreſentation as well as exaggeration has been practiſed in this buſineſs in order to miſlead the houſe. With a view of perſuading you that Guineamen ſwarm with future ſailors, Tarleton has been inſtructed by his conſtituents to aſſert that landſmen conſtitute one half of their crews, though it appears from their muſter-rolls, and from the evidence of their officers before the privy council that they amount only to one ſixteenth. The planters ſwell the value of their property to ſeventy millions, and yet it is proved by documents laid before the council that it does not exceed forty millions. By including repeated voyages of the ſame ſhip in the ſame year to America and foreign iſlands the tunnage is ſwelled to two hundred and forty thouſand and the ſailors are raiſed to twenty one thouſand, though it be obvious that each of them muſt be reduced one-half.

Thomas

Thomas King, lately the captain of a ſlave ſhip, informed your committee that a ſingle merchant in London exported to Africa goods to the value of a hundred thouſand pounds. But in this ſtatement it was diſcovered that he included the veſſel; as if a ſhip could be exported and ſold to a naked ſavage. What impoſitions can be more glaring? The African trade ſeems to be no leſs the ſchool of ſubterfuge, evaſion and equivocation than of cruelty, oppreſſion and tyranny. Let us by its immediate abolition waſh our hands of it; for now they ſmell of blood and are black with murder."

Though the queſtion paſſed in the negative, its diſcuſſion was attended with the advantage of meliorating the ſituation of the negroes in the middle paſſage, and of inducing the provincial legiſlatures to enact many laws and regulations in their favour. Nor was this the only happy conſequence. A body of philanthropick adventurers projected the eſtabliſhment of a colony at Sierra Leone, on the coaſt of Africa, in the eighth degree of North latitude, where the ſoil is ſaid to be excellent, and to produce almoſt ſpontaneouſly coffee, cotton, and ſugar. The profeſſed object of this ſociety, which in ſpite of every oppoſition from the Weſt-Indians became a corporate body, liable only to pay the amount of the ſhares riſked, was to cultivate a purchaſed tract of land with freemen, and to make the experiment whether Africa could be civiliſed, and rendered more lucrative as a vent for manufactures than as a nurſery of ſlaves. The attempt is laudable, and though, like a former, hitherto unpromiſing, will, it is to be hoped, prove ultimately ſucceſsful.

Before the parliament's prorogation, which happened on the 16th of June, the oppoſition endeavoured without effect to diſcredit the report made by

by a ſelect committee appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the national income and expenditure; and, after much altercation, it was at laſt aſcertained that the former amounted to more than ſixteen millions, and the latter nearly to an equal ſum, the revenue having upon the whole increaſed one million in five years. As an additional proof of the national proſperity, and of the miniſter's financial ſkill, an act was paſſed obliging every future miniſter to provide in every loan one *per cent.* above the intereſt of the ſum borrowed, for the gradual extinction of the principal; a regulation to which Pitt has, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums levied, ſtrictly adhered during the whole parliament. The proſpect in the East-Indies afforded ſimilar conſolation; for the revenues in that quarter, amounting in all to ſeven millions, yielded not much leſs than a million and a half of neat ſurplus applicable to inveſtments or to any contingent ſervices; and Dundas, the Indian financier, declared that India would ſooner prove a financial reſource to Britain than Britain to India.

After a ſummer diſgraced by riots and con-
1792 flagrations at Birmingham, occaſioned by religious and political differences of opinion between diſſenters and churchmen, the parliament met on the 31ſt of January; and in conſequence of the king's ſpeech, which drew a flattering picture of the national proſperity, renewed the debates on the Ruſſian armament; but, as they contained no new or intereſting matter, and peace was concluded between Ruſſia and the Porte, they deſerve no farther notice. Nor will it be neceſſary to detail the arguments urged for and againſt the expediency, policy, and juſtice, of the Indian war, which was in 1790 undertaken againſt Tippoo;

poo; becauſe theſe three points will be ſufficiently obvious from the narrative and intermixed reflections which we now preſent to the reader.

The origin, progreſs, and termination of the war in India.

The death of the Emperor, or Grand Mogul, Aurungzebe, which happened ſoon after the commencement of this century, opened a vent to thoſe flames of jealouſy and diſcord which are ſo natural and ſo common among the ſons of a Mahometan polygamiſt, and which his great character and paternal authority had, during his life, with difficulty ſmothered. The ultimate conſequence was that, after many fatal convulſions, the empire, which had grown up to maturity, and ſtood united under the race of Timur for more than two hundred years, was rent to pieces, and portioned out into diſtinct principalities, ſubject to the governors of provinces and to other enterpriſing chiefs. Hence Bengal, Oude, the Decan, Myſore, and many other inferior diſtricts, became independent ſtates under different families. The power, however, of the lineal ſucceſſor to the throne was not totally annihilated till the middle of this century, when the invaſion of Nadir Shah, the Perſian uſurper, completed the diſmemberment which civil wars had begun. For upon the murder of Nadir, who, after great bloodſhed and terrible devaſtation, carried off more than ſixty millions of treaſure, Abdalla, one of his generals, having eſtabliſhed an independent kingdom in the North-Eaſt of Perſia and North-Weſt of Indoſtan, interfered in the affairs of the empire, and by uniting all the Mahometan powers defeated the native Indoos led on by the Marattas.

rattas. This people, who had never been thoroughly ſubdued by the Moguls, had during ſuch a long ſeries of troubles become ſo powerful, that they aimed at nothing leſs than the total expulſion of all foreign intruders from Indoſtan. Having long acted as mercenaries, and been juſtly ſtyled the Swiſs of India, they had under the name or colour of pay impoſed a tribute upon ſeveral provinces, and rendered others entirely their own; but being abandoned at the deciſive battle of Panniput by the Seiks, a tolerant ſect of religioniſts, who do not, like the other Indoos, reject proſelytes, and had in conſequence acquired extenſive territories, they loſt the flower of their ſoldiery, and their weight in the ſcale of power has ever ſince diminiſhed. The diſſenſions naturally ariſing from ſo dreadful a calamity as their late overthrow ſplit the Marattas into two grand diviſions, and theſe again into many ſubdiviſions under various feudal lords, who, like all other feudal confederates, cannot eaſily be brought to act in a body, as their intereſts and paſſions frequently claſh. Nothing can evince this truth more clearly than the march of an army of ſeven thouſand ſepoys, under general Goddard, acroſs the peninſula without any effectual oppoſition from the enemies, though they had a thouſand miles to march through the heart of Sindia's dominions, the moſt formidable chieftain of the weſtern confederacy. Another proof is that Hyder, the uſurper of Myſore, ſeized, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts, extenſive territories belonging to both branches of the Marattas, though aſſiſted by the Nizam, who was alſo a ſufferer in the war.

The dominions of the eaſtern diviſion of the Marattas are conſiderable in extent, but not in power, as their finances are trifling, being about

about one million ſterling. The territories of both extend from ſea to ſea for a thouſand miles over the broadeſt part of the peninſula, and are at a medium ſeven hundred miles in breadth, yielding between them a revenue of thirteen millions ſterling, which being diſſipated among an infinity of petty ſovereigns and princes, is productive of no effect adequate to its magnitude.

Contiguous to Berar, and between Bengal, the Carnatick, and Myſore, lie the territories of the Nizam, a Mahometan prince, whoſe direct revenues do not exceed a million and a half ſterling, and whoſe troops, like thoſe of the Marattas, conſiſt principally of cavalry, but are by no means equal to theirs in diſcipline and ſpirit.

The next great power is the tyrant of Myſore, whoſe dominions before the war, of which we are going to record the events, occupied a ſpace of ninety-ſeven thouſand ſquare miles, peopled by ſix millions of inhabitants, yielded thirty-nine lacks and a half of pagodas, and enabled him by means of œconomy to maintain an army amounting to one hundred and thirty-five thouſand regular and diſciplined troops, ſupported by a ſtanding militia of one hundred and eighty thouſand men of various deſcriptions. To ſuch a height of greatneſs had the houſe of Hyder, whoſe father was only the commander of a fort under the Indoo king of Myſore, riſen in the ſpace of half a century. Having learned, it is ſaid, the European tactics as a ſerjeant in the Eaſt-India company's ſepoys, Hyder had introduced order and diſcipline among the Myſorean troops, and gradually acquired ſuch weight and authority in the army that, in imitation of the Maratta miniſters, who had impriſoned their ſovereign and uſurped his authority, he confined the Rajah as a pageant

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of ſtate to be occaſionally exhibited to public view. This revolution he effected, in all probability, by imperceptibly introducing Mahometans into the military ſervice, and by giving all places of truſt and power only to the faithful, who are commanded by their Bible to ſubjugate idolaters, and to bring all opponents within the pale of their church. Some of the neighbouring petty kings and queens, that ſolicited his protection againſt their own miniſters who threatened them with the fate which the ſovereign of Myſore had experienced at his own hands, he took the opportunity of ſubjecting to his ſway as the price of his interference; ſome, under the pretence of a friendly viſit, he ſaw conſumed with their palaces by flames, as if deſtroyed by accidental fires; and others he reduced by open war without any previous ceremony or antecedent provocation on either ſide, being ſatisfied with the plea of intereſt and convenience, or with the command of the prophet. The conſequence was that by ſtratagem, treachery, or violence, the independent princes on the coaſt of Malabar were exterminated, and their territories annexed, before Hyder's death, to the Myſorean empire; and ſo decided an aſcendant had he acquired that, though once defeated by the Maratta cavalry before the walls of Seringapatam, he at laſt humbled both them and the Nizam to ſuch a degree that they were glad to purchaſe peace by relinquiſhing rich and extenſive domains. Tippoo, the preſent Sultan, who inherits his father's talents, and learned the art of war under his banner, purſued the ſame plan of politicks and conqueſt; and, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf by foreign alliances againſt that power which he had moſt to fear, ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to Paris, and to Conſtantinople, as the two ſovereigns were con-

connected by mutual intereſt, and attached to him, the one by political, and the other by religious, conſiderations.

Theſe two courts having been ſo long and ſo cloſely united were, no doubt, unanimous in their promiſes of countenance and ſupport, and particularly the former, inſtigated as it has always been againſt all its neighbours by a reſtleſs ambition, and againſt Great-Britain by jealouſy and rivalſhip. The greatneſs of the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt has indeed been long the ſubject of envy and calumny not only to France and Holland, but to all the great ſtates of Europe. Nor ought this to be a ſubject of wonder, if we conſider the tendency of the human mind to debaſe the exalted. The provinces in the eaſt at this time occupied by Britain, or dependent on it, conſiſted of Bengal and Benares, of part of Behar and Oriſſa, of Oude, of part of the provinces of Delhi and Agra, of the Carnatic, of the four circars, of the iſlands of Bombay and Salſette, and the city of Surat and its dependencies, making in all a ſpace of more than two millions of ſquare miles of the richeſt land in the world, yielding an increaſing groſs revenue exceeding twelve millions ſterling a year, and containing twenty millions of inhabitants. If to this ſtatement it be added that the Britiſh dominions ſeem capable of extenſion at pleaſure, and are only circumſcribed by the moderation of government, the fears of rivals both in the Eaſt and Weſt are eaſily conceivable. Indoſtan is full of military adventurers, both Indoo and Mahometan, ready at the call of the beſt paymaſter; and therefore the predominant nation, were it governed by the ſpirit of conqueſt, might ſoon erect an empire as extenſive as that of the Moguls. And ſince it appears from the reports of the company to the

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Houſe of Commons that the trade to Bengal is hopeleſs, who will pretend to ſay that war would not be the moſt lucrative ſpeculation? Did not the conqueſt of Bengal pour much wealth into the lap of Britain? Has the country ſuffered by an exchange of maſters? On the contrary the yearly increaſe of its revenues demonſtrates the increaſe of its population, wealth and happineſs. Why then ſhould Britons reject the boon with which providence tempts them? Like Alexander and the Romans, ought they not to proceed in their progreſs of communicating civilization and felicity, toleration and a mild government to their brothers of the human race, who now groan under the preſſure of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition? Nations can never remain long ſtationary; and their motion, if not progreſſive, muſt be retrograde. Activity prevails through all nature; the principles of attraction and repulſion keep the minuteſt as well as the largeſt portions of the univerſal ſyſtem in perpetual circulation? Why then ſhould empires be at a ſtand? Will they not in ſuch a ſtate, like ſtagnant water, corrupt and putrify? All large communities abound with reſtleſs and enterpriſing ſpirits, who, if not employed abroad, will be apt to engender miſchief at home. Hence ariſe civil wars, the worſt of evils. Were the bounds of empire ever to be fixed, it might naturally be expected that China would have adopted the meaſure; yet ſhe lately carried her victorious banners as far as the mouths of the Oxus, and ſhe acted wiſely; for, as an army is found indiſpenſibly neceſſary, it ought thus to preſerve its diſcipline and military ſpirit. The ſhortſighted, and perhaps envious advice of Auguſtus, contributed to the downfall of the Roman empire, and the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt, when conſolidated by preſcriptive poſſeſſion, muſt be extended upon the ſame principle.

The inhabitants of the vaſt peninſulaof Indoſtan, which, notwithſtanding every devaſtation, contains ſixty millions of people, may be divided into three claſſes, the Indoos, the moſt numerous, and, as far as can be aſcertained, aboriginal proprietors; the Mahometans, who ſwarmed into it as conquerors from Tartary or Perſia, and the European Chriſtians, who viſited it firſt for the ſake of trade, and were afterwards compelled by the extortion and rapacity of the ſovereigns to proceed gradually from ſelf-defence to conqueſt. The character of the Europeans, who carry with them into the Eaſt the virtues and the vices of their reſpective countries, is too well known to require any deſcription from our pen. The Mahometans, as conquerors and ſovereigns, are proud haughty and rapacious, and, as religioniſts, intolerant and cruel according to the ſpirit of Mahomet's law; but to their ſuperiors of the ſame belief mean and cringing, full of duplicity and adulation, conformably to the genius of deſpotiſm. The Indoos agreeably to their religious and civil inſtitutions conſiſting of prieſts, ſoldiers, huſbandmen and mechanicks, and of a fifth claſs, the outcaſts of the other four, and theſe again of ſeventy eight ſubdiviſions agreeing and yet differing all in ſome points, and incapable, like the ancient Egyptians, of changing their condition, but obliged all to follow the profeſſion of their fathers, it may be eaſily conceived that the body of the people live in an abject ſtate, and that, though domeſtick ſlavery is not ſo common as it was among the Greeks and Romans and other nations of the Weſt, the ſituation of the great maſs of the people is not much more eligible; and that, when vigorouſly attacked by a foreign enemy, they will, like the Greek and Roman ſlaves, like the Braban-

Brabanters and Hollanders, bend to the ſtorm, and ſubmit to a new as readily as to an old maſter. To this ſource much more than to climate or food may be traced the eaſe, with which this peninſula has been overrun by invaders ever ſince the era of hiſtory. Were it not ſo, Arabia, Perſia and other countries in the ſame latitude would have been ſubject to the ſame misfortune; and, what is contrary to every day's experience, it would have been impoſſible for the Europeans, and particularly for the Britiſh to regiment bodies of Seypoys not afraid to encounter the veteran ſoldiers of Europe in the field, and the men, who with fixed bayonets drove the French out of their entrenchments at Porto Novo, could not have been found. How this ſyſtem ſo degrading to human nature was firſt eſtabliſhed, cannot be poſitively aſcertained, as its date is prior to any records yet diſcovered; but from the ſuperiour fairneſs of complexion obſervable in the ſacerdotal and perhaps in the military claſſes it ſeems probable that ſo violent an alteration of the uſual ſtate of human ſociety was effected by conquerors from the north, and that the original natives were confined by the Bramins and Raja-poots, the conquerors, to agricultural and mechanical employments, as the ancient inhabitants were, in the progreſs of conqueſt throughout the Roman empire, attached by the northern barbarians as villans to the ſoil. What ſtrongly corroborates this opinion is that not only the lands in the provinces ſubdued by the Mahometan arms, and conſequently ſubject to feudal tenures, but thoſe alſo, which are governed by native Rajahs or kings, are farmed out by the ſovereign, the only proprietor, to the higheſt bidder for a limited number of years; a thing never known but in countries in which intruders domineer. If the indo-

lence, docrlity and ductility attributed to the Indoos ariſe from food or climate, how come the Marattas, a tribe of them, to be now ſo formidable and in the year 1760 to have contended for the empire of the peninſula, and to have only failed by the treachery of their countrymen, the Seiks? If it be ſaid with Rainal that they are comparatively a northern nation; and that tne obſervation is only true, when applied to the ſouthern provinces, where invaſions by ſea have proved ſo eaſy to Europeans, it may be aſked how it is that the ſouthern troops of Hyder and Tippoo acquired a ſuperiority over the Marattas, and the ſtill more ſouthern troops of Madraſs a much greater ſuperiority over both? The fact ſeems to be that, whether Brama was ſimilar to the preſent Grand Lama of Tartary, or to the pope of Europe, or a victorious king, who united in his own perſon the offices of high-prieſt and ſovereign, he enſlaved by his regulations the minds as well as the bodies of the people; and hence conqueſts have in conſequence of the non-reſiſtance of the great maſs of the inhabitants been as frequeut at leaſt in the north as in the ſouth. Bacchus, Alexander, the Perſians, the Moguls, the Patans and the Afgans never became abſolute maſters of all the ſouth, though all laid the north proſtrate at their feet.

After theſe remarks is it neceſſary to argue that the Indoos, inſtead of being honeſt, upright and ſincere, muſt like all conquered and enſlaved nation, be fraudulent, hollow and deceitful? Such are the characteriſticks of the Chineſe, who ſtand in the ſame predicament, and ſuch are the traits, which diſtinguiſh the features of the Indoo's conduct, in ſpite of the efforts of the Britiſh ſuperintendants to check his malverſations. Who takes the life of a parent, when diſabled for labour by age?

age? The Indoo. Who commits ſuicide by immoveably baſking in the ſun, till he is waſhed away by the refluent tide of the Ganges? The Indoo. Who is moſt notoriouſly guilty of extortion and rapine, when entruſted with the collection of the revenue? The Indoo. Who buries men up to the chin in the earth for the diſcovery of hidden treaſure? The Indoo. Who uſes thumb-ſcrews, racks and various ſpecies of torture for the ſame purpoſe? The Indoo. Who tolerates the barbarous Scythian cuſtom of burning the wife upon the tomb of the huſband, of cruſhing to death frantick devotees under the wheels of ſacred cars at Avanaſhee, and of ſtripping the pilgrims at Jaggernant of their property and immuring them in dungeons, till they periſh through want and diſfigure the hideous incloſures with their blanched ſkeletons? The Indoo. What then is become of the mild, tractable and inoffenſive character that is ſo much vaunted? The genuine character of the Indoo is ſuch as might have been expected in a conquered and enſlaved man, mean ſelfiſh and puſillanimous; but, where he is not enſlaved, like that of other men in ſimilar circumſtances, varying with variety of ſituation. May it not then be reaſonably concluded that, as the Engliſh Sepoys are levied indiſcriminately from all claſſes and poſſeſſed of a high character for military proweſs and other virtues, an imitation of their example will gradually eradicate the unſociable and repulſive principles peculiar to the Indoo religion, and teach the people to live like brothers in the ordinary commerce of life, as they are credulouſly thought by ſome hiſtorians to do in the temple of Jaggernaut, the fabulous repreſentation of their ſuppoſed condition in a fnture ſtate. Hence little praiſe ſeems due to the philanthropy of certain pretended coſmopolites, who put up

pious vows to heaven that the Mahometans and Indoos may exterminate the Europeans, and force the ſea to ſwallow what they call its own vomit.

The practice, of ſelecting ſoldiers, like Julius Cæſar, only for ſtrength and vigour, and from every tribe and every religion, is not peculiar to the Britiſh; the uſurpers of Myſore have adopted it partially, as they have the European tacticks; and French, Engliſh, Dutch, Bramins, and Rajapoots, are to be found intermingled in their armies. They have been in the habit too of carrying away as captives all the robuſt and well-made boys found in the countries ravaged by their armies, and, after forcing them to undergo the Mahometan rite of circumciſion, of training them up into regular battalions denominated chela, a term equivalent to adopted brothers. In this manner the Carnatic and the coaſt of Malabar have contributed largely to the formation of that diſciplined infantry with which Tippoo, daſhing his turban againſt the ground, ſwore by the prophet that he would never reſt till he exterminated the Britiſh, the moſt formidable bars to his ambition, from India.

As a preliminary ſtep towards the accompliſhment of this ſcheme of aggrandiſement, the king of Travancore, whom he called a pebble in his ſlipper, muſt firſt be removed, and the Myſorean dominions be extended to cape Comorin. This conqueſt would have been atchieved, or at leaſt attempted, at a much earlier period, had not his father's career been ſtopped by the intervention of the French and Dutch, whom it was dangerous to offend, as they were his beſt auxiliaries againſt Britain. At this juncture the ſame reaſons could not operate, as the Dutch had changed ſides, and ſold to the king of Travancore the forts of Jacot-

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tah and Cranganore, which, though they had poſſeſſed them as ſovereigns, for more than a century, they now deſpaired of ſecuring from the known rapacity and violence of Tippoo. Eager to catch at any colourable pretext for war Tippoo accuſed the Travancorian of injuſtice, in having bought what the Dutch had no right to ſell, as the purchaſed forts were within his territories, and dependencies of thoſe diſtricts, which his father had acquired by right of conqueſt. In the ſame ſpirit of chicanery and encroachment the tyrant charged this ſingle relique of the Indoo princes on the coaſt of Malabar with the crime of harbouring ſeveral royal perſonages expelled by him and his father from their native country whom he ſtyled fugitives, vagabonds, and thieves, and particularly the Zamorin, the head of the Indoo kings on this coaſt at the arrival of the Portugueſe, whom the mutability of human affairs had reduced to the neceſſity of ſtealing into General Macleod's camp to petition for a little rice for his daily ſubſiſtence. The lines too, which had been drawn to ſecure Travancore on the onely ſide, which was vulnerable, Tippo diſcovered now for the firſt time to have been erected on his territories. All theſe claims unequivocally indicated the Myſorean's reſolution to quarrel and to wound Britain through the ſides of the Travancorian prince, her ally. Accordingly the governor of Madras was directed by Lord Cornwallis to inform him that an attack upon Travancore would be deemed an attack upon the Britiſh dominions. But Holland the governor, influenced by motives that have ſubjected him to a proſecution at law, temporiſed; and the order was not executed.

Tippoo in the mean time clambering over the mountains and threading his way through the bruſhwood without cannon and without baggage

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doubled the lines at the north-eaſt angle with a numerous body of troops, and bayoneting all opponents for the ſpace of three miles was upon the point of ſurmounting every obſtacle and opening the whole country to his rapacious legions, when a body of Travancorians checked his progreſs in a narrow paſs by the fire of a well directed ſix-pounder loaded with grape-ſhot. Battalion after battalion advanced to the charge; but without effect: the Trevancorians remained firm as a rock, encouraged by the devaſtation of their artillery and by a conſtant acceſſion of new ſtrength. The Myſoreans notwithſtanding the reiterated efforts of the haughty Tippoo, who rode conſpicuous on a white horſe from rank to rank, fled, and hurried away the ſultan in the throng. The enemies purſued and committed great havock with their deſtructive hatchets. Tippoo's horſe fell under him; but he eſcaped bruiſed and wounded, by leaping from the lines into the ditch, leaving behind him his palankeen with ſome jewels and his ſeal, his turban and his ſword. His troops crowding into two narrow paſſages, which had been made in the lines as embraſures for pieces of artillery upon their approach, and retarded by the caſual or intended conflagration of the cotton uſed as a cover, hurried into the copſe behind a bound-hedge, many of them being hideouſly gaſhed with wounds, many miſerably ſcorched, and fifteen hundred left dead within the lines.

The diſaſtrous iſſue of an enterpriſe, by which he expected to adorn his turban with freſh laurels, was what the fiery mind of Tippoo could not bear with patience: but unprepared for a regular attack he was obliged to wait for the arrival of his heavy artillery and to lie idle above two months, at no greater diſtance than five miles from his enemy.

my. When a competent proviſion of military ſtores was ſecured, regular approaches were made, batteries erected, and breaches effected in various parts of the lines for the ſpace of three miles. Rain to, which in theſe regions pours down in torrents, waſhed away the looſened and crumbling fabric. Still the Myſoreans heſitated, and for a fortnight remained inactive, being deterred from the attack perhaps by ſuperſtition, by the weather or by the dread of the collected force of a hundred thouſand Indoos ranged behind the lines. Emboldened by this irreſolution in the aſſailants the Indoos made a ſally and attacked two of the Myſorean batteries, but falling into an ambuſcade and being enfiladed by muſketry and grape-ſhot they were ſoon thrown into irreparable confuſion and fled, but not till they had felt the bayonets of the invaders. There had been no previous concert, no general agreement of co-operation, among the Indoos; on the contrary moſt of them had diſperſed to collect wood for fires; ſo that the purſuers cut down the boundhedge without reſiſtance, paſſed the ditch and mounted the lines, and ſlaughtered the fugitives at pleaſure. Indeed the panick was ſo univerſal and the conſternation ſo great that nothing but the ſteady countenance and determined valour of two battalions of Britiſh ſepoys under captain Knox prevented the total deſtruction of the Travancorians. This detachment being ſoon joined by a body of troops under Col. Hartley from Bombay ſtemmed the torrent of devaſtation, with which the promiſcuous uſe of fire and ſword was overwhelming the kingdom, and enabled the miſerable natives to quit their retreats in the woods where they choſe to lie expoſed to the tigers and other wild beaſts rather than to the mercileſs perſecution of this Mahometan barbarian.

barian. The approach of the Engliſh army too under General Meadows, the governor of Madras, who had gained ſo much well-earned praiſe by his defence of St. Lucia againſt the French in the preceding war, convinced Tippoo that it was time to retire and to prepare for ſecuring his own dominions from retaliation.

The invaſion and conſequent deſolation and depopulation of the Travancorian dominions were not the only cauſes of complaint againſt Tippoo. To ſay nothing of his perfidious breach of treaty to General Matthews and his army, of their impriſonment in dungeons, where many of them were loaded with irons, many ſuffocated, and many ſtarved, inſtead of being allowed to retire unplundered with the honours of war according to agreement, he violated the laſt treaty of peace in a ſimilar manner by retaining in priſon numbers of Britiſh ſubjects, whom, when bribes and promiſes failed, he tried to engage in his ſervice by forcible circumciſion and other tortures. To all theſe juſt motives for war add the tyrant's rooted antipathy to the Britiſh name and an enthuſiaſtic ardour to exterminate the ſect of the Chriſtians, and you will have an adequate idea of the juſtice and even neceſſity of this war on the ſide of Great Britain.

Fortunately for this country Tippoo had in the height of his pride irreconcileably offended the Marattas and the Nizam, by his injuſtice; and therefore the governor general found no great difficulty in cementing with them alliances, which they had propoſed at a former period, but which he had rejected as faithleſs breaches of treaty. As ſoon as the peace was violated by the Myſorean himſelf, it was ſtipulated that the Marattas and the Nizam ſhould be furniſhed by the Britiſh with two battalions of ſepoys each and two detachments

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of artillery to be paid by them, and in return that the Marattas and the Nizam, when required, ſhould furniſh the company with ten thouſand horſe to be paid by it; an arrangement, which, according to ſome calculators, muſt coſt eight hundred thouſand pounds a year. The three contracting powers agreed to commence the attack in concert and to ſhare equally among them any eventual conqueſts.

The force deſtined by government for military operations on the eaſtern ſide of the peninſula conſiſted of one regiment of Engliſh dragoons, of five regiments of native cavalry, of three battalions of artillery, of twelve regiments of European foot, of forty-four battalions of native infantry, beſides fifteen hundred European invalids for garriſons, making in all a body, if complete, of more than forty thouſand men, of which only twenty-five thouſand took the field; fifteen under General Medows, in the ſouth from Tritchinopoly and ten firſt under Col. Kelly and then under Col. Maxwell from Conjeveram. Theſe two armies after reducing all the country below the paſſes leading to Myſore were to form a junction and to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's dominions.

The ſouthern army was firſt in motion; but its motions were but ſlow; as the government of Madras actuated by a miſtaken plan of œconomy or by pecuniary ſchemes of private emolument diſregarded Cornwallis's orders, and had not in due time provided it with the neceſſary equipments. The country being deſtitute of roads, proviſions, military ſtores, forage, and every article required in a camp muſt be carried on the backs of beaſts of burden, which can be got in due perfection only in times of peace. And it is worthy of remark that an army of twenty thouſand men cannot be

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ſet in motion without ſixty thouſand followers, and that the rice conſumed in thirty days in conjunction with military ſtores and ordnance will require for carriage and draught ſixty thouſand bullocks, excluſively of elephants and camels. In this reſpect Tippoo had a prodigious advantage over the Britiſh troops, as he had ſelected a proper ſtock of camels, elephants and bullocks at his leiſure for the contigencies of war, and could therefore by the celerity of his motions baffle all their efforts. Notwithkanding this ſuperiority it is reckoned that in the different Britiſh armies there were employed no leſs than forty thouſand bullocks at a yearly expence of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. When, beſides theſe enormous diſburſements for bullocks and auxiliary cavalry, the reader conſiders the extraordinary charges of ſuddenly collecting grain and other neceſſaries for ſuch immenſe hoſts, he will not be ſurpriſed that the government of Madras diverted by Cornwallis's directions the ſeven hundred thouſand pounds of ſilver intended for purchaſes in the markets of China into the channel of the military ſervice, which required ready money, while the civil ſervice might for ſome time ſubſiſt upon credit.

Though Cornwallis has lately imitated the prudence and foreſight of Tippoo in forming magazines of grain in years of peace and plenty to anſwer the exigencies of war or of ſcarcity, this policy, which is ſo obvious and ſo neceſſary in regions, where famine muſt otherwiſe be the conſequence of an accidental failure of rain, had not then been but partially adopted. This neglect was the more inexcuſable, as the grain, eſpecially of the hilly country, will retain all its vegatative and nutritious qualities for four or five years, and ought to be ſold at moderate prices and replaced by freſh grain

grain after the example of the Myſorean tyrant, who diſcovers the utmoſt attention to the improvement of agriculture and to the eaſe and comfort of the peaſantry, making the governors of the different diſtricts reſponſible for any defalcation from his revenues in conſequence of a huſbandman's bankruptcy. The embarraſſed ſtate of the company's finances, which had not yet recovered from the ſevere ſhock received in the violent but glorious ſtruggle maintained by Haſtings againſt the combined efforts of Europe and India, rendered this improvidence the more diſtreſsful: but the diſtreſs was in ſome meaſure alleviated by the preſumption of Tippoo, who reckoning upon the puſillanimity or avarice of the preſidency of Madras imagined that they would remain idle ſpectators of the conqueſt of Travancore, and therefore did not adopt the precaution of removing the grain from his territories below the paſſes into Myſore. This preſumption and negligence probably aroſe in part from the daily expectation of aſſiſtance from France, whoſe plans of rivalſhip and ambition precipitated Tippoo and Spain into the ſame abyſs of miſery, in which ſhe herſelf now groans; and in part from the high opinion, which he entertained of his own reſources and military talents. Having in perſon cut off the detachment of Braithwaite and the armies of Baillie and Matthews, and humbled the Nizam and the Marattas he thought no enterprize above his capacity, and fondly hoped that the fates reſerved for him the renewal of the Mahometan empire in Indoſtan.

About the middle of June Medows entered the enemy's country, and met with no reſiſtance worth notice till the latter end of Auguſt. Many gallant exploits indeed were performed by individuals and detached parties. Cornet Forbes, having

having killed in ſingle combat after the example of the Homeric warriors the leader of a ſuperior body of horſe, routed the whole detatchment. Parkes, a ſtout and valiant dragoon, was in a predatory excurſion ſurpriſed by a party of ſix horſemen, and finding himſelf unequal to ſuch fearful odds took his ſtation in a narrow paſs ſecure from attack on each flank, where he laid three of the aſſailants dead at his charger's feet, and made a third priſoner to atteſt in conjunction with four horſes the gallantry of his exploit. Cornet Rideout with half his troop ſurpriſed one hundred and fifty horſemen and killed all but eleven, who were made priſoners. All the places of note in the ſouthern part of the Sultan's dominions, Caroor, Daraporam, Coimbetore, Erroad, Dindigul, Paligautcherry, Demicotta, and Sattimungalum, ſome of them lately the reſidences of independent princes who lived in ſplendour and dignity, were ſeized with great gallantry but little bloodſhed. The country was found ſo well ſtored with grain, that by the induſtry of the commanders, magazines adequate to a year's conſumption were filled; and the luxuriant verdure of the ſoil without any other aid recruited the horſes and bullocks to the great benefit of the contractors. A double monſoon, the great rivers, the Cavary, the Bevanee, and the Noel, with the various ſtreams, by which they are fed, enable the patient induſtry of the Indoo to fill his reſervoirs at pleaſure and to derive from the fertiliſed boſom of the earth inexhauſtible riches. Hence in many places three crops are reaped in a year, and five and even ſix in Tanjore; and hence the extenſive province of Coimbetore, the delightful and romantick vallies of Selim, of Baramaul and of various other denominations, exhibited ſcenes of culture not unworthy of the moſt improved

proved part of England. Chequered with milk-hedges and green incloſures theſe diſtricts might be called the gardens of the Sultan's empire; and certainly they were the parts from which he drew his principal reſources.

Eager therefore to recover ſuch valuable poſſeſſions Tippoo with great addreſs and with little credit to the vigilance of the Britiſh commanders, whom ſucceſs ſeems to have lulled aſleep, deſcended in the beginning of September with a vaſt train of artillery and baggage, from the mountains through a defile fifteen miles in length with an army of forty thouſand men and double that number of followers, croſſed the Bevannee at the only fordable place without moleſtation, and thus rendered the capture of Sattimungalum of little utility to Meadows; as the capture was intended for guarding the defile and the ford. In this important ſtation colonel Floyd with a body of horſe and foot nearly equal to one wing of the army was poſted. By him the pickets under captain Child were ſent to reconnoitre the ford, and major Darly was ordered to ſupport them with his regiment of cavalry. At break of day Child diſcovered a formidable body of horſe at ſo inconſiderable a diſtance that no ſafe retreat could be made without a previous attack. This meaſure was executed with ſuch judgement and ſpirit that the party retired without farther riſk; but unfortunately not by the route taken by Darley, who, after killing or diſperſing a party of two hundred horſemen, found his regiment threatened by numerous bodies of cavalry advancing in different directions. After diſpatching a well-mounted European ſerjeant with intelligence to Floyd, Darley with great intrepidity and preſence of mind determined to occupy and diſpute a commanding height in his rear;

rear; but having a defile to paſs he ordered one ſquadron to cover the reſt, as they retreated, with the fire of their carbines. This ſervice being ſucceſsfully performed, and the ground where their flanks were protected by two ſtrong hedges, taken, the regiment conſiſting of three hundred men, ſtood firm, and for three quarters of an hour baffled the various attacks of ſix or ſeven thouſand horſemen with the ſame arms and of the ſame deſcription. Never did ſuperiority of diſcipline and confidence in officers appear more conſpicuous. Notwithſtanding the various movements of the Myſoreans to produce an alteration of poſition, notwithſtanding a ſmart fire in different directions, the phalanx remained impenetrable to the enemies, who could make no impreſſion, though encouraged by attacks upon our officers by the Sultan's captains, that periſhed in their attempt. At this critical juncture arrived major Stevenſon's regiment, aud ſoon after Child with the pickets, and Floyd with the Britiſh dragoons. Diſheartened by the preceding conteſt and ſeeing freſh reinforcements the Myſoreans retreated, but in good order; purſued however and overtaken they were broken with great ſlaughter; five hundred were after a ſtout reſiſtance cut to pieces by the nervous arm of the Britiſh dragoons alone in an incloſure which prevented their eſcape. The ſtandard of Mahomet adorned the victory, which coſt only a few fleſh wounds.

Soon after this action, which proved the ſuperiority of the Company's cavalry, a diſtant cannonade between the two armies took place, and the reſult was that Floyd reſolved in the night to relinquiſh Sattimungalum and to join Meadows; a meaſure, by which the whole plan of the campaign was deranged, and not only the newly conquered

quered country, but even the Carnatic was exposed to numerous bodies of horſe. This diſaſter might probably have been prevented, had the cavalry only retreated and the infantry, according to the advice of ſome officers, been left to defend Sattimungalum, till Meadows with the main body joined them. This reſolution, which ſeems to have been dictated by want of ammunition for the artillery, was ſoon whiſpered through the camp; and when it was known that no attention was to be paid to the baggage or the followers, the panic was ſo general that few artificers could be found to repair the carriages, which had been damaged. This deficiency was, however, ſupplied by ſome European ſoldiers, by the ſkill of the officers of artillery and by the inventive genius of major Dallas: but the havock made by the preceding day's cannonade among the gun-bullocks rendered it impoſſible to carry off all the artillery.

All theſe impediments joined to an unaccountable delay in evacuating Sattimungalum prevented the march till four in the morning; and ſoon after eleven at the diſtance of twelve miles from the late encampment Tippoo commenced a cannonade upon the rear. The gun-bullocks being unfed were exhauſted. More guns and ſeveral tumbrils were conſequently abandoned. Still Tippoo gained ground. About four in the afternoon colonel Oldham was forced to halt and form; and the cavalry, after having foraged, returned to the ſcene of action. The enemy preſſed on, and the battle raged with much fury. An attack on the baggage having proved ſucceſsful emboldened the aſſailants to meditate an attack on the line; but terrified by the undaunted countenance and inceſſant fire of the Europeans, whoſe ſpirit the native

troops were aſhamed not to imitate, the Myſoreans kept aloof, and did not venture to charge, though inſtigated by many and fatal efforts of their commanders. At laſt major Stevenſon by attacking and routing a large body of horſe, that threatened to pour in upon one of the flanks, put an end to the conflict. A ſhout of exhultation at the ſuppoſed arrival of Meadows deſignedly or accidentally circulated among the Europeans and communicated inſtantaneouſly to the Sepoys made Tippoo imagine that the re-echoed huzza would be followed by its uſual concomitant, a charge with the bayonet. A retreat was accordingly ſounded, and left Floyd quiet maſter of the well-diſputed field; and with triumph he declared that during the whole of this ſevere ſervice, in which the troops had not eat for three days, not a murmur was heard. What might not have been expected from ſuch men, had the infantry remained at Sattimungalum till the arrival of Meadows, who was in full march for the relief of this poſt!

The remainder of the campaign is but an unintereſting ſeries of marches and counter-marches, in which, except the capture of Daraporam and its garriſon by Tippoo, nothing deſerves notice, till he croſſed the Cavery and marched to the northeaſt with a view of intercepting Maxwell's army, in which he was diſappointed and forced by the junction of the two to aſcend the paſs of Tapoor into Myſore. Still this active and wary prince found means to give both armies the ſlip, and to divert the threatened attack upon Myſore by marching ſtraight into the Carnatick towards Tritchinopoly, the great magazine of military ſtores and proviſions. The ſwollen ſtate of the Cavery and the approach of Meadows forced Tippoo to abandon his project; but he ſtill proceeded

eaſtward

eaſtward through the Carnatick, ravaging and plundering the whole country in his march, and expecting that a commercial preſidency would, as in the days of his father, prefer ſordid intereſt to honour, and ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould preſcribe. But the times were altered, and firm military characters had taken the place of merchants and clerks. The artful Mahometan's propoſals were rejected, and he was by want of proviſions and by other cauſes forced to evacuate the Carnatick and to retire into Myſore.

1791 Earl Cornwallis, the governor-general, having found that neither the diverſion cauſed by the Marattas and the Nizam, nor the exertions made by Meadows, had ſecured the Carnatic from invaſion and devaſtation, reſolved to head the army in perſon in order to bring to a ſpeedy concluſion a war, of which the long continuance muſt ruin the finances of the company. After circulating reports of his intention to invade Myſore by the Southern paſſes he joined the army, which was reinforced by one thouſand four hundred volunteer ſepoys from Bengal, and provided with ſome elephants and camels from the ſame quarter, at Velore, and ſuddenly penetrated into Myſore by the Muglee paſs, which is neither ſteep nor difficult, not exceeding one hundred feet in perpendicular height. That noble and docile animal, the elephant, who, if the food of horſes and bullocks fails, is contented with the leaves and boughs of trees, proved of ſingular ſervice, ſhoving forward with the incumbent weight of his ſhoulder or raiſing with the tenacious graſp of his proboſcis the heavy ordnance or any other cumbrous maſs, that muſt be dragged up the precipices by tackle attached to poſts fixed in the ground, or to trees interſperſed among the thickets.

This country, which is poſſeſſed by feudal chieftains, enjoying, like the reſt of Tippoo's territories, the benefit of a double monſoon, is eaſily inundated by means of reſervoirs of water, and is therefore fertile in grain and herbage; and quantities of corn and forage in magazines or in ſtacks indicated a mild and indulgent government. Tempted by the proſpect the followers of the army here became licentious, and plundered the peaſants without mercy; but nine of their leaders, that were next day hanged as examples in nine of the camp-markets, prevented future depredations. The good effects of this wholeſome ſeverity were ſoon viſible. The villagers in general continued their uſual occupations and ſhut their gates only againſt thoſe that were not armed. This ſpecies of neutrality in theſe mountaineers is the more remarkable, that few of Tippoo's dependents diſcovered indifference, much leſs diſaffection, during the war. Even the Indoos, whoſe temples and altars policy had in ſpite of Mahometan bigotry taught him to reſpect, remained ſteady to his intereſt. Few deſerted, and many from attachment to his cauſe deſtroyed their houſes and grain at the riſk of famine.

As the army approached Bangalore, the firſt object of the invaſion, the Sultan's numerous cavalry hovered on its ſkirts, removing the cattle, deſtroying the grain and defacing the country to impede its progreſs. Three deſperadoes actuated by opium and religious enthuſiaſm, or by the promiſes of the tyrant, ruſhed one day at full gallop againſt the commander in chief, devoting themſelves, like the three Deciuſes, for the ſalvation of their country, which in their mind depended on the fall of Cornwallis. Two of them fell victims to their temerity, and the third owed his

life

life to the clemency of the general. That this was the ſtratagem of Tippoo is the more probable that a ſimilar attempt was made ſoon afterwards near Seringapatam by a conſiderable body of cavalry that was diſperſed by the alertneſs and ſpirit of ſome recruits employed in learning the manual exerciſe near the general's tent. On the 5th of March the Earl reached Bangalore, and finding Tippoo with his army in conſtant motion, and watching every opportunity to cut off his baggage, he ordered the chief engineer with ſome ſtaff-officers, eſcorted by Colonel Floyd at the head of ſix regiments of cavalry, to reconnoitre the defences of the city on the North-Eaſt ſide. This gallant but impetuous officer, urged by the hopes of a more ſplendid atchievement, went in an attack upon the enemy's horſe beyond the preſcribed limits, and after being wounded in the head, and with difficulty ſaved by the ſpirited conduct of Lieutenant Roderick Mackenzie, loſt a hundred men and a very conſiderable part of Tippoo's baggage and guns, which would have otherways been irretrievably loſt to the Sultan.

To remove the impreſſion made by this untoward event the town was on the ſeventh ſtormed by the Europeans and ſepoys of Bengal under the direction of General Medows, and of the colonels Cockerell and Moorhouſe, of whom the latter fell as he was advancing the great guns. Notwithſtanding the ſlaughter effected by the Britiſh bayonets, the defenders ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the quarter contiguous to the fort; and Tippoo, anxious to recover his reputation and to ſupport the ſpirits of his ſoldiers, threatened an attack in every direction, though his ſole aim was to amuſe Cornwallis, while he filed off a reinforcement of 6000 picked men to regain the town and to ſecure

the citadel. But the experience and ſagacity of the Britiſh chief were not thus to be deceived. He likewiſe ſtrengthened his forces in the city, and ſo rendered abortive a nocturnal attack that was made by the governor with uncommon boldneſs and ſpirit. In ſpite of all the ſtratagems uſed by an active and crafty enemy, the batteries erected in the town againſt the fort had, by the twentieth, made a practicable breach; and on the twenty-firſt, a little before midnight, the garriſon that had watched for the attack on the preceding night, being overpowered with ſleep, was ſurprized and miſerably ſlaughtered by the aſſailants under colonel Maxwell. Bahadar Khan, the Mogul governor, after a vigorous reſiſtance, fell honourably near the breach, having his whole body, which was as fair as any European's, covered with wounds, and his long white beard clotted with gore. Tippoo wept at the recital of his fate, and, when offered his body for decent burial by Cornwallis, declared that the Khan could be no where more honourably buried than in the ſpot on which he fell. Accordingly his funeral was performed with much ſolemnity in the Mogul faſhion.

But the ſavage nature of Tippoo could not be tamed by this generous behaviour; for the return which he made was additional cruelty to his priſoners. Anxious to conceal his violation of truth and of the late treaty, he ordered three Britiſh ſubjects, whom he had detained at Ouſſore, to be murdered. Locks of hair cut from their heads, as they lay in their opened graves, are in the poſſeſſion of Lieutenant Mackenzie, the hiſtorian of the war. In the town, which, except the palace, a grand as well as elegant ſtructure, is an oval of a mile in circumference, and conſiſts of mean and confuſed buildings, were found 120 pieces of cannon,

non, bearing the marks of French, Spaniſh, and Engliſh conſtruction, with ammunition ſufficient for a twelvemonth's ſiege, two powder-magazines, founderies, ſtore-houſes, and other public erections. The ſoil of this ſpot, which is nearly at an equal diſtance from either Monſoon, and therefore neither parched nor deluged, was found rich and fertile, bringing to perfection even the culinary vegetables of Europe when committed to its boſom. Theſe advantages added to the ſalubrity of the air, and to the exhauſted ſtate of the cavalry and of the draught cattle, of which vaſt numbers had periſhed through want of ſuſtenance, occaſioned by the impoſſibility of foraging in a ravaged country and before Tippoo's prodigious multitudes of horſe, dictated the neceſſity of ſome repoſe to refreſh and invigorate every department. This indiſpenſible arrangement enabled the diſmayed Myſoreans to eſcape without the loſs of their baggage and artillery.

The fame of this great and unexpected blow depreſſed the ſpirits of Tippoo's garriſons and reanimated the languid and irreſolute allies. Capool, Darwar, and other inferior forts, of which the ſieges had been converted into blockades, ſurrendered on terms, though not reduced to extremity, nor even to diſtreſs.

To accelerate the approach of the Nizamite cavalry Cornwallis moved firſt to the North and then to the Eaſt, and by theſe manœuvres fruſtrated the Sultan's plan of intercepting the convoys from the Carnatic, and the auxiliaries from Hyderabad. Theſe auxiliaries, amounting to 14,000 horſemen, came armed each according to his own fancy, one with a matchlock, or with a bow and arrows, another with a ſword, a pike, or a ſpear. Some were caſed in ſteel up to the elbows, ſome covered with

coats of mail, and with helmets of ſolid metal; and many wore breaſt-plates, or carried round ſhields and bucklers for a defence. This motley and undiſciplined multitude, without ſubordination and without concert, were upon trial found unequal in every conflict to the Sultan's compact ſquadrons; ſo that terrified by repeated diſcomfiture they would hazard no diſtant excurſion, and it became ſoon queſtionable whether their conſumption of proviſions did not overbalance the benefit of their ſervices.

After the arrival of an eſſential convoy from the Carnatic, and the adjuſtment of every practicable meaſure, the army moved towards Seringapatam, firſt through hilly ground and perplexed thickets, and then over verdant but deſerted plains, on which the cattle were allowed a day for reſt and refreſhment. Indeed fatigue and the want of food had ſo reduced the number of beaſts for draught, that the officers were forced to lend their aſſiſtance for the carriage even of cannon-balls, and of proviſions for the men, and that only for twenty days.

Having, by a circuitous march of ten days, to avoid obſtruction from Tippoo's hill-forts and troops, reached the Caveri, Cornwallis found the river impaſſable below the capital; but obſerving the hoſtile army ranged behind a deep ſwampy ravin lined with batteries, with the Caveri on its right, and a rugged mountain on its left, and being informed that the ridge of mountains on his right, though with difficulty, was paſſable, he reſolved in the night to turn the Sultan's left flank, and by gaining his rear to cut off his retreat to the iſland and fort of Seringapatam. But through the darkneſs of a rainy night, the weakneſs of the public cattle, and the miſtakes of ſtraying battalions, ſo many halts took place that only a few miles were

traverſed when day began to appear. The original plan was now abandoned; but, as the moſt difficult part of the march was accompliſhed, the commander reſolved to proceed to hazard a battle on ground, which, he truſted, would not be ſo favourable to the enemy as that originally choſen.

Tippoo, with the ravin now on his right, and a ſteep hill on his left, poſted a ſtrong detachment on the hill from which it muſt, before a general engagement, be diſlodged. The Britiſh army being drawn up in three lines on the rugged declivity of the mountain had a valley and a continuation of the foreſaid ravin to croſs, and ſuſtained ſome loſs from the enemy's artillery and cavalry during two hours, which were required for this manœuvre. That object being gained and the lines formed, Colonel Maxwell with five battalions carried the hill without much reſiſtance or loſs, and the action then became general, the enemy's horſe retiring behind their infantry. The Myſoreans on this occaſion diſplayed more than ordinary firmneſs, but obſerving Maxwell's diviſion moving towards their left flank, and the cavalry towards their right, they began to waver and at laſt to give way in ſpite of the Sultan's exertions. In this critical moment the Nizam's cavalry, with very good intentions but with the worſt effects, clumſily interpoſed on rocky and uneven ground, where they could not act, and prevented the total ruin of Tippoo's infantry. A body of them indeed was cut to pieces in a gallant charge by Colonel Floyd, but the great maſs eſcaped to Seringapatam under the protection of its batteries. The victors encamped on the field of battle juſt beyond the reach of the Myſorean cannon on the iſland.

After

After this deciſive proof of ſuperiority the paſſage of the river, and a junction with the Weſtern army, were attempted above the city at the ford of Caniambaddy; but, though ſome troops croſſed, the ſwollen ſtate of the rocky bed of the Caveri rendered it impoſſible to tranſport heavy ordnance. Indeed had the ſcheme been otherways practicable, the want of proviſions and the exhauſted condition of the beaſts of burden made its relinquiſhment unavoidable. Accordingly orders were diſpatched to Abercrombie to deſcend the paſſes, and to put his army into winter cantonments on the coaſt of Malabar, till the proper ſeaſon for the recommencement of military operations ſhould arrive.

This army, which had in the preceding year, under the direction of Colonel Hartley, defeated the Sultan's numerous forces on the coaſt, taken Cananore, and reduced the whole country from Travancore to the borders of Bednore, had been reinforced by battalions from the coaſt and from Bombay, till it now amounted, under General Abercromby, to ten thouſand men. With infinite labour and unwearied perſeverance this body of men, aſſiſted by the Rajah of the Coorgas, a tribe of native Indoos extending with ſome interruption from Bednore to the country of the Nairs, who, by being accuſtomed to hunt the deer, the fox, and the boar, and to guard againſt the bear, the tiger, and the elephant, had, though reduced to 5000 fighting men, maintained their independence in ſpite of their monarch's captivity, had levelled hills, filled up vallies, and made firm roads through moraſſes for the conveyance of their ſtores and heavy guns, and now waited for orders of cooperation from Cornwallis at Periapatam, an abandoned fort at the top of the paſſes. The indignity offered by Tippoo to the Rajah in making

him

him ſubmit to the painful and degrading act of circumciſion rendered his enmity implacable, and his ſufferings ſeemed to inſpire his ſubjects with the ſentiments expreſſed by him, when he declared to Abercromby that he had but one heart, and that he had incloſed it in a ſtrong box, of which he had ſent the key to the Britiſh monarch.

Upon the receipt of Cornwallis's diſpatches, Abercromby after burying his heavy ordnance, haſtened down the paſſes, leaving behind him ſome private baggage, and a few ſick men in the hoſpital.

Cornwallis himſelf was for want of cattle obliged to burſt ſome heavy cannon and to direct his march towards Bangalore. Upon iſſuing theſe orders Hurry Punt and Purſeram Bhow appeared with thirty thouſand horſe and plenty of proviſions; but the orders having been executed could not be recalled. Meaſures, however, were adopted for the relief of the army for the preſent, and for its accommodation during the monſoon. The Mahrattas by the perſuaſion of Cornwallis took their ſtation towards the North, to diſtreſs the enemy and to ſecure the conveyance of proviſions from their own country, and from the adjacent diſtricts, while the Britiſh arms were employed in reducing Ootradroog and other inferior hill-forts, to facilitate the communication with the Nizam's territories to the Eaſt, and to forward the recapture of Gurrumconda, which the Sultan's ſon in an unexpected irruption had with a cruel ſlaughter repoſſeſſed. After the attainment of theſe objects, the cavalry which had ſuffered moſt by their gallantry in the campaign, were ordered to the Carnatic to be remounted, and beſides the fortreſs of Ouſſore, ſeveral forts and paſſes in the mountains behind the Carnatic were reduced.

Tippoo

Tippoo in the mean time was not idle. Though he was checked by the arrival of Maxwell towards the Eaſt, his generals in the Weſt attempted Coimbetore; but were repulſed by the extraordinary and heroic exertions of Captain Chalmers and his gallant detachment, and by the timely intervention of Major Cuppage's united draughts from various garriſons. Though baffled in this attempt Tippoo was not yet diſcouraged. He diſpatched Cummer ul Dien, a confidential chief and his father-in-law upon the ſame ſervice. Chalmers acted with his uſual ſpirit, but not being relieved according to notice by Cuppage, who found it too hazardous to riſk the loſs of a great convoy for the grand army, by a conteſt with an army three times as numerous, and as well appointed as his own, he ſurrendered upon honourable terms, which were violated.

When the rains in Myſore abated, and the troops and ſtores were on the way from the Carnatic, Cornwallis to enſure the tranſport of grain, and other neceſſaries from the North, by the Indian contractors, purveyors and ſutlers, employed the army in capturing the hill-forts to the North of the route from Bangalore to Seringapatam. Chittledroog and Savendroog, forts much more difficult of acceſs than Alexander's Zapaortenon, and of which the latter had coſt the Mahrattas three years ſiege to no purpoſe, were reduced with great labour, much danger, and infinite gallantry, but with little loſs, except to the diſmayed garriſons. After the fall of theſe forts, which till now were deemed impregnable, every other ſtrong place ſubmitted almoſt at the firſt ſummons.

At the ſame time Purſeram Bhow with the Mahrattas; for the Nizamites feeble and irreſolute and dreading Tippoo's irreconcileable hatred perform

formed nothing memorable; Purſeram eager for plunder and renown invaded the province of Bednore, the only part of Tippoo's dominions, which ſtill remained free from devaſtation. After the capture of various places and defeating the Sultan's forces by the ſpirited efforts of the Britiſh detachment under Captain Little, who in a purſuit of fifteen miles ſlaughtered numbers of the Myſoreans, he threatened Simoga and even Bednore when the arrival of Cummer ul Dien with a ſtrong and well appointed force arreſted his courſe, and dictated the propriety of drawing nearer to Cornwallis.

This chief having now collected an army of twenty thouſand men, with an innumerable hoſt of irregular auxiliaries directed his courſe ſtraight to the Sultan's capital. Abercrombie according to the governor general's directions treading his former ſteps and digging up his buried ordnance fixed his head quarters at Periapatam; for no attention had been paid to the Sultain's two embaſſies for peace, as in the firſt he had endeavoured to bribe Cornwallis, and in the ſecond the allies into a ſeparate negociation.

In the march towards the enemy's capital, regular columns of infantry extended along the front and left flank, and in the rear and on the right the Britiſh cavalry with powerful diviſions of Marattas and Nizamites guarded the train and heavy carriages of various deſcriptions, the ſtores, the ſutling and private carriages, the elephants, camels, buffaloes, bullocks, rattoos, aſſes, and myriads of indeſcribable followers that moved in two lines in the center. Here purveyors driving herds of cattle loaded with grain and other viands beſt adapted to European palates poured abuſe on all who had the misfortune to approach their droves; there drivers out of number croſſed and jolted each other

to

to the great detriment of their employers, and alarmed on purpoſe by aſſociates in villany defrauded their maſters by the overthrow and plunder of whole loads of proviſions. In one place bodies of horſe preſſed in the ſcattering drivers; in another the crack of the baggage-maſters whip warned the careleſs from too near an approach to the publick ſtores, and the ſtraining teams remained bemired in a ſlough, till the ſagacious and powerful elephant propelled the wheels with his ſhoulders or extricated them with his ſnout. Some bullocks tired of their burden and determined to end their labour, bounded, winced and flung, till they broke the cords and were releaſed; others proſtrating their bodies on the ground were in vain urged to riſe by various kinds of torture; though their tails were wound up and bit by teeth as white as alabaſter, they would not ſtir, till cords tightly rolled about their muzzles, ſtopp'd their breath and compelled obedience. In ſpite of all this buſtle and confuſion no ſerious miſchief enſued.

At the earl's arrival on the heights above Seringapatam, which was ſeen ſtretching acroſs the iſland in a quadrangular form defended by a double wall and by the two branches of the Caveri for more than two thirds of its circumference, the whole city, like a ſwarming beehive, ſeemed in motion, and ready to obey the dictates of its monarch. He no ways diſmayed by the impending ſtorm with fifty thouſand infantry and thirty thouſand cavalry waited the approach of the combined powers in a fortified camp ſtrengthened with fleches and redoubts under the cannon of the city and fort, a ſpot, where his father had not only diſconcerted all his allied enemies on a former occaſion, but turned their arms againſt one another.

As

As Cornwallis was not yet joined by Abercromby nor by the Marattas, neither Tippoo nor others imagined that the moment of attack was at hand. But the Britiſh general's manœuvres were calculated only for deception and ſurprize. After one day's halt for the refreſhment of the troops he led on in perſon to the attack of the enemies camp towards midnight the centre, leaving the direction of the right to general Meadows and that of the left to colonel Maxwell. Meadows by ſome unaccountable miſtake approached too near a redoubt, that he was ordered to leave untouched, and after an obſtinate and bloody conteſt remained victorious; but ignorant of what had been the fate of the two other diviſions, he continued by the advice of a council of war in the redoubt till the morning. Maxwell having with ſome loſs diſlodged the enemy from a hill in his front purſued the fugitives, croſſed the Lockany, a river that falls into the Caveri, under a ſevere fire from batteries and muſkets, and effected a junction with the centre, which in wading the Lockany a ſecond time had, after ſuſtaining heavy diſcharges of muſketry from the troops that lined a hedge behind it, put the enemy to the rout with fixed bayonets. Though the ſcene was illumined by a full moon, the ſcattered bodies of rallying enemies, the impediments of walls, and trenches, and above all of the rocky and ſlippery Caveri, which was fordable only in a few places, rendered a battle by night full of uncertainty, confuſion and danger—Here was to be ſeen captain Monſon with ſeven companies up to the waiſt in the rapid ſtream of the Cavery aiming the deadly bullet, piercing with the bayonet, or felling with the muſket and even with the fiſt the weaker adverſaries

ſaries that floated down daſhing againſt the rocks. There colonel Baird was obſervable preſſing the fugitives, who to ſhun the bayonet crowded by thouſands into the unfordable river, truſting, though in complete armour, to their dexterity in ſwimming, or to horſes fully capariſoned whom they held by the mane. In one place the active and vigorous, whom the bullet did not arreſt, bounded from rock to rock acroſs the ſtream, and the ſlow and clumſy failing in their exertions, where a jammed horſe or bullock did not yield a firm footing, ſunk in the intermediate gulphs, or encountered their purſuers, as the ſafer alternative: in another multitudes united fell upon Cornwallis's ſcanty but ſteady guard, who with admirable conſtancy withſtood the foe, till joined by a party under captain Hunter, when after repeated charges with the bayonet they diſperſed the aſſailants.

In the mean time the lines having been cleared by a party under colonel Knox, that attacked the enemy in the rear, the town was occupied by the colonels Stuart, Maxwell and Baird, who were ſoon joined by Monſon's detachment, that had after many acts of valour fatal to numbers of Myſoreans, traverſed the iſland and ſpiked up the guns of a redoubt conſtructed for the defence of the oppoſite bank of the Caveri. Had not the injudicious determination of Meadows's council of war prevented the co-operation of the right wing, the Sultan would have been undone. As matters ſtood, immenſe quantities of ſtores and arms and ſtandards of various deſcriptions with eighty pieces of cannon graced the victory; and his loſs in fighting men, either taken, deſtroyed or abſconded was computed to amount to twenty thouſand. Seeing after the repeated but ineffectual ſtruggles made next day to recover ſome ſtrong poſts and

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to repoſſeſs the iſland, his capital, his palace and gardens in the enemy's poſſeſſion he retained ſome of his diſmounted cavalry and ſent the reſt with many of the citizens and ſome treaſure to Myſore, limiting dis defence to the citadel and its environs. But obſerving the citadel cloſely inveſted on the north, where its rockey foundations expoſed it to batteries erected by the vigilance and ſkill of his antagoniſt, and being hard preſſed on the ſouth by Abercromby, who with ſix thouſand aſſailants had croſſed the Caveri and defeated his troops in every rencounter, he liſtened with reluctance to the counſels of his mother and of his divan, who ſaw no ſafety but in unconditional ſubmiſſion. The appearance of the Marattas, to whom the news of the victory and the hopes of plunder had now given wings, compelled acquieſcence. Tippoo ſigned preliminaries for the immediate payment of three crores and thirty lacks of rupees and for the delivery of his two eldeſt ſons, the preſumptive heirs to the throne, as hoſtages till the whole ſum ſhould be paid, and half of his dominions put into the hands of the allies. After much tergiverſation and chicanery he relinquiſhed every ſubterfuge and complied literally with the conditions propoſed and put his ſignature and ſeal to the definitive treaty.

Here it will naturally be aſked why Cornwallis took only half, when it was obviouſly in his power to have taken the whole. Was this reſolution taken to procure immediately a ſum of ready money adequate to the expectations of the officers, who in plundering a town or even country can hardly expect as much as a common ſoldier? If this was the object, Cornwallis and Meadows muſt be acquitted of any intereſted views, as they reſigned their ſhares to the army—

If this forbearance was intended for creating a barrier and balance, it ſeems to have been injudicious, as the three powers, the Marattas, the Nizamites and Myſoreans, are much more likely, when animoſities ſubſide and reaſon ſucceeds to paſſion, to unite ultimately againſt the paramount ſtate than to quarrel among themſelves; and the remaining third of the Sultan's dominions would have added much to the weight of the Britiſh ſcale. Such are the ideas ſuggeſted by the naked ſtate of facts, but not juſtified perhaps in the eyes of perſons thoroughly verſed in the politicks of Indoſtan.

After the Britiſh poſſeſſions had been thus extended, and their peace and proſperity fixed upon a permanent baſis, it was thought adviſeable to draw the tie of connection between Britain and Pruſſia cloſer, that Holland might be more ſecure and the balance of power leſs endangered. Frederick William had claimed from the Sates General an indemnification for the expenſes, which he had incurred in reſtoring their old government; but finding the penurious Dutch ſtartled at the propoſal he had by the perſuaſion of the Stadtholder and the Britiſh miniſtry deſiſted from his pretenſions, truſting to them for a compenſation. This circumſtance may perhaps account for the want of reciprocity obſervable in the treaty of marriage concluded by the two courts between Frederick, his Britannick majeſty's ſecond ſon, and Catharine, the eldeſt daughter of the Pruſſian monarch. By this treaty twenty-two thouſand pounds paid by Pruſſia as a portion are to revert to it, if the princeſs ſhould die before her huſband; but an equal ſum paid by Britain, and four thouſand pounds of pin-money during the duke's life, will in caſe of his deceaſe, remain with the princeſs,

beſides

beſides a nuptial preſent of ſix thouſand pounds, and an annual jointure of eight thouſand pounds, with a ſuitable reſidence and eſtabliſhment. But what ſeemed the bittereſt pill, and the moſt difficult of digeſtion to the public was an annuity of thirty-ſeven thouſand pounds ſettled upon him excluſively of his appointments in the army, of his allowance of ſeven thouſand pounds from Ireland, and of the revenues accruing from the biſhoprick of Oſnaburgh, amounting at leaſt to twelve thouſand a year clear of all deductions. Upon the whole the duke's allowances from the three kingdoms during his marriage are equivalent to the uſe of a million ſterling, being not leſs than fifty thouſand a year.

This enormous eſtabliſhment with an annuity of twelve thouſand pounds ſettled on the duke of Clarence and the late payment of the prince of Wales's debts, which exceeded two hundred and nineteen thouſand pounds, gave riſe to various ſpeculations. Men began to inquire into the nature of monarchy, to compare its extravagance to the frugality of a republick and to form a general eſtimate of its expediency and uſe. "What benefit, it was ſaid, adequate to the coſt accrues to the nation from the five hundred thouſand pounds taken out of the nine conſtituting the civil liſt to maintain the pomp and parade of a court? Are not the very trappings of royalty, according to Milton, ſufficient to defray the ordinary diſburſements of moſt other forms of government? Monarchy indeed may render marriage the inſtrument of an alliance with a foreign ſtate or rather potentate. But is not mutual intereſt the only indiſſoluble bond of alliance, and is not a republick in that reſpect upon an equal footing with a monarchy? The fact is that matrimonial alliances ge-

nerally produce more evil than good. What entailed upon England the long and diſaſtrous wars which ſhe carried on againſt France? The deſcent by marriage of Henry Plantagenet, of Edward the Third, and the conſequent pretenſions of their deſcendants and ſucceſſors. Did not the claims of Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth's jealous fears in conſequence cover the fields of Scotland with ſlaughtered armies, and drench the ſcaffolds of England in blood?

"The moſt ruinous of all wars, civil wars, are the offspring of monarchy and its treaties of marriage. Recollect the cruelties and deſolations occaſioned by the quarrels of the Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians, when the unenlightened people of this country were perſuaded to tear one another, like tigers, to determine whether they ſhould wear in their hats a white or a red roſe. Recollect the civil war in theſe iſles towards the cloſe of the laſt century, and the two rebellions, which this century has ſeen ſpring from the ſame root, and acknowledge that, if hereditary monarchy and its excluſive titles prevent the ſtruggles between demagogues and their parties from terminating in a war, they furniſh other leaders no leſs apt to create civil commotions. Was not William the Baſtard unhorſed in battle by his own eldeſt ſon, Robert? And after his death did not his ferocious ſons excite the miſguided people to mutual ſlaughter in their cauſe? The unnaturl ſons of Henry the Second diſgrace the annals of England by ſimilar examples of ingratitude and rebellion; and the harmony that ſubſiſted between the children of Henry the Eighth, is no great recommendation of regal government. Nor will any rational man, who conſiders the differences between the Georges, and the heirs apparent, contend that oppoſite intereſts

tereſts will not find heads more eaſily in a monarchy than in a republic. The luxury and extravagance, in which the younger branches of the royal family are educated, give them a natural tendency to join the opponents of a miniſter of wiſdom and economy."

Such on this occaſion was the language of republicans, who beſides contended "that the miniſter's primary objects in this arrangement were royal favour, parliamentary influence and additional proviſion for his dependents, and not ſecurity to the balance of power, nor ſtabiiity to the throne; as its foundations would tather be looſened than conſolidated by any acceſſion to the numbers of the Hanoverian family, which already conſiſts of thirteen in the firſt degree of propinquity, and of undefinable heirs in the remote branches. The multiplication of ſhoots from the regal ſtock will multiply the burdens of the people, and generate diſcontent; becauſe the eſtabliſhment for each individual is enormous. North in this reſpect was prudent; for by an act of parliament he checked their growth, as the Egyptians did the exceſſive population of their gods." What would theſe antimonarchical malcontents, who did not ſee that monarchy ſerves as a conductor to carry off from the political edifice the electrical fire of ariſtocratical and democratical principles, have ſaid, had the miniſter then ſettled the prince of Wales's appanage, which coſts the intereſt of nearly two millions and a half annually and equals almoſt the whole civil liſt of the American States! Moſt of the Britiſh ſenators being expectants either of honour or preferment, and therefore candidates for the ſovereign's favour, are fearful of offending any branch of his family. This conſideration rendered the miniſtry and oppoſition unanimous in

their approbation of the preceding matrimonial treaty; the only point, in which they differed, was the dependence on the crown, in which the duke was ſtill left. Fox, the leader of the latter, endeavoured by a work of ſupererogation to attach him to the party and under the wing of the two brothers to undermine his way once more to power.

To reconcile the minds of the people by a repreſentation of the flouriſhing ſtate of the finances to theſe expenſive arrangements the politick miniſter propoſed, after ſetting apart half a million annually to anſwer any occaſional fluctuation in the revenue, to apply the remaining exceſs of the income above the expenditure amounting to four hundred thouſand pounds, one half to the extinction of the national debt and the other half to the repeal of the taxes on carts and waggons, and on female ſervants, and to the alleviation of the taxes on candles and on all houſes having leſs than ſeven windows. Theſe propoſitions were ſo reaſonable that, though Fox, to leſſen his popularity, ſuggeſted the application of the whole to the payment of the national debt, no ſerious oppoſition was made; and his ſtatement of the revenue, which he pledged himſelf to prove ſuperiour to the expenditure of fifteen millions eight hundred thouſand pounds after paying the yearly million appropriated to the liquidation of the national debt by nine hundred thouſand pounds, was ſo conſolatory that, except a few candidates for miniſterial offices, good humour prevailed among all ranks. The expenſe of the Ruſſian armament indeed was much regretted; eſpecially as it failed of complete ſucceſs, Oczakow and the adjacent deſert having remained in the hands of Ruſſia: but the odium fell chiefly on the coalition, as their ſpeeches in parliament

parliament and their manœuvres among the people were thought, according to the miniſter's declaration, to have been the chief cauſes of the failure.

"Since the revenue is repreſented as ſo productive, why, ſaid the expectant competitors for office, do you continue to raiſe money by Lotteries? Lottery-offices are but publick gaming-houſes, where the adventurers are ſure to be loſers. Gambling-houſes are forbidden by ſtatute; becauſe they are thought ſo hoſtile to induſtry and to the regular and gradual accumulation of property. How can you expect that the example, which you ſet in publick, ſhould not be imitated in private? perhaps you hold private vices to be publick benefits? Be aſſured that, if not all, a great proportion of the convicts annually tranſported to Botany-bay might trace their misfortune to the lottery. Allured by the fallacious and diſtant proſpect of eaſy and ſudden wealth many laborious and valuable members of ſociety firſt riſk ſome looſe money in this adventure, and then tempted by the hopes of repairing their loſſes ſtake their laſt ſhilling; and, when their own reſources fail, defraud, ſteal and rob to ſupply their wants. How many maſters have in this way been obliged to pay their weekly bills twice through the imprudence of their ſervants! How many ſervants have through deſpair turned highwaymen, or through ſhame committed ſuicide. Miſerable is that ſtate, which under the name of finance encourages diſſipation and extravagance."

"Diſſipation and extravagance, it might have been urged on the other hand, are merely comparative terms, which are either virtues or vices according to ſituation, time and place. What is extravagance in one man may be an innocent

amuſement

amuſement in another. The labourer, who in the evening ſtakes on a game at all-four the daily wages, which ſhould feed his family, may be juſtly deemed profligate, while the expenditure of an equal ſum at whiſt by a man of fortune will be called a harmleſs paſtime. Though private vices are not publick benefits, it does not follow that the publick ſhould not derive from them every poſſible advantage. Poiſons taken in a certain proportion are fatal, but, when wiſely applied, are found ſerviceable in medicine. Some foreign ſtates not unſkilled in police have converted even proſtitution, a moral poiſon ſurely, into a ſource of revenue. Why ſhould not Britain imitate their example, and, ſince ſtatutes and legal reſtraints have not been able to exterminate the ſpirit of gaming, divert its current into the channel of the publick ſervice. Gin is poiſonous to the human body, and the immoderate uſe of it is a vice; therefore the inferior people, who drink it to exceſs, may be juſtly ſtyled diſſipated and extravagant. But would that diſſipation and extravagance be annihilated by ſhutting the gin-ſhops? No; no more than the act prohibiting the inſurance of ſubdivided tickets ſtopped that pernicious kind of gaming or than the importation of Bruſſels lace and chintz would be prevented by a prohibition to wear them. A tax upon the commodity has been found to be the only adequate remedy. And what is a lottery but a publick tax to carry off the ſuperfluous money of adventurers? Check the ſpirit of adventure, and you will, it is true, prevent a number of bankruptcies and much ſuicide, but you will at the ſame time check the ſpirit of trade, which is the great vital principle or ſoul of the community. Since men have an incurable propenſity to gaming, the only palliative to the diſeaſe is a tax upon

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all its forms, as they ariſe. Cards and dice, the inſtruments of play in private houſes, are ſubject to a duty; and ſo ſhould tickets, the inſtruments of gaming in publick offices." Though this reaſoning perhaps may be thought more ſpecious than ſolid, the practice of raiſing money by lotteries ſtill continues; and a tax of five or ſix pounds on each ticket yields to government annually a revenue of nearly three hundred thouſand pounds.

Theſe diſcuſſions concerning the morals of the people naturally led the parliament to the examination of the looſe police of Weſtminſter, another ſource of corruption among the lower ranks. This city, which in the ſpace of fifty years had increaſed one half, was with the environs of London become ſo populous that malefactors found the means of concealement in its numerous lanes and allies as eaſy as the tigers do in the jungles of Bengal. The buſineſs of a juſtice of the peace had in conſequence increaſed ſo much and grown ſo oppreſſive that no reſpectable characters would now ſtand forth as the gratuitous diſtributors of juſtice. Accordingly the management of the police had fallen, in a great meaſure, into the hands of low and mercenary perſons called trading juſtices, who for the ſake of the fees and emoluments, on which they lived, encouraged feuds and quarrels and ſold juſtice to the higheſt bidder. To remedy this evil five officers were appointed and provided each with three juſtices having a a ſalary of three hundred pounds payable, as far as they would go, out of the fees depoſited in a general fund appropriated to the exigencies of the five boards. Thus at an expence of five or ſix thouſand pounds, if we include clerks and other aſſiſtants, was a proviſion made for the due adminiſtration of juſtice in a diſtrict three times as

populous

populous as London, and its liberties, where the appointments of the chief magiſtrate and the expectancies of twenty-four aldermen, who act as juſtices of the peace and ſuperintend the police, amount to immenſe ſums. It was in vain therefore that the oppoſition attempted to repreſent the whole as a ſyſtem of influence and corruption. With ſuch a ſimple engine to purge the ſink into which every bad humour in the ſtate flowed, and where the ſcene of every publick entertainment and diſſipation lay, was certainly a meritorious act.

Equal commendation is by no means due to the conduct of the miniſtry in the next ſubject, which drew the attention of parliament, and which was at the requeſt of the Scotch boroughs managed by Richard Brinſley Sheridan, a member of diſtinguiſhed talents, and a much better comedian than his father. With a countenance generally enriched with rubies he has a figure not ungraceful, and a diſtinct utterance, but not a co manding voice nor pleaſing fluency of language, the ſtream of his oratory, like that of moſt authors, running through an uneven and rocky channel. Heſitation and repetition, however, are not ſo frequent in his ſtudied harrangues, and in them his party is fond of comparing him to Pitt; whom he follows at a long interval, having Fox Burke and others far before him in the oratorical race. Though ſaid by partizans to reconcile conciſeneſs with ornament, and to unite Burke's golden tide of eloquence with Fox's ſubtlety, vigour and variety, he is in fact rather a good debater than a great orator. Greece and Rome produced but two ſuch characters; and we have now the happineſs of ſeeing the firſt ſpecimen in modern times of ſo rare an accompliſhment. Sheridan's

ſpeeches

ſpeeches like his friend Fox's are better in the reading than in the delivery; and therefore, as a ſlovenly, petulant and venomous Scotch peer, who, though ſuffered by the Patrician politeneſs of the Upper Houſe to diſcharge his crudities, would be coughed down by the Plebeian impatience of the Lower, always turns his face to the reporters, ſo ought Sheridan to addreſs the galleries rather than the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This gentleman's comick powers are confeſſedly great, but unfortunately a talent for ſatire is generally reckoned an indication of a bad heart; and his intimate acquaintance with Jews is thought to have improved his ſyſtem of morality juſt as much as Fox's new-born Saviour has advanced their fortune. Why, it is ſaid, ſhould we be ſurprized at the derangement of the Prince of Wales's finances, when Sheridan was his companion and adviſer? His frequent attempts at wit, which is often tinctured with gall and venom, break the thread of his reaſoning and bewilder both himſelf and the audience. Hence more attention is paid to his jeſts than his arguments; and he is often heard rather for amuſement and laughter than for inſtruction and perſuaſion. Add but prodigality to the worſt character in his beſt play, and you will have, according to fame, here perhaps a liar, his picture drawn by his own pencil. The following ſtatement of the complaints made by the Scotch boroughs may ſerve as a ſample of his reaſoning, if not of his eloquence.

"For ſeven years fifty out of the ſixty-ſix royal boroughs of Scotland have been uniform in their complaints, and their petitions ſigned by ten thouſand men conſtituting nearly all their wealth and dignity have lain neglected on your table. Theſe

petitions

petitions ſtate the exiſtence of extortion, the miſmanagement and dilapidation of property in conſequence of an illegal authority uſurped in violation of the chartered rights of the complainants by ſelf-elected magiſtrates, over whom they have no controul, and againſt whom they can obtain no redreſs in a court of law. What can be a clearer proof of this fact than that there is but one ſolitary inſtance of a proceſs againſt the magiſtrates to be found in the Scotch dictionaries of deciſions, though fifty boroughs complain of grievances? The reaſon is obvious. Every poor labourer or induſtrious manufacturer, whoſe earnings are barely ſufficient to maintain his wife and family, muſt proceed by a ſeparate action. If he conceive that he is overcharged either in publick or parochial taxes, which for the purpoſe of confuſion and dilapidation are exacted in one indiſtinct maſs, he muſt in the firſt inſtance pay the demand, and in the next travel from home to ſome tribunal, and in order to recover his money pay money for the declamation of an advocate. In this purſuit he will have the ſatisfaction of knowing that he muſt defray not only his own expences, but alſo his ſhare of his antagoniſt's diſburſements; ſince it is an invariable rule with the magiſtrates to defend every ſuit againſt them with the publick money and to levy taxes in proportion. This is the miſerable remedy held out to the needy and induſtrious, on whom overcharges are likely to fall the heavieſt. Can even thoſe, who affirm that a remedy does exiſt, imagine that it will ever prove effectual; ſince they have no acceſs to the accounts ſuppoſed to be kept by the magiſtrates, and ſince, if they had acceſs, the commixture of the ceſs with other dues renders it impoſſible to diſcover,

much

much leſs to prove, overcharges? Since the Houſe has ordered the production of the books kept by the councils, proofs have come to light of abuſes in the alienation of property, and, if you go into a committee, ſimilar proofs will appear of the exiſtence of the other grievances. What think you of the payment of more money to the councils under the name of ceſs than they remitted to the publick treaſury? Is not this extortion and an intolerable grievance? Is it no grievance for citizens to have a body of magiſtrates conſtituted by co-optation, and theſe magiſtrates too ſelected from the dregs of the people in order to make the boroughs more dependent on their chiefs? The preſent ſyſtem excluding property, education and character erects a petty ariſtocracy of plebeian deſpots, as overbearing and inſolent to the burgeſſes, as they are obſequious and cringing to their patrons. In one of theſe boroughs the baronet, by whoſe influence it is governed, ſets his clerk at the head of the town-council to direct its proceedings. And who do you think are its other members? Four or five colliers, a common labourer, a taylor, a barber and a tinker. This is the reſpectable body of electors that ſend you members of parliament and levy taxes on their opulent and enlightened neighbours without controul. Let me not be told that the conſtitution of ſome Engliſh boroughs is no better. Their caſe I allow to be deplorable enough; but they have not complained; when they do, I ſhall not be backward in affording them every aſſiſtance within my reach. The exiſtence of abuſes in England is no argument againſt the removal of ſimilar abuſes in Scotland. But the truth is that, though there are ſelf-elected corporations in England, there is none that can plead an exemption

exemption from the authority of a court of law to compel them to account for their truſt. It would be a monſtrous ſoleciſm indeed in our conſtitution that men ſhould be forced to contribute to the publick diſburſements and have no controul over their expenditure. But magiſtrates elected annually by the burgeſſes may be as arbitrary in levying and profuſe in ſpending money as the ſelf-elected? If they ſhould be ſo deſtitute of common ſenſe and honeſty, there would be a ſpeedy remedy; as their reign would end with the year and with a ſucceſſion of worthier men. Abuſe might be accidental, but could not be ſyſtematick. Suppoſe this houſe, when it eſtabliſhed ſeptennial inſtead of triennial parliaments, which it had juſt as much right to do as it has to create earls, marquiſes and dukes, had, after recounting in the preamble the real and imaginary evils of a popular election, paſſed an act making this for the future a ſelf-elected aſſembly, what ſecurity could the people have againſt unneceſſary taxes and profuſe expences? None. And yet they would ſtand exactly in the ſame predicament with the burghers of Scotland under the preſent ſyſtem of ſelf-elected councils. Why then ſhould we wonder that a refuſal to redreſs ſuch enormous grievances ſhould exaſperate the people, and, as they have not loſt the ſpirit of freemen, incite them to acts of violence and deſperation? An old edifice, like our conſtitution, muſt be continually under repair, elſe it will moulder and cruſh us beneath its ruins?"

The riots, that took place in Edinburgh both before and after this period in conſequence of the oppoſition made to the propoſed reform by ſome Scotch members, gave a peculiar weight and poignancy to theſe laſt remarks; and the truth of

Sheridan's

Sheridan's allegations was ſo notorious that, after various ſubterfuges and evaſions, a bill virtually admitting them all and providing a remedy for every grievance, except the radical evils of ſelf-election and want of controul, was brought into the houſe of commons under the wing of adminiſtration; but, as theſe two fundamental defects made it unpalatable to the petitioners, it was dropt, and never reſumed, the miniſters finding it more eaſy to influence the parliamentary elections in the hands of a few needy magiſtrates than in the poſſeſſion of a numerous and wealthy collection of burgeſſes.

A ſimilar fate attended a petition unanimouſly preſented by the general aſſembly of the Scotch church requeſting an exemption from the Engliſh teſt-act, by which Scotch preſbyterians accepting civil or military offices from the crown are obliged under ſevere penalties to take the ſacrament of the lord's ſupper according to the ritual of the Anglican church. Among other cogent arguments advanced by Sir Gilbert Elliot and Fox in favour of this demand it might have been unanſwerably urged thar, as Engliſh officers acting in Scotland are not liable to any penalty for not communicating in the Scotch manner, ſo neither ought the Scotch to be liable to penalties for not communicating according to the Engliſh, the two churches being, like the two kingdoms, perfectly independent in law, and neither having a right to conſider the other as a ſubordinate province. Though no trace of this badge of Scotch inequality be diſcoverable in the treaty of union, the eagerneſs of Scotchmen for places made it be recognized in practice; and the miniſter for the gratification of the hierarchy contending that acquieſcence for a long ſeries of years under this yoke of ſervitude had cauſed no political

miſchief

miſchief, was ſupported by Dundas and his adherents in not granting the prayer of the petition; ſo that the law ſtill makes the preſbyterians of the North fly for protection either to hypocriſy or to a bill of indemnity.

The Scotch Epiſcopalians, who having now loſt the object of their attachment remained no longer Jacobites, were more fortunate in their application. Being by the form of their religious worſhip ſo nearly allied to the Engliſh church and having therefore no oppoſition to encounter from epiſcopal bigotry or ſelf-intereſt they were relieved with much facility from the heavy pains and penalties, which political jealouſy impoſed upon them for neglecting to pray for the reigning family; and they were like other diſſenters, allowed to chooſe their own miniſter without a licence from an Engliſh or Iriſh biſhop.

But the ſame narrow and timid policy which fruſtrated Fox's ſtrenuous exertions for the repeal of the teſt and corporation acts, prevented the ſucceſs of an attempt, which he now made to repeal certain penal ſtatutes againſt ſuch religioniſts as acknowledged the unity but denied the trinity of the godhead. Of the arguments uſed on this occaſion by the advocates for toleration the following is a conciſe ſummary.

"The meaſure now propoſed being founded in juſtice is perfectly ſafe in policy, and has conſequently been adopted by deſpotick governments, by France and Auſtria. How much more ought it to be embraced by a free ſtate, like Britain? Toleration taken abſtractedly ſeems to find a friend in every humane and liberal boſom, while perſecution excites indignation and abhorrence. Having had experience of them both we know them by their fruits; and their fruits are ſuch that

we cannot heſitate to reject the latter and adopt the former. But does not the exiſtence of a religious eſtabliſhment in its nature limit the extent of toleration? No farther than the eſtabliſhment is conſiſtent with the genuine principles of toleration. On what are theſe principles founded? On the unalienable rights of man. In ſociety certain natural rights are relinquiſhed for the greater ſecurity of the rights which are retained; and among the latter are religious rights, becauſe no man can alter his opinion at the will of another. Will you then uſe compulſion to effect an impoſſibility? Will you by law force the ſubject into hypocriſy or falſhood, and require of him the adoption of a certain doctrine, when you know that it is not in his power to comply with the requiſition? The obvious deduction from theſe premiſes is that no perſon ought to be deprived of any portion of his rights for his opinions, unleſs his actions grounded on theſe opinions are clearly prejudicial to the ſtate. What excuſe then have we for perſecuting laws, when we know that religion is founded on a principle that ſhould not and cannot yield to any human power. The Pagans perſecuted the Chriſtians, becauſe they conceived that their apoſtaſy from the religion of their anceſtors aroſe from obſtinacy and not from a conviction of the truth of the new faith. The Catholicks perſecuted, becauſe they held the Pope to be infallible and imagined that the ſouls of hereticks would be ſaved by burning their bodies. But does any man or body of men contend that the church of England is infallible? Why then ſhould ſhe imitate in her worſt practices the church of Rome, which ſhe condemns? The conſtant repeal and amendment of parliamentary acts demonſtrate that the king lords and commons united are not endowed

with infallibility. Would the bench of biſhops, if they conſtituted the whole legiſlature, be infallible? Is it the baſe alloy of the king, of the temporal lords and commons, that occaſions this fallibility? An eſtabliſhment is only defenſible upon the ſuppoſition that the doctrines, which it enjoins to be inculcated, are the ſentiments of the majority of the people; and, when theſe ſentiments change, the doctrines muſt alſo be changed. Let every man then do as he would be done by, and forbear all perſecution, ſince from the fallibility of human nature he cannot be ſure that he is not perſecuting truth inſtead of falſhood. The volume of faith lies open to the inſpection of all; and all ſhould have the charity to believe that each individual extracts that ſyſtem which he deems the trueſt and beſt. No man therefore ſhould for his opinions be refuſed any civil right or an equal participation of civil advantages; for complete toleration extends much father than the mere abſence of perſecution. By diſtreſs to compel the payment of money for the ſupport of that religion, which only a part of the community profeſſes, is perſecution, and is upon that principle proſcribed in the conſtitutions of the American ſtates. But does the church of England ſtop here? No; ſhe compels thoſe, who do not believe in her doctrines, conſtantly to attend her divine ſervice and ſubſcribe to her ceremonies. Is not this to command hypocriſy by law, and by law to ordain that a perſon ſhall profeſs in this world that form of religion, which in his mind enſure his eternal damnation in the next? Thus ſhe ſays to a father, "you ſhall not teach your ſon that religion which in your ſoul you believe can alone fecure his eternal happineſs; you muſt reſolve to teach him no religion at all or to teach him that by which you believe he will be

damned

damned to all eternity." The church aſſumes much merit from unlocking the ſcriptures to the vulgar and from allowing them religious inveſtigation. But is ſhe not here more cruel than Rome who previouſly tells the layman what he is to believe and practice, and does not delude him into reſearches, from which he can derive no benefit? You may read, ſays ſhe, but you muſt not judge; that is my province; for I have an act of parliament for the right. Is not this perſecution aggravated by mockery and inſult? But a wiſe ſtateſman will conſider the effect of opinions, and ſuppreſs thoſe which ſeem pregnant with danger? This is to beg the queſtion by aſſuming one claſs of religious opinions to be wrong and another right, and to allow to the ſtateſman that infallibility, to which neither pope, nor church nor parliament is entitled. Opinions are no certain criterions of actions; to form juſt concluſions concerning the latter the former ought to have been inmates of our own breaſts; if we gueſs at all, we ſhould gueſs on the favourable ſide, and never apply laws to opinions but to actions. Were we to judge of the church of England by her opinions, what would be the reſult? That, were the magiſtrate to order not only what is unlawful but even what is unnatural, ſhe would adhere to paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, for theſe are her doctrines as well as the doctrines of James the ſecond; and thus by treading in her ſteps a good churchman would become a bad citizen. Hence it appears that, as there is in the eſtabliſhed church ſo much errour that ſhe cannot be totally obeyed without a breach of moral obligation and even of poſitive law, and as obedience to the illegal commands of a legal officer is puniſhable, it is the very eſſence of injuſtice to perſecute any perſon for not con-

forming to the eſtabliſhed religion. But the laws in queſtion, it will be ſaid, are obſolete and therefore attended with no harm. Yes, they are ſo abominable that no informer is ſo infamous as to accuſe, no jury ſo deteſtable as to convict under them. Can there be a ſtronger argument for their repeal, for their eraſure from the book of ſtatutes, which they diſgrace? The Unitarians, who are principally affected by the ſtatutes now under diſcuſſion, are allowed to lead moral lives and to have the ſame bible with the churchmen for their rule of faith? Why then ſhould they be ſubject to pains and penalties, becauſe, by their interpretation of the ſacred text, they find only unity, where others diſcover a trinity? Why ſhould Dr. South trace their pedigree from wretch to wretch to the devil himſelf, and Dr. Horſley declare that their morality is ſin, becauſe it is founded on hereſy? When ſuch language is publickly uſed by the heads of the church, we need not wonder at the perſecutions in Birmingham; for perſecutions they certainly were, as neither the perſon nor property of any but a diſſenter was injured upon that occaſion, though the chairman of the abhorred revolutionary meeting, was not Horſeley's hereſiarch, but a member of the church of England. And theſe perſecutions originated in theſe penal ſtatutes, which frequently occaſion abuſive calumnies and rancorous invectives. Has not the legiſlature marked you out? Is there not an act of parliament againſt perſons of your deſcription? Are you not then at our mercy as profane and blaſphemous wretches? is the language which parliament dictates to theological hatred. Is it then ſurpriſing that after ſuch provocation, the Unitarians ſhould retort on the Trinitarian by reproaching him with polytheſim and idolatry,

and

and by calling himſelf, like the Caliph Madadi, the worſhipper of that God, who has neither father nor mother? Such are the fruits of the boaſted alliance between church and ſtate. At this rate the affinity of the church will be a dear purchaſe to the ſtate; for theſe ſhameful laws, of which ſhe is the mother and nurſe, if not repealed, will deſtroy all reverence for the conſtitution. A conſtitution is but a ſyſtem of laws; and, where ſuch laws prevail, the code, if code it can be called, is rather a capricious tyranny than a conſtitution, which implies a known and uniform plan of juriſprudence."

Theſe arguments taken in the generality were ſo cogent that it was vain to attempt an anſwer. Burke, who was mortified at the frequent triumphs of Prieſtley's reaſoning and felt ſore at what he called Paine's flippancy, and others termed juſt ſeverity, combated them as applied to the Unitartans, a particular claſs of men, with ſucceſs.

"Treating the preſent motion, ſaid he and others, with all the charity recommended by its propoſer you muſt acknowledge that it comes before you in a very queſtionable ſhape. It ought therefore to be exorciſed like the ghoſt in Hamlet; you ought to aſk whether it brings with it airs from heaven or blaſts from hell; whether its intents be wicked or charitable. The petitioners avowedly aim at exterminating a fundamental article of the national creed, the principal article that diſtinguiſhes our religion from pure theiſm; and therefore they are in open hoſtility againſt the church, or rather againſt the ſtate; for, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid about an alliance between church and ſtate, it is obvious they are but one, the bench of biſhops being incorporated with the

ſecond branch of the legiſlature, and chriſtianity making a part of the laws of England It is often ſaid that we are not always to believe a man, when he declares himſelf our friend; but *the devil is in it*, if we cannot believe him, when, like Prieſtly, he profeſſes himſelf our open enemy. To draw practical concluſions from a man's ſpeculative opinions is not right, if that man denies the concluſions. But in what predicament do the Unitarians ſtand? Do they not mingle with their religious doctrines certain political tenets ſubverſive of our conſtitution? Aſhamed of their paſt inactivity and of having lurked like unclean beaſts ſo long in holes and corners do they not uow venture out into open day and with their ſlimy filth poiſon the ſprings and ſtreams of knowledge? Have they not eſtabliſhed a fund for the fabrication and diſtribution of pamphlets pregnant with admirable theories, and fraught with the exploſive principles of their experimental philoſophy? Has not their patriarch publiſhed it as his opinion that, though he believes the ſoul to be immortal, every argument derivable from reaſon and experience proves it to be mortal; or in other words, that he believes that to be immortal which he knows to be mortal? This is as ridiculous and diſingenuous as the evaſion of Dodwell, who in his controverſy with Clarke contended that the ſoul naturally mortal becomes immortal in baptiſm; for it is impoſſible for any intelligent being to believe the reverſe of what he knows, belief being neceſſarily excluded by knowledge, a ſuperiour principle, and as oppoſite to belief as light is to darkneſs. With ſuch a theory what muſt be the practice? If the ſoul be naturally mortal, where is the baſis of future rewards and puniſhments? What will become of the ſanction of

oaths?

oaths? Thus the very pillars of the ſocial edifice will be ſhaken and looſen'd to the foundation; courrts of juſtice will be rendered uſeleſs, except you ſuppoſe the whole nation converted into Quakers. But it is not only by the gradual operation of theſe remote cauſes that the Unitarians would circuitouſly effect the ruin of the Britiſh conſtitution and the diſſolution of the ſocial union. Like Mahomet, who was the greateſt of Unitarians, they purſue their object in a direct line, and amalgamate with the Unitarians, who compoſe the National Aſſembly of France. While their prophet Joſeph peaceably made Proſelytes at his Mecca in Lancaſhire, he ſuſtained according to his own account no moleſtation for twenty years; but, as ſoon as he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of French Unitarians for the propagation of the faith, the era of his Hegira commenced, and he was forced to ſeek refuge in this Medina in Middleſex. So true it is that political and not religious motives gave riſe to the perſecution, for which he and his diſciples have been amply indemnified. Were he a French citizen, as he and his ſon will ſpeedily be, could he expect ſuch an indemnification from that tranſcendent government, which out of eighty three departments ſuffers forty three to be in a ſtate of the moſt horrible perſecution? Can the fifty now confined in Breſt, the ſixty driven to Jerſey, and the countleſs refugees in London expect any juſtice or reſtitution? The relations of the numberleſs victims offered on the altar of perſecution at Avignon by Jourdan, ſurnamed the Cutthroat, can obtain no redreſs. And yet this is the tranſcendent government which the Unitarian petitioners would introduce into this country. Do you deſire a proof? Here is a liſt of the toaſts circulated by their apoſtle from the chair at

the King's Head Tavern in the Poultry, a ſuitable place of rendezvous, no doubt, for a religious ſociety. "The French Revolution, and may every tyrannical government experience a ſimilar Revolution." What think you of this toaſt? Does it not ſavour more of politicks than of religion? Yet the gentlemen on the antiminiſterial benches cheer it, and would bumper it off with three times three. Let us try another ſpecimen. "Thomas Paine, Eſquire and the Rights of Man." What! all the Frenchified patriots ſilent! no animating plaudits! no finger put to the glaſs to do honour to ſo good, ſo mild, ſo innocent a toaſt! a toaſt that was drank with rapturous enthuſiaſm by the whole club of Unitarians and above all by Lindſay, Kippis, Towers, Tooke and Prieſtley. Is it neceſſary to proceed farther in the liſt of toaſts to prove that this ſociety interferes in politicks, and encourages that precious work, which the mover of the preſent queſtion allowed to be a libel, though not an infamous libel, on the conſtitution? The fact is that the Unitarian Society is connected with the Revolution Society, and the Revolution Society with the French Jacobins, whoſe aim is to excite ſedition in all countries, and to diſorganiſe all government. Are not Took, Towers and Cooper, members of both the Engliſh ſocieties? Look at their publications; and you will ſoon be convinced from the ſeeds, which they ſow, that they look for a political, and not a religious harveſt: for they have checked the admiration, which ſeveral French clubs had expreſſed for the Britiſh Conſtitution, by repreſenting the royalty oppreſſive, the ariſtocracy ſervile, the clergy intolerant and the democracy corrupt. And in lieu of our decayed and moulder-

mouldering political edifice, which they ſay is, like an ancient volcano, nearly burnt out and extinguiſhed, what do theſe wiſe men of Gotham intend to give us? What ſuperſtructure do they mean to rear upon the venerable ruins? France's glorious fabrick, France's tranſcendent ſpecimen of architectonick ſkill. Had not this been their plan, they might eaſily have found in our own hiſtory events not unfit for celebration. What is become of Magna Charta, of the Engliſh Revolution, and of the Acceſſion? Were not theſe events auſpicious to freedom, and worthy of libations from Britons? Could theſe benevolent Unitarians overflowing, as they do, with the milk of human kindneſs diſcover in our annals no day that called for mirth and feſtivity? Was the only day worth remembering the anniverſary of the French Revolution, a Revolution marked by perfidy, by rebellion, by blood, by murder and by cannibaliſm.—Yes, by cannibaliſm; for there are unqueſtionable documents to prove that the French cannibals after murdering tore out the hearts of the murdered, ſquezed out the blood, poured it into cups of wine and drank them off with as much glee and with as joyous hurras as the Unitarian Club emptied bumpers to the health of Thomas Paine eſquire. Yet this Unitarian and Revolutionary Club, who diſgraced and inſulted the Britiſh nation by celebrating the triumphs of notorious villans and abominable murderers, who diſhonoured the Britiſh colours by their diſplay as a countenance to the ſhocking brutalities of a French mob, are the men, who introduce into our language a new vocabulary, and by ſtyling the overthrow of ancient inſtitutions reform, and by ſtigmatiſing oppoſition to dangerous innovation as perſecution, call upon the

the legiſlature to forego all prudential conſiderations and to grant at this hazardous and eventful period of univerſal convulſion what it would be only excuſeable to allow to a peaceable and philoſophick ſociety at a moment of general compoſure and tranquillity."

The next queſtion, that claimed publick attention, was an addreſs to the ſovereign from the Lords and Commons united approving the proclamation iſſued againſt ſeditious writings and aſſociations. The publications, which chiefly provoked this act of government, were the Rights of Man in two parts, a work, in which the author, whom natural rather than acquired talents had rendered admirably fit for making an impreſſion upon the illiterate and inexperienced, decried monarchy as an expenſive pageantry productive of a regal line either of prodigal ſimpletons or of licentious deſpots, ridiculed ariſtocracy either as a knot of petty tyrants cringing to the ſovereign and inſolent to the people, or as a ſwarm of devouring locuſts calculated only for conſuming the fruits of induſtry and labour. Not ſatisfied with theſe repreſentations he would not allow Britain to have any conſtitution, becauſe it was not, like the American and French conſtitutions, framed at one effort by a delegation from the people, but gradually extorted from ſovereigns more or leſs deſpotick and brought to its preſent ſtandard by the lights of experience and not of theory. According to him, but certainly not according to nature, all men are equal and have equal rights; and therefore univerſal ſuffrage and an agrarian law ought to prevail. All theſe wonderful diſcoveries were not communicated to the vulgar in the firſt part of his lucubrations; and, if they had been communicated, they were deemed ſo extravagant

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by miniſters as to be thought incapable of having any effect upon the publick mind. But, when the ſecond part appeared, and propoſed to reduce the theory to practice; when Paine ſeriouſly urged the propriety of dividing the publick income among the inferior claſſes, or, in other words, of enacting an agrarian law; and, when ſocieties without number extolled his works as the firſt of all compoſitions and eſtabliſhed funds for their circulation, government took the alarm, and iſſued the forementioned proclamation, which acted like an electrick ſhock to almoſt all the worth and property in the Britiſh iſles, and ſerved as an attractive principle to make them rally round the conſtitution.

The Attorney General actuated by ſimilar conſiderations, had in February commenced a proſecution againſt the printer of the obnoxious pamphlets; but, as iſſue could not be joined till July, ſome able and reſpectable members of parliament, who headed a reforming ſociety, called The Friends of the People, not knowing or pretending not to know, this circumſtance, uſed it as a handle of accuſation againſt the miniſtry and of oppoſition to the Addreſs. "If ſeditious and inflammatory writings be publiſhed, have we not laws and an attorney general to bring the authors to condign puniſhment? Or, if the publick officers were uninformed or remiſs in their duty, why were they not inſtructed and reminded of it by our gracious miniſtry? Why do they ſhelter their own incapacity under the ſhield of the ſovereign, and diſgrace his royal perſon by thruſting it always forward upon the ſtage in every paltry meaſure as the prominent figure? If there be alarms, they ate alarms of miniſterial creation. The people were quiet and eaſy, till their peace

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was diſturbed by the proclamation, which muſt convert the magiſtrates into ſpies and informers, but which has procured to the Rights of Man more readers than all the funds of all the clubs in the kingdom. But who does not ſee the inſidious and malevolent deſign of this pitiful and abortive artifice? Who does not perceive that its principal object was to effect a breach between the Friends of the People; to ſow diſſenſion among the genuine ſupporters of conſtitutional liberty? But the Bentincks and the Cavendiſhes are too diſcerning not to foreſee the ſnare laid for their virtue, too honourable to abandon their friends, too noble not to ſpurn their ſeducers. Surely they will not be drawn into aberrations from the path of rectitude either by the eccentrick perturbations of a political comet, or by the more powerful attractions of the central orb that now governs the motions of the Britiſh ſyſtem."

Such was the ſubſtance of the language held by Fox, Grey, Erſkine and others in the Lower Houſe, and in the Upper by Landſdowne, Norfolk and Lauderdale, of whom the laſt was checked by Richmond for *impertinent perſonability*, as he was himſelf on a former occaſion by Moira. Here follows a ſummary of the miniſterial arguments in reply.

"The proper officers did commence a proſecution, when the danger was thought ſerious; but miſdemeanours can not be tried till after an interval of ſix months, the law requiring this ſacrifice for the ſecurity of our perſons and properties. But, though the Attorney General was neither ignorant nor remiſs, it did not follow that in the fermentation of the publick mind produced by the unwearied circulation of ſeditious writings by hired emiſſaries at home and abroad the miniſtry ought

ought to ſleep, or that the father of his people ſhould not interfere with his admonition and advice. Where could his paternal care and vigilance be more eminently diſplayed or his wiſdom and vigour more beneficially exerted than in recommending order and tranquillity, in enforcing obedience to the laws and conſolidating that conſtitution, which he is by his coronation-oath bound to maintain? But the Friends of the People can ſee no alarms, except thoſe created by the king's proclamation? None, according to the common adage, is ſo blind as he that will not ſee. If no danger were to be apprehended from the numerous ſocieties that have adopted Paine's levelling principles, is it not alarming to ſee a knot of ſenators ſtyling themſelves excluſively the *Friends of the People*, as if the reſt of the ſenators were their enemies? What is this but rank faction? And is not a faction, however thinly beſprinkled with reſpectable names, always ſuſpicious and ſometimes dangerous? Such preſumption in a few members calls loudly for a check from the legiſlature; and the ſtandard, which they have ſet up as a rallying point to the turbulent and diſaffected of all denominations, muſt be levelled to the ground. Their oſtenſible object indeed is reform. But who does not know that under deluſive promiſes to the multitude their real view is the overthrow of the miniſter? Look at their names, their connections, their fortunes and characters and abilities. How far do they in all theſe eſſentials fall ſhott of their antagoniſts! The brighteſt ornaments of the party no longer yield their luſtre; their political hemiſphere is darkened, and, except a few ſtars of late appearance, is deprived of all its glories. Let us ſuppoſe the object of the party within its graſp and a reform, to ſave appearances,

pearances, commenced, will it be able to ſtop ſhort at pleeſure? Will the populace, on whoſe ſhoulders they ride into place, ſubmit to their controul? Yes; but it will be as the waves of the ſea ſubmitted to Canute's imperial mandate. The multitude will ruſh on impetuouſly, like an inundation, overwhelming and levelling every mound of the conſtitution. But The Friends of the People can ſee no danger from ſeditious writings and doctrines, of which the direct and avowed tendency is the total ſubverſion of our ſyſtem of law and religion. By denying the dangers of theſe doctrines are they not in their language, if not their advocates, at leaſt their friends? It is impoſſible for men to penetrate the hearts of others; but it may be ſafely aſſerted that ſuch conduct is irreconcileable with a ſingle ſpark of patriotiſm."

Having now reached that period of this hiſtory, when the Britiſh nation was obliged to interpoſe in continental politicks not only by negotiation but alſo by war, we muſt take a retroſpective view of thoſe portentous events, which paſſed on the French threatre, and ſet Europe from one extremity to the other in a flame.

Of

OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Both politicians and ſtateſmen of no mean rank have declared the French Revolution to be one of the moſt ſurpriſing events which the diverſified face of human affairs exhibits to the contemplative mind. That a conſtitution founded on the conqueſt of the country, venerable for its high antiquity, recommended for more than fourteen centuries by ſplendid atchievements, and ſupported by an immenſe military force, ſhould have been ſuddenly overturned, is thought an extraordinary phenomenon. But how can the overthrow of a conſtitution, which ſecured neither the perſon nor the property of the predominant claſſes of the people be deemed even a novelty? By letters under the ſeal of the French monarch the higheſt as well as the loweſt ſubject might be doomed perpetually to a dungeon; and by the ſyſtem of juriſprudence the door of juſtice was barred againſt the poor, or the maſs of the citizens, and opened only to the higheſt bidder of the higheſt orders.

In France, as in other countries oppreſſed by a feudal gouernment, juſtice was adminiſtered for the purpoſe of revenue firſt by the ſovereign in perſon, then by ſubſtitutes; and therefore in both caſes ſold. The ſalary of a judge in the parliament of Thouloufe, the ſecond in the kingdom, did not amount to ſeven pounds, and yet the place was bought. Hence deciſions were ſold for bribes without any diſgrace, the practice having become a regular and neceſſary link of the judiciary ſyſtem. The office indeed was not heredatary like the

the king's; but, expoſed to auction as it was, it frequently deſcended for generations in families, who beſt underſtood its value; and, though it produced only a known price to the king, yielded an unknown profit to his miniſter. Thus the man, whoſe conſcience was beſt fitted for making a profitable deciſion of cauſes, could bid moſt, and conſequently became judge. Juſtice, therefore, before it could be purchaſed by the ſuitor, proved lucrative to three claſſes, to kings, to miniſters, and to judges; and that it ſhould come in this direct line was almoſt an impoſſibility, as ſix deſcriptions of lawyers all equally greedy were to be addreſſed by the ſame argument, money. This multitude of pettifoggers, who all bought their places, and afforded a revenue to the crown, threw an impenetrable veil of myſtery over every queſtion by multiplying the writings to ſuch a degree that the principle of deciſion was inſcrutable, and the diſingenuity or miſmanagement of a ſingle member of the fraternity undiſcoverable. Where then is the wonder that the poor, or in other words the people, who thus ſaw juſtice beyond their reach, ſhould have become enemies to a ſtate of ſociety which they felt an enemy to them?

When the purpoſes, for which men ſubmit to the reſtraints neceſſary in ſociety were thus not only not anſwered, but notoriouſly contravened, was not a revolution, or at leaſt a change, in the ordinary courſe of nature? This reaſoning does not reſt merely on theory, but has experience for its bans. Offend but the leading powers in a ſtate, whether it be free or deſpotic, and a change becomes inevitable. Of this truth the alterations in the republican and monarchical governments of anquity as well as of modern times afford ample proofs. The nobles of Perſia and Mace-

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don new modelled the governments of their reſpective countries at pleaſure like the Barons of England, of France and Germany; and the plebeians of Rome and Athens diſplayed as much capriciouſneſs in this point as the Commons of England in the laſt century, or the citizens of Paris in the preſent. The addreſſes of the French armies on the Rhine, the Meuſe and Sambre are but imitations of the language of the prætorian bands and legions on the frontiers of the Roman empire, of the Strelitzes and troops of the line in Ruſſia, and of the Spahis and Janiſſaries in Turkey.

When the Franks ſubdued Gaul, like the other northern nations they eſtabliſhed for the ſecurity of their conqueſt the feudal ſyſtem of government, which reduced the maſs of the ancient inhabitants to a ſtate of ſervitude. Hence aroſe noble and ignoble tenures, which, when actual ſervice in the field was exchanged for taxes, gradually laid the whole burden of impoſts on the ſhoulders of the inferiour orders. The poll-tax indeed was levied equally upon all claſſes; but, as all of the ſame rank paid an equal ſum without regard to property, the weight muſt have fallen very light upon the nobility and clergy. Real and perſonal taxes too, the former exacted from the real proprietors of lands poſſeſſed by an ignoble tenure, and the latter from leaſeholders of lands of every deſcription, evidently preſſed hard upon the lower ranks of men. The two-twentieths, or two ſhillings in the pound of land tax, being levied upon the ſame principle muſt have been felt as a galling inequality. In ſhort the whole national revenue, except what aroſe from the exciſe, from the cuſtoms, from the farm of tobacco, from the tax on ſalt, and from the royal domains, originated in feudal ideas, and was therefore unequally and op-

preſſively collected. Another grievance was the law of entail and primogeniture, which enriched the eldeſt ſon to the empoveriſhment of the younger children, and forced them upon the public as ſturdy beggars to monopoliſe every lucrative office in the church, in the ſtate, in the law and in the army. To theſe ſources of diſcontent add enrolment into the militia, the burden of repairing roads, the tithes of a hundred and ſixty thouſand clergymen poſſeſſing one fifth of all the landed property in the kingdom, the preſſure of two hundred thouſand unproductive and devouring monks ſowing diviſion and jealouſy in every houſe by the right of auricular confeſſion, which from the diſcloſure of all ſecrets rendered them maſters of every family, the inſolence of the privileged orders, to whom the plebeians readily ſubmitted, while they were poor, ignorant, and rude, but now thought themſelves ſuperior in wealth, knowledge, refinement and ſpirit; hoſts of ſpies and informers maintained for the purpoſes of a ſevere and arbitrary police, the oppreſſions of patents of privileges, and the vexations of the game-laws, which prohibited the mowing of hay, the weeding and hoeing of corn and the removal of ſtubble before certain ſtated days, leſt the young patridges ſhould be diſturbed or deprived of ſhelter, and ordained that the ſeed ſhould not be ſteeped nor the ground manured with night-ſoil, leſt the corn thus produced ſhould ſpoil the flavour of the birds; and you may have ſome conception of the hardſhips, under which the miſerable peaſantry laboured. Yet theſe were not the only indignities, to which the inferiour claſſes were liable. To ſay nothing of the common feudal right, which entitled the Lord, if he pleaſed, to conſummate the marriage of his vaſſals, and which an improve-

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ment of manners and not law, had rendered obſolete in France as well as in other parts of Europe, the Lord, when ſeriouſly offended, might in certain caſes lock up the huſband in a cheſt upon which he violated the wife, or upon his return from hunting might for the refreſhment of his feet ſoak them in his ripped bowels, thus adding to inſult contempt, and to contempt the moſt attrocious cruelty.

Such was the ſituation of France, when in an evil hour envy and ambition prompted her to ſever the colonies in North America from the Britiſh empire. The politicians of this iſland and of the continent now propheſied that with the loſs of America the ſun of Britain would ſet, and that France would riſe triumphant on her ruins: but in the courſe of a few years they had the mortification to ſee their expectations diſappointed and their predictions falſified; for the enſuing ſtruggle depending on diſtant and expenſive expeditions with naval armaments required vaſt diſburſements, to which the finances of France were not equal. What was the remedy applied for the removal of this radical evil? A foreigner called from behind his counter to direct the finances undertook in the true ſpirit of empiriciſm by ſucceſſive loans, and without additional taxes to ſupply the wants of government, as if a ſtate differed eſſentially from an individual, and was entitled to endleſs credit. The impoſſibility of proceeding in the career of borrowing, which had now reached its ultimate limit, rendered peace indiſpenſibly neceſſary. A peace was accordingly concluded. But what was the reſult? The day of reckoning, which quackery had procraſtinated, at length arrived; the ſyſtem of borrowing lay naked and expoſed to view in all its turpitude, and it remained

no longer problematical whether a nation can become great by incurring debts.

After every financial artifice was exhauſted, it appeared that with a revenue of eighteen millions ſterling, there was a deficiency of nine millions annually, for which proviſion muſt be made to equaliſe the income and the expendirure. The land-tax was, after much outcry among the people and reſiſtance from exiled parliaments, raiſed from two to three ſhillings in the pound by the royal fiat; but here it was found that in the arithmetic of taxes two and two do not always make four. The old and the new taxes together did not yield ſo much as the old alone. This diſcovery naturally occaſioned a great alarm; as it indicated the impoſſibility of additional taxation or at leaſt of continuing the preſent ſyſtem. The only effectual remedy at ſuch a criſis would have been to convert the taxes upon real and perſonal property, and upon heads, which ultimately fell upon the land-holders, into a land-tax, to render the interiour commerce of the kingdom free by eſtabliſhing uniformity in the collection of the exciſes and of the taxes on ſalt and tobacco, and to divert the exorbitant profits of the farmers-general into the channel of the public ſervice by forming an adminiſtration under the immediate direction of the ſtate. Inſtead of this obvious policy a change of men rather than of meaſures was adopted. Miniſter followed miniſter, and ſcheme ſcheme. Necker, Calonne, Brianſon and Necker again paſs in rapid ſucceſſion before us. Firſt comes an Aſſembly of Eminent men, then a Plenary Court, and then an Aſſemby of Eminent men a ſecond and a third time, all intended for ſecuring the approbation of the public

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to the plans of taxation ſucceſſively adopted, but all fruſtrated by various cauſes.

In the long ſeries of fourteen centuries, the two original races had incorporated ſo perfectly as to have forgot who was a Frank and who a Gaul; and that ſpecies of ſlavery called villanage having without any expreſs law fallen, as in moſt of the northern conqueſts, gradually into diſuſe, the conquered could not be diſcerned from the conqueror. The invidious diſtinction indeed of noble and privileged orders remained; but the maſs, whowere all Frenchmen, this indignity ſerved only toſtimulate to a claim of equal rights. The Commons now paying the greateſt part of the taxes, and therefore furniſhing the principal reſources of war, men and money, were not unreaſonably thought to occupy the place of the feudal tenants of the crown, and to be entitled to all their pretenſions. Taught by Voltaire, Rouſſeau and other popular writers, who had circulated the political opinions of Buchanan, Locke, and Hume upon the continent, literary men had begun to ſtudy Engliſh authors, and to inquire into the cauſes of the ſtrength and energy diſplayed by the haughty inhabitants of this iſland in their conteſts with the mighty monarchy of France, and they traced them to the ſuperiority of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed among us in the laſt and improved in the preſent century.

Theſe ſentiments did not obtain much currency or excite general attention till the commencement of the American war, when the Engliſh newſpapers, the debates in the Britiſh parliament, American independence and American liberty became the topicks of common converſation, and frequently occupied columns of the Gazette of France.

But, though the ideas of liberty imbibed in America by the lately returned army and by the numerous priſoners on parole in England during the war might have had great weight, yet neither the general diffuſion of political knowledge nor the particular ſenſe of civil wrongs operated ſo ſtrongly on the minds of the moſt numerous claſs, as the extravagance of the king's brother, the Count of Artois, the villanous ſtories fabricated concerning the queen's gallantries, and the famine, which in a real or artificial ſhape then afflicted the capital and the provinces. Perhaps the co-operation of all theſe cauſes would not have terminated in the convocation of the States General, and in its obvious conſequence, the overthrow of the monarchy, had not the family of Orleans, who with the principal nobility wiſhed, as in England, to divide the power and the profits of government with the ſovereign, headed the malcontents, ſanctioning by its name and furthering by its wealth every art of reſiſtance. Oppoſition to the crown from a prince of the blood, and eſpecially from the firſt who ſtood upon the ſteps of the throne, was ſuch a novelty that the vulgar attributed it to an incurable rottenneſs in the ſtate. In ſuch a ferment and agitation of the publick mind few cared to conſider the real cauſe, the debauchery and ſelfiſhneſs of the duke, who acted out of revenge for the loſs of lucrative appointmenss, to which his family from long poſſeſſion thought itſelf as much entitled as the king to his crown, or any feudal lord to his patrimony.

The popular party having thus found a leader, whoſe wealth and credit furniſhed them with abundant reſources, ſet the preſſes every where in motion, and deluged France with political pamphlets and eſſays, which expoſed the abuſes

of

of government with unparalleled licentiouſneſs, and decried the whole ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the church, in the courts of juſtice, and in the ſtate. The multitudes of diſmiſſed and therefore diſguſted officers diſperſed among the provinces, when the neceſſities of the ſtate dictated oeconomy, and rendered the diminution of the army unavoidable, furniſhed the malcontents with ſubordinate leaders who fanned the flame already kindled.

To crown all theſe efforts in favour of a revolution Necker, the recalled miniſter, from a love of popularity and a vain opinion of his own influence and addreſs prevailed on the king to give to the Commons in the projected aſſembly of the States General as many repreſentatives as to the two orders of the nobility and clergy, diſregarding the deciſion of his own Council of Eminent Men as well as of a Committee formed expreſsly for the diſcuſſion and determination of the queſtion, and thus demonſtrating how unfit the buſy buſtling citizen of a petty democracy is for the management of a great kingdom. Necker here reminds us of the inſanity of a Geneveſe watch-maker, who thought he could regulate the motions of the heavenly bodies, and new-model the frame of the univerſe. Necker, though miniſter, had no ſeat in the Council, becauſe he was deſpiſed by the nobility on account of his birth, and hated by the clergy for his religion. But, what was worſe, Mrs. Necker, a woman of high ſpirit, who governed her huſband, could not mix with the ladies of quality. Such indignities could not be forgiven by pride bred on wealth and vanity. Necker, who had amaſſed great riches by dexterous operations in the funds, wanted, like many men in the ſame predicament, power, and

thought nothing of what he had, while any thing remained to be got. To heighten his popularity he refuſed the ſalary attached to his office, knowing that, as a partner in a banking houſe, he could by ſtockjobbing realiſe more property in one morning than he could by a ſalary in ten years. To complete the appearance of diſintereſtedneſs, and to enſure his triumph over the nobility, whom his revenge prompted him to humble, the Geneveſe projector in his rage for innovation rendered the democratic ſuperiour to the ariſtocratic intereſt by a double repreſentation, conſcious that, except the plebeians had the aſcendant, his reign would be but ſhort, and ſacrificing the repoſe of a great nation to his ſilly ambition, which tempted him to believe that he ſhould be able to ride the whirlwind and direct the ſtorm. Had he been confeſſedly the moſt upright ſtateſman, the moſt able financier, and the moſt powerful orator in the repreſentative aſſembly, he might, like our Pitt, have ſwayed the national councils and dictated the public opinion: but being a notorious ſtock-jobber, and a foreigner without natural connections, without a ſeat among the deputies, and without eloquence, except in his cloſet and with his pen, he might have learnt from the hiſtory of England that in a country influenced by a popular aſſembly he could be the miniſter only of a day.

What Necker wanted in wiſdom he attempted to ſupply by cunning, a quality not unfrequent among merchants, and particularly in a little democratic community of mechanicks, like Geneva's. Sacrificing his pretenſions to virtue and philoſophy to the love of power, which in an old ſtateſman often ſwallows up every other paſſion, he aſſociated

aſſocioted with Philip, Duke of Orleans, the picture of whoſe mind is a groupe of many vices diverſified by two ambiguous qualities, activity and a talent for intrigue. Whether the ſon of a prince or of his coachman, as he affected to be thought, he had little that was princely in his compoſition, except unexampled profligacy and unbounded ambition. Having early in life commenced gameſter, he practiſed, like the offspring of a coachman, all the low arts of deception and fineſſe; and, as no fortune, however regal like his, can anſwer the occaſional demands of deep play, he adopted upon principle the vile artifices of an adventurer, and became at cards and dice an abſolute blackleg, and upon the turf a finiſhed jockey. That the prodigal ſon might, if poſſible, be reclaimed, his father married him to a lady of the houſe of Lambelle, who has proved the very honour of matrons; but her perſonal charms he treated with cruel neglect, and her exemplary virtue he rewarded with an incurable diſeaſe. As his conſtant extravagance multiplied his embarraſſments he led his wife's brother, who alone ſtood between him and a rich inheritance, into ſcenes of debauchery, which he knew would by his management prove mortal. Yet, in ſpite of a vaſt acceſſion of wealth, the derangement of his finances continued; and the remedy, which he applied, is characteriſtic of the meaneſt villan. After making his tenants in Paris pay him a large fine for the renewal of their leaſes he ſold the whole property, as if no ſuch leaſes exiſted, and thus defrauded the occupiers of an enormous ſum, as all leaſes are in France cancelled by a ſale. Having in this manner evinced himſelf to be an undutiful ſon, a barbarous huſband, a treacherous relation and an unjuſt maſter, he completed the

catalogue

catalogue of his vices by treaſon, and in order to ſucceed the better in his treaſon by murder. When the revolution rendered the bankers at Paris apprehenſive of plunder, Pinet, who was the duke's banker, lodged in his hands for ſecurity a ſtrong box containing twenty-two millions, and at the end of the month, when payments became due, demanded the depoſit. The duke deſired the devoted banker to bring the receipts to his villa at Paſſy, where the box lay, and he might convey it to Paris after dinner. Pinet went off with his treaſure in a cabriolet eſcorted by one of the duke's domeſticks, and was found next morning in a wood between Paſſy and St. Germain with his brains blown out by a ball, which entered his ſkull behind. The duke's agents immediately circulated a ſtory that this unſuſpecting victim had fallen by his own hands, becauſe the large ſums, which he had advanced to the Count of Artois, who had taken flight, rendered him incapable of fulfilling his engagements. Hence this money ſerved the double purpoſe of quickening the zeal of Orleans's partizans, and of raiſing clamours againſt the extravagance of the royal family; and the queen was heard to ſay "Ah! that money of Pinet's has done us much harm." Such is the character with whom the boaſted Stoiciſm of Necker was not aſhamed now to act!

Uuder the auſpices of theſe two worthies the States General met on the 17th of June 1789. Great were the expectations of all Europe and particularly of France from their deliberations. Nor can it be denied that, if the publick looked only for extraordinary events, their expectations have not been diſappointed. After a courtly ſermon from the biſhop of Nancy, in which addreſſing the auguſt monarch as the father of his people and his

his illuſtrious ſpouſe, as the daughter of the Cæſars and the faithful confidant of her huſband's benevolent wiſhes for his ſubjects, he recommended religion as the inexhauſtible ſource of national felicity, Louis repaired to the hall deſtined for holding the ſtates general in Verſailles, where he ſat on an elevated throne with the queen ſomewhat lower and the royal family around; the clergy on the right, the nobility on the left and the commons at the bottom. Notwithſtanding the evident change in the ſentiments of his people Louis, like our own monarchs, ſtill continued to harangue them in the lofty ſtyle of feudal times; and the ſpeech of the keeper of the ſeals was a ſuitable comment on his text—Necker, who was heard with more attention than either, pleaſed no party, though he attempted to gratify all, with the fond hope of being the centre of union and power among the contending orders—But was not this the object of the courtiers, who trembled for their places and penſions and laboured for the ſtability of the king's pre-eminence? Did not the nobility and clergy ſtrain every nerve to divide, as in England, all power and emolument with the crown? And was it not a notorious fact that the commons ſtrengthened by a double repreſentation and countenanced by the maſs of the people intended to ſwallow up all the other orders in their own vortex? What folly then for a ſtranger from the ſtock-exchange to imagine that he could reconcile ſuch jarring intereſts! As well might Cope or Morgan hope to ſway the rod of empire in our upper and lower houſe of parliament. Necker had not influence enough with the court to ſecure his favourite commons from a marked and ill-timed affront. When the king, after recommending the national buſineſs and particularly the verification

tion of their powers in three diſtinct chambers to the three eſtates, retired and was followed by the clergy and nobility in ſplendid habits, the folding doors of the palace were expanded for their admiſſion to his cabinet, while the third eſtate, though twice as numerous as either, was with difficulty and much ſtudied delay admitted to the ſame honour through a ſingle fold in thread-bare coats and black cloaks, a dreſs copied after long diſuſe from the age of Henry IV. on account of its ſuppoſed patriotiſm, and probably worn by the Oſtrogoths, the conquerors of the South of France and the North of Italy, as it is ſtill by the Spaniards, the deſcendants of the Viſigoths, who were both of them perhaps the Melanchlænæ, or black-cloaks of Herodotus.

The commons conſcious of the confidence repoſed in them by the maſs of the people and truſting to a majority for the concurrence of the inferiour clergy, of whom a large proportion had through the haughty behaviour and griping diſpoſition of the dignitaries been elected deputies, ſteadily inſiſted on the union of the three eſtates in one chamber, and refuſed to act as a ſeparate body, knowing that, if the votes were taken by order and not by poll, they ſhould in every diſputed queſtion have two to one againſt them, and that the double repreſentation would be of no avail. After repeated but vain efforts to unite the three eſtates they proceeded to verify their powers, or in our language to produce their qualifications, in the common hall, and on the ſeventeenth of June being joined by two or three of the inferiour clergy adopted the title of national aſſembly, declared all taxes not ſanctioned by them illegal, but ſtill continued the preſent impoſts as temporary expedients, took the publick creditors under

under their protection, and aſſumed the whole government of the kingdom.

Alarmed by this ſtrong meaſure ſome of the nobles propoſed that the two privileged orders ſhould unite and conſtitute one body like the houſe of peers in Great Britain, as a counterpoiſe to the enormous weight of the commons. But either from an antipathy to every meaſure that ſeemed Britiſh, or from the diſdain of debaſing the pure metal of nobility by the coarſe droſs of eccleſiaſtical alloy, this ſalutary propoſal was rejected with ſcorn and indignation.

Though nature has made no eſſential diſtinction in the conſtruction of men in France and in Britain, and the animal is radically the ſame in both countries, yet education and government had before the French Revolution produced a material difference in French and Britiſh noblemen's temper of mind. In Britain and Ireland the poſſeſſor of the patent only being a peer and the other males of a family mere commoners, the peerage is very limited in number; and the heir to the title being obliged, if he wiſhes to learn the arts of government and to become reſpectable in the community, to procure a ſeat in the lower houſe of parliament, finds it neceſſary to be humble, affable and condeſcending to his inferiours and to the whole maſs of the people, who are to be his electors; and, even when he harangues in the upper houſe, he is forced to look often below the bar, if he would be a man of weight with the public—Beſides the Britiſh peer enjoys no invidious exemption from taxes, no privileges in caſes of life and property that are not common to him with the meaneſt citizen. On the contrary a nobleman in France might, like the ſovereign bee in a hive, produce endleſs ſwarms of noblemen, whoſe immunities

proved

proved oppreſſive to the commons in proportion to their increaſe; and, as they had no legal right to interfere in the government and conſequently no conſtitutional weight, they were reckoned a nuiſance by the court and a burden by the people. Both heartily wiſhed to ſee the taxes bear equally upon the ſhoulders of every claſs; and the nobility feeling their own real inſignificance endeavoured to ſupply the want by airs of inſolent pride and repulſive ſuperiority—Such as had lands and were not mere adventurers that lived on feudal rights of ſuperiority, as is the caſe in Scotland, were known to their tenants only by their griping ſtewards and the rapacious officers of their feudal courts, and were as mean and cringing at the king's levee as haughty and overbearing among the peaſantry. Hence aroſe their faſtidious rejection of an union with the clergy.

The king, who had much greater reaſon to be alarmed at an uſurpation, which wreſted the ſceptre almoſt out of his hand, reſolved to act at laſt with deciſive energy, and proclaimed a royal ſeſſion, at which a new plan of limited monarchy formed under the direction of Necker and adopted by the council with little alteration might receive his fiat and be finally ſet in motion by the approbation of the three orders. This meaſure, which ought to have been adopted, before the third eſtate became thoroughly acquainted with its own ſtrength, and to have gradually aſcended from the commons to the throne for its ſanction, clearly demonſtrates how ignorant the miniſter was in the management of popular aſſemblies, and how little he had attended to the proceedings in the Britiſh parliamenr. the beſt ſchool for proliticks that the page of hiſtory furniſhes.

In

In conſequence of the reſolution adopted in the cabinet workmen were ordered to pull down the benches in the common hall aſſigned to the three eſtates, and to make preparations for the pomp and parade that were to enſue. As a rumour prevailed that the king's intention was to diſſolve the ſtates general, the commons in order to corroborate theſe apprehenſions and to inflame the general diſcontent, came headed by their preſident Bailli and demanded admittance to their hall. Upon a refuſal from the officer of the guard, who had orders from the king to allow none to enter the hall, till the royal ſeſſion took place, he retired after proteſting againſt the order, and propoſed to adjourn to the terrace at Marli and there hold a ſeſſion, where the king himſelf might aſſiſt and hear the language of liberty, loudly declaring that it was not a particular ſpace ſurrounded with walls, that conſtituted a national aſſembly, but the body of men inveſted with legal powers convened and expreſſing the general ſenſe either under cover or in the open air, on a plain or on a mountain. To exaſperate the ſurrounding multitude Bailli returned a ſecond time to the charge and being again repulſed he begged that the ſecretaries might be permitted to carry away the papers of the aſſembly. This requeſt being granted, the deputies retired under a heavy ſhower of rain to an adjoining tennis-court and by acclamation took an oath not to ſeparate till they ſhould attain the objects of their miſſion. While this ſolemn act was paſſing, the ſhower was at the height, and the perſecution, under which they ſeemed to labour, made them be conſidered not only as patriots but martyrs.

On the much expected and anxious day of the royal ſeſſion the ſovereign appeared with as much

ſplendour

ſplendour and magnificence as if he ſtill baſked in the ſun-ſhine of his former power, the third eſtate being admitted after great delay at the bottom of the hall as a promiſcuous crowd, and after taking ſhelter in an old houſe from an accidental rain, which ſeems to have been their conſtant perſecutor and friend. The king after annulling in a peremptory tone all the decrees of the aſſemby propoſed that no new tax ſhould be levied without the ſanction of the three orders, that the liberty of the preſs ſhould be decreed but with certain reſtrictions likely in the opinion of many to render it of little utility; that perſonal liberty ſhould be reſpected, but under ſuch regulations as ſhould make the abolition of letters under the king's ſeal reconcileable with the ſafety of the government, with the preſervation of the honour of private families and with the power of repreſſing the firſt ſymptoms of ſedition; that the diſtinction of orders ſhou'd ſtill ſubſiſt but not in the payment of taxes; that corvees ſo oppreſſive and odious to the peaſantry ſhould ceaſe; that the three eſtates ſhould admit no auditors at their ſeſſions; that they ſhould debate and vote in common, and that the perſons of the repreſentatives ſhould be ſacred and inviolable. When the king had in an authoritative manner expreſſed his ſentiments on theſe and on many other regulations of leſs note he quitted the hall, after deſiring the deputies to repair to their reſpective manſions followed by the two privileged orders. But the commons remained motionleſs and for ſome time torpid, while the king returned to his palace in profound ſilence. Not a man exclaimed, "long live the king, or god bleſs king Louis," a phenomenon new among the French populace, and perhaps unexampled in their annals.

Upon

Upon the departure of the king, when carpenters were according to a preconcerted plan ſent to remove the throne and benches, the deputies would not ſtir, and the workmen out of reſpect ſuſpended their labours. The court being informed of their contumacy ſent the marquis of Brezé to remind them of the king's orders. The king's orders! replied the preſident, the National Aſſembly receives orders from no man. During an interval of anxious ſilence, while it was yet doubtful how the Aſſembly reliſhed the preſident's anſwer, Mirabeau ſtarted up and addreſſing Brezé uttered among many others theſe words, "you who have here no ſeat, no vote, no right to ſpeak, are not the perſon to remind us of the king's ſpeech; go and tell your principals that we are here at our poſt by the will of the people and that nothing ſhall diſlodge us but the point of the bayonet." Fired by Mirabeau's enthuſiaſm the Aſſembly adopted this ſentiment, as they did moſt of their moſt important meaſures by acclamation; and the court upon hearing the news were more alarmed than ever; becauſe, though they had put the ſtrong language of coercion into the king's mouth, they had taken no ſteps to enforce the execution of their plan. This indeciſion is thought to have ariſen from their apprehenſions of the milky diſpoſition of the king, from their diſtruſt of the debauched minds of the native ſoldiery, or from Necker's fear of loſing his popularity. Whatever was the cauſe, Mirabeau enjoyed a complete triumph over his competitor for publick favour, and was thus revenged for the petrifying coldneſs with which Necker received his advances towards a coalition.

The failure of Necker's plan of government, which had been approved by the council with but

few alterations, is aſcribed to various cauſes, to the abſence of Necker, who under pretence of attending a dying relation did not appear at the Royal Seſſion and was therefore ſuppoſed not to concur in the meaſure; to the delay of the plan till the two privileged orders were thought to be under a neceſſity of acceding; to the dictatorial language of his majeſty; to the approach of troops to the capital; to the preſumed, if not intended, affronts offered to the commons, and to Necker's abſurd refuſal of Mirabeau's proffers of a junction of intereſts for the eſtabliſhment of a limited monarchy. The miniſter's abſence from the Royal Seſſion however and his ſuppoſed diſapprobation of the meaſure raiſed him to the ſummit of popularity. Having viſited the king in the evening he was on his return lifted up on men's ſhoulders as a ſpectacle to gratify the eyes of the admiring multitude, and forced to make a promiſe, which he had no intention to break, that he would not reſign his office.

During theſe tranſactions at Verſailles, Paris was in the greateſt agitation; couriers paſſed and repaſſed inceſſantly between the two cities, and various rumours kept the people in a ferment. Stages were erected in the Palais Royal for haranguing the populace and for inflaming their paſſions againſt obnoxious individuals, who were ſubjected to mock trials, and ſentenced ſome to baniſhment in a poor diſtrict that might be fattened with their ill-gotten riches, ſome to the pillory, ſome to priſon, and ſome to death as traitors. A ſingle inſtance will be a ſufficient ſpecimen. One orator repreſented Eſpremenil as an apoſtate from the publick cauſe, and propoſed that, as they had not poſſeſſion of his perſon, his wife and children ſhould be turned out into the ſtreet, and his houſe and furniture burnt: but another, who had more humanity,

prevented

prevented the execution of this diabolical project by obſerving that Eſpremenil would be no ſufferer by the deſtruction of the houſe and furniture, as they were the property of his landlord, and that his wife belonged to the publick, and his children perhaps to the beſt patriots in the company. Theſe accuſations were not the leſs dangerous for being ridiculous; they exaſperated the fury of the mob. Here moving groupes were ſeen anxiouſly inquiring for news, and, if the news proved unpleaſant, abuſing and huſtling the authors to the danger of their lives. There all villanous reports injurious to the king, to the queen and royal family, to the nobility and dignified clergy, were caught with avidity and induſtriouſly circulated as facts truer than texts of holy writ. By theſe artifices the commotion had become ſo general and ſo alarming that a debate on the expediency of joining the third eſtate took place in the chamber of the nobles as well as in that of the minority of the clergy; for the majority irritated by the haughty rejection of their order from the propoſed houſe of peers had already united with the Commons. The reſult of the debates in both chambers was that they ſhould ſtill continue to act as ſeparate bodies, and ſhould preſerve the diſtinction of ranks.

The Duke of Orleans however inſtigated by ambition and emboldened by the declaration of Mirabeau, "that it was of little conſequence to France, whether ſhe had Louis XVI. or Philip III. for her ſovereign; marched at the head of forty-ſeven nobles in great pomp to the common-hall accompanied by an immenſe multitude, who demanded admiſſion as ſpectators on ſo joyful and auſpicious an event, and were in ſpite of the king's expreſs prohibition allowed under various pretences to enter. Some of the nobles, who took this fatal ſtep, were influenced by pure mo-

tives and a ſincere love of their country. Seeing the Commons at this criſis exaſperated by their grievances and ready to adopt the moſt violent meaſures they wiſhed by their interference to moderate popular fury and to prevent dangerous exceſſes by mild and conciliatory plans. Others, who were actuated more by ſelfiſh than patriotick conſiderations, and who from a vain opinion of their own ſuperiour talents affected to diſregard their own order and to be willing to ſacrifice its privileges to the general good, hoped by this manœuvre to ſeize the helm at the head of the multitude.

Conceited and unexperienced men of quality in this iſland diſcover every day equal improvidence. Forgetting or not knowing the firſt principles of morality, that the firſt ſtep towards patriotiſm is an attachment to the little ſubdiviſion of ſociety, to which we belong, they overleap the firſt links in the chain of ſocial affections and conſequently leave the remainder without any ſtay. Self-love is the center of a ſeries of concentric circles embracing in gradual order children, parents, family, kindred, and friends, and extending at laſt to our country and to mankind. This is the progreſs of nature; and, though there may be occaſionally anomalous characters, like Timoleon and Brutus, it rarely happens that the man, who makes himſelf glorious by his brother's or children's blood, can perſuade the world that inordinate ambition was not his motive. Hence the patriot, who is a bad huſband, a bad father and a treacherous friend, will be generally deemed an impoſtor; and the coſmopolite, who profeſſes attachment to no particular country, will be reckoned an unfeeling ſtoick or a cynical miſanthrope. Is it not in the courſe of nature for a ſoldier to aſſociate with a ſoldier, of a Chriſtian with a Chriſtian and of a phyſician

phyſician with a phyſician? There is no ſpecies of animals, not even that of the brute creation, that is not governed by this law. The apoſtaſy of the nobility in this caſe therefore merits the ſevereſt cenſure, as it was really a relinquiſhment of their poſt in the day of battle and deſertion to the enemy.

This deſertion alarmed the king, and induced him to ſend firſt an order and then a letter to each of the privileged orders, requeſting that for the publick good they would repair to the common-hall and form with the third eſtate one common aſſembly. When a letter from the Count of Artois followed ſoon after informing them that the king's life depended on their compliance, they obeyed, but not without oppoſition from ſome members, who declared that, if the monarchy muſt periſh, they ought to form a rampart round the king's perſon and to periſh in its ruins.

When this important event took place, great were the rejoicings and mutual gratulations of all parties anticipating a long ſucceſſion of happy days and uninterrupted proſperity. Mirabeau, who from taking the lead in the meaſures of the third eſtate was in the language of the populace ſtyled the coachman of the aſſembly, congratulated the nation on the atchievement of ſo great and ſalutary a revolution almoſt without a blow and by the mere lights of reaſon and philoſophy, while other nations had waded to the ſame deſirable haven through ſeas of blood. But how ſoon did the ultimate reſult belie the triumphant exultation of Mirabeau, who was more diſtinguiſhed for the diſcovery of momentary expedients to direct the multitude than for profound ſagacity and political foreſight!

Mirabeau, who was deſcended from an ancient and noble family, but for indiſcretion impriſoned by

by the Court at the inſtance of his family, had proceeded from folly to folly and by gradation from crime to crime, till he was obliged to fly for refuge to England, where his knavery and ſwindling narrowly eſcaped the drudgery of the hulks at Woolwich or tranſportation to Botany Bay. Shunned by men of probity and honour, to whom his whole life had been hoſtile, he earned a precarious ſubſiſtence by literary productions, in which he flattered French vanity and vilified Britiſh virtue, abuſing the preſent Duke of York as a ſot, though praiſed by the Great Frederick, a much better judge of merit, and for the ſame reaſon inſinuating the reality of an inceſtuous commerce between the king of Pruſſia and a lady of high rank in this country. The father, who was a man of letters, had not neglected the education of the ſon, and in the gloom and ſecluſion of a priſon he had frequent opportunities for reflection and for digeſting what he had collected from books and converſation. Thus ſucceſſive reading, ſpeaking and writing had rendered his mind full, his utterance ready and his language correct. Having long floated at random on the tide of life Mirabeau, who always watched to take opportunity by the forelock, thought the proſpect of a revolution opened to him a deſirable harbour, where dexterous management might extricate him from every difficulty. Accordingly, as he found that his ruined character and ſhipwrecked fortune proved repulſive to the whole maſs of the nobility, he reſolved to amalgamate with the body of the Commons. Borrowing a ſmall ſum from his bookſeller on the credit of a literary ſpeculation he puts on a leathern apron and opens a grocer's ſhop at Marſeilles, where he retales his figs and raiſins for money and his jeſts and witticiſms for nothing. Verſatile, affable and inſinuating even beyond

beyond the French ſtandard this Proteus found no difficulty in gaining the affections of a light and volatile tribe of citizens, who were delighted to ſee a patrician reduced to the level of a plebeian, and obliged humbly to ſolicit their favour. Hence he became a repreſentative of the third eſtate, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a leader in a ſituation the beſt calculated for his views and talents. This demagogue who was noted for effrontery, and probably defective in perſonal courage, as his notice of a challenge went no father than the cool inſertion of the challenger's name in a liſt of perſons to be fought in regular order, when he ſhould have time, derived boldneſs, like Therſites, from the countenance of irreſiſtible numbers, and by his authoritative and imperious tone impelled the ſurrounding multitude. Inexperienced as he was, he could not be a finiſhed orator; but, as perfection in every art is merely comparative, and mediocrity is deemed perfection, till better models appear, Mirabeau was a Demoſthenes and a Cicero to a nation leſs ſwayed by ſolid arguments and logical deductions expoſed in the moſt luminous view, than by ſudden flaſhes of wit and irregular ſallies of fancy.

Superficial obſervers both in this iſland and on the continent, who could not form a juſt eſtimate of the heterogeneous ingredients of which the National Aſſembly was thus compoſed, augured to France a ſucceſſion of halcyon days and ſerene nights, a kind of millenarian felicity never before experienced on earth. The prophecies of Iſaiah, the fond hopes of Virgil's tenth eclogue, and of Pope's Meſſiah, were to be realiſed; the French Revolution was to be the era of the regeneration not only of France but of all Europe, if not of the whole world. The iron age was to ceaſe, and the golden once more to return. Wars were to be

no more, and peace and good will were to be proclaimed among all nations; and all kindreds, however different in habits, languages and manners, were to ſhake hands as brothers. Such were the doctrines or rather dreams of ſome who called themſelves philoſophers, and who had acquired a certain degree of celebrity among the herd of ſuperſtition. But this viſionary glimpſe of bliſs was of ſhort duration; it proved only a tranſitory gleam of ſunſhine between two threatening clouds, of which the one diſperſes in a harmleſs ſhower, and the other burſts on the aſtoniſhed world in a ſtorm of thunder and lightening ſhaking the earth to its foundations with the electrick exploſion, and in the engendered hurricane ſpreading immeaſurable devaſtation and ruin around.

However much it might be the wiſh of the rich nobility and clergy and perhaps of ſome wealthy commoners to eſtabliſh a limited monarchy, of which property ſhould form the baſis, there was a portion of the firſt claſs and a majority of the ſecond and third, that foreſaw in this event their own relapſe into obſcurity, and therefore counteracted a plan of government adverſe to their own aggrandiſement. With this view they ſcattered ambiguous hints among the vulgar, "that the nobles were not ſincere; that they acted by order and not by choice; that to them the king's command was more ſacred than the good of their country; that the court's change of conduct aroſe from fear and not from patriotiſm; that this was a truth evidently deducible from the Count of Artois's order for removing the guard from their friend, the Duke of Orleans's gate, for heading the ſeceſſion of the nobility, which terrified the king and the two privileged orders into an involuntary union; that the ſcheme of the miniſters was inſidious procraſtination, till the troops, and

eſpecially

eſpecially the barbarous hords of foreign mercenaries ſhould arrive to inveſt the capital, and to over-awe the Aſſembly, which was to be diſſolved, when they ſhould be protected by the power of the bayonet."

Succeſſive reinforcements of freſh regiments of horſe, of foot, and of artillery, increaſed the apprehenſions not only of ambitious intriguers but alſo of well-diſpoſrd titizens. Both theſe deſcriptions of men therefore being thoroughly convinced that Mirabeau's inſinuations in favour of the Duke of Orleans, and his declaration that it was a happy circumſtance for Britain that ſhe had at the Revolution departed from the direct line of ſucceſſion, had at laſt made the king adopt deciſive meaſures, reſolved to uſe every artifice for ſecuring the affections of the army, on whom their fate muſt ultimately depend. The French guards, who were accuſtomed to aſſociate with the lower claſſes, had already been gained by careſſes, largeſſes, and entertainments, and were conſidered as the fitteſt inſtruments for debauching the remainder of their fellow-ſoldiers. Accordingly they were upon all occaſions feaſted by the Pariſians; and the diſorderly conduct, which was the inevitable conſequence, extorted from their officers an order for their confinement to their barracks. This order, which was deſpiſed, produced the impriſonment of eleven of them for a trial by a court-martial. The priſoners, directed by the Pariſian demagogues, circulated a letter aſſerting that they were the victims of patriotiſm, and were perſecuted for having refuſed to fire ſome days before on their fellow-citizens. "Shall we ſuffer the virtue of patriots to be thus oppreſſed?" ſaid the orators in the Palais Royal. "To the Abby, to the Abby." To the Abby the multitude hurried, and forcing the gates, brought off the culprits in triumph, and,

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when met by a body of dragoons with drawn ſwords, ſeized the bridles of their horſes, and exclaimed, "What! will you ſlaughter your friends?" The reſult was, that all joined in crying out, "long live the nation." While the ſoldiers were for fear of a reſcue guarded by a voluntary aſſociation of armed Pariſians, and regaled with every kind of refreſhment, a deputation in their favour was ſent to the National Aſſembly, who ordered another deputation from the three orders, among whom was Maximilian Robeſpiere, to intercede with the king in their behalf. The king replied, that their releaſe ſhould follow the reſtoration of order and tranquillity.

In the mean time troops of all kinds multiplied round Paris; the principal officers attended the king's levy every morning; Marſhal Broglio, a man of a deciſive character, was placed at their head; midnight councils were held; couriers paſſed and repaſſed conſtantly from poſt to poſt; orders and counter-orders were precipitately given, the avenues were ſecured, the bridges guarded, and cannon, planted to command the paſſes; and dark menacing expreſſions were ſaid to have dropt from certain courtiers ſuppoſed to be in the ſecret. In ſhort every ſcene round the capital announced war. Under the impreſſion of theſe threatening appearances the National Aſſembly inſtigated by Mirabeau's eloquence addreſſed the king in a ſtrong remonſtrance inſiſting on the removal of the troops as inconſiſtent with the freedom of debate in a deliberative aſſembly and with the peace and ſafety of his good city of Paris.

The king anſwered that the ſecurity of the Aſſembly and the tranquillity of the metropolis, matters always intereſting to a good government, were his ſole objects in aſſembling troops in the vicinity of Paris and Verſailles; and that, if the deputies diſliked

diſliked their preſent ſituation, they might adjourn to Soiſſons or to Noyon, and he would fix his reſidence at Compiegne that he might be ſufficiently near to maintain the neceſſary intercourſe with the repreſentative body. This evaſive anſwer, which, however, was not diſreliſhed by the generality of the deputies, Mirabeau aſſerted to be a complete refuſal of their requeſt, as it would render their ſituation more perilous, and leave them entirely at the mercy of the court by placing them between two fires, between the armies ſtationed on the frontiers and the armies now inveſting the Aſſembly and the capital.

The demagogues in the Aſſembly and in Paris now redoubled their efforts to make friends of the different regiments, as they arrived. Parties of the citizens intermixed with ſome of the French foot-guards, who had been already gained, converſed familiarly with the ſoldiers and treated them with wine and other refreſhments. This ſocial intercourſe was daily continued, and the ſeed of ſedition ſown in a ſoil well adapted for its reception, till the haveſt was thought ripe for the ſickle. A public entertainment was prepared in the Elyſian Fields for a numerous body of attilleriſts, of French guards and dragoons from various regiments at the expence of the Pariſians and perhaps of the Duke of Orleans. An immenſe crowd of ſpectators, who attended with joy and exultation, ſaw them plentifully feaſted, and exchanging every pledge of cordiality and attachment with the citizens. All was gaiety without diſorder, when ſerjeants and corporals arrived in ſearch of the abſent ſoldiers; and they too, upon being invited partook of the feaſt, drank ſucceſs to the Third Eſtate, and returned to their barracks in high ſpirits and good humour, ſinging the praiſes of Pariſian hoſpitality.

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The court, though juſtly alarmed by this ſcene, which indicated a partial, if not a total, diſſaffection among the ſoldiery, threw oil upon the flame by ordering the people's favourite miniſter, Necker, to quit the kingdom in four and twenty hours, and appointing another miniſtry headed by Broglio. Theſe meaſures threw Paris into the greateſt conſternation; the ſhops and theatres were directly ſhut; the ſtreets and ſquares were crowded with multitudes anxiouſly examining one another's faces and ſpeculating about their future deſtiny; the buſts of Necker and Orleans, covered with crape, were carried in mournful proceſſion along the ſtreets. An attack was unadviſedly made upon the attending mob by a body of horſe, and the Prince of Lambeſque was ſaid to have wounded an old man with his ſabre. The exaſperated populace ruſhing out from the Tuilleries cried out, "to arms, to arms;" the alarm bells were rung; the ſhops of the armourers were forced, and every man armed himſelf as he could; many of the French guards quitted their barracks and joined the inſurgents; the cavalry intended for quelling tumults durſt not appear; and bodies of armed men patroled the ſtreets to protect the citizens, of whom many, however, were robbed and pillaged by ruffians, whom the darkneſs and confuſion aided in their uſual occupation of theft and plunder.

On the following day the forty-eight ſections, which had been properly divided and claſſed for the purpoſe of the elections, raiſed and officered forty-eight thouſand men, who greatly calmed the fears of the citizens with reſpect to internal pillage from ruffians, and to external violence from the army. The National Aſſembly, having learned from a deputation of Pariſians the ſteps taken for the reſtoration of tranquillity renewed their remonſtrances

monſtrances to the king for the removal of the troops, as the only means of quieting the preſent diſturbances; but his anſwer, which imported that he knew beſt when and where to employ his troops, could not fail of augmenting the general alarm. Accordingly the Pariſians made every poſſible exertion in enrolling freſh levies and forming new battalions; all the muſkets that could be found, were diſtributed among the new regiments; all the armourers were ſet in motion; pikes and other weapons calculated for undiſciplined troops were fabricated; the ſtreets expoſed to bombardment were unpaved, ſtones and other miſſiles were carried to the upper ſtories for the women and children to annoy the aſſailants on their approach, and the cries of vigilance and alarm reſounded through every quarter of the city, which was dimly illuminated to render the ſcene more gloomy and terrible.

On the next day the hoſpital of the invalids was forced open, and ſupplied the inſurgents with thirty thouſand muſkets. Emboldened by this ſucceſs and by the arms found in the Garde Meuble and in other places they attacked the Baſtile after ſummoning the governour to ſurrender. This fortreſs being unprovided with ſtores and totally unprepared for defence, opened its gates after a faint reſiſtance and the loſs of ſome lives on the popular ſide. The capitulation being only verbal could not ſecure the commandant from the ferocity of the enraged Pariſians, who ſacrificed him and two others to their barbarous fury; and in order to ſcreen their own cowardly brutality pretended that for a breach of agreement they had carried the place by aſſault, and offered the life of the governour as an atonement to the manes of their murdered brothers. The heads of theſe three

three victims were carried on pikes to feaſt the eyes of the ſanguinary rabble, and a nobleman, who had then quitted the Baſtile after a confinement of five years, found it difficult to eſcape with his life, for ruſhing into the middle of the crowd, and interceding in their behalf on account of their diſtinguiſhed kindneſs and humanity to him and to the other priſoners.

When night drew her curtain over theſe bloody and diſgraceful ſcenes, a rumour prevailed that the army under Broglio was approaching on the ſide of Enfers, where the enemy was ſuppoſed to be ſtrongeſt. The Pariſians dragging along cannon and other implements of war marched directly towards that quarter; but in ſuch confuſion, and with ſo much noiſe and uproar that in the dark friends could not be diſtinguiſhed from foes. Having reached the barriers and diſcharged their artillery and muſketry againſt the ideal enemy they returned in triumph, declaring to the citizens that the royal forces being routed had fled and diſappeared; and, what is more extraordinary than all the reſt, this tumultuary army returned without mutual wounds.

The commotions in Paris furniſhed the National Aſſembly at Verſailles with a plauſible pretence for reiterating their petitions to the king for the removal of the army, and after reiterated refuſals they were emboldened by the ſucceſsful inſurrection of the Pariſians to tell him plainly that, though they adored their king, they were no longer inclined to be under the neceſſity of fearing him. The king influenced by the duke of Liancourt, who waited on him at midnight and drew a ſtrong picture of the dangers, to which the continuation of the ſame councils might expoſe the whole of the royal family, commiſſioned the duke to announce to the National Aſſembly the removal of the troops

troops and his reſolution of appearing in perſon next day for its confirmation. This event actually took place, and, though the king was according to a preconcerted plan at firſt received with profound ſilence, as an uſeful leſſon to kings, feeling at laſt overcame philoſophy, and the ſovereign's paternal expreſſions extorted ſhouts of applauſe throughout the hall.

In order to quiet the apprehenſions of the Pariſians, whom diſaffected and ambitious demagogues terrified with ſtories of intended maſſacres and the arrival of freſh troops, Louis, notwithſtanding the diſſuaſions of his alarmed family, viſited Paris, imagining that this mark of his confidence would rekindle in their hearts the ſmothered fire of loyalty. Bailli, the Mayor, for that was the name now aſſumed by the chief magiſtrate of the capital, obſerved in preſenting the keys of the city, that they were the keys preſented to Henry IV. and that Henry had reconquered his people, but that the people had now reconquered their king. When Louis appeared at the window of the town-hall with the national cockade, which had been long in uſe to diſtinguiſh the abettors of democracy from thoſe of ariſtocracy, the air was rent with ſhouts of joy, and "long live the king" reſounded from every ſide of the ſquare.

In the mean time the miniſters, whoſe diſmiſſion had been previouſly ſolicited by the National Aſſembly and by Paris, alarmed at the quick tranſitions of the populace from murmurs and diſcontents to rage and bloodſhed, and ſuſpecting that they would not be ſatisfied with their reſignation, fled from the kingdom. The Count of Artois, the Princes of Condé and of Conti, with many of the nobility followed their example; nor does their precaution ſeem to have been unneceſſary, as ſeveral

veral reſpectable and innocent men were ſoon after maſſacred by the licentious mob in ſpite of all the efforts of the magiſtracy for their preſervation. It would be tedious to recount all the diſguſting ſcenes of carnage; a tolerable idea of them may be formed from the treatment experienced by Foulon. Being reported by ſome enemy to have ſaid that, were he miniſter, the people ſhould live upon graſs, he was upon the credit of this incredible ſtory dragged from his retreat and hanged on a lamp-poſt with a ſprig of graſs in his mouth; his bowels were ripped open by a butcher; his heart was plucked out; the blood being, as we have been told by a ſpectator, wrung out was handed by drops in glaſſes of wine to a ring of inhuman cannibals.

This barbarous orgy excited the more ſurpriſe among philoſophical obſervers that the king's viſit ſeemed to have effected a general reconciliation and to have made the Pariſians quite drunk with joy. Hence thoſe foreigners, who, had for want of the neceſſary powers of diſcrimination miſtaken the cringing ſervility of the French for genuine politeneſs, which is but another expreſſion for refined civility, endeavoured to account for ſuch enormous exceſſes of cruelty known no where elſe but among the men-eaters of America and of New Zealand, by repreſenting them as the exceſſes of the immenſe multitude of abventurers, ſharpers, cut-throats and deſperadoes, which the univerſality of the French language draws to Paris, as the capital ſink of all corruption, not only in France but in Europe. But, as wolves do not prey upon wolves nor ſharks upon ſharks, and poverty directs its attacks againſt riches, London, a much lrrger, richer, and more populous city, the centre of all commerce and of wealth, and where yet

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even Mirabeau found a ſharper ſuperiour to himſelf, muſt according to their mode of reaſoning, be a much fitter theatre for their depredations; and therefore every national convulſion muſt be the ſcene of much greater abominations. Is this fact juſtified by experience? The page of hiſtory is an everlaſting proof of the reverſe. The truth therefore is that the French having juſt ſhaken off their ſetters and emerged from the dungeons of ſlavery acted like ſlaves, who are always cruel. Having ſuffered much indignity and much oppreſſion they ſatiated their revenge, like the Caribs of St. Vincent and the negroes of Hiſpaniola, by ten-fold retaliation.

Among other ſuſpected perſons Bezenval, the commander of the Swiſs guards, had been arreſted in his paſſage to Switzerland, and been refuſed his liberty, though patronized by the idolized Necker upon his return to Paris. For Necker, when the king reluctantly wrote him a letter of recall, deaf to the voice of philoſophy, which dictated a dignified retirement, deaf to the entreaties of friends, who recommended the tranquillity of a rural retreat far from the troubled waves of a fickle and unprincipled multitude, yielded to the ſuggeſtions of the old inmates of his breaſt, ambition and avarice; which in ſtateſmen frequently ſwallow up all other paſſions, making them ſacrifice friends and careſs foes. In the balcony of the town-hall he exhibited a novel ſpectacle in Paris, his wife on his right, and his daughter on his left; and all this without exciting much ridicule or laughter, an evident proof that he had effected a revolution in faſhion as well as in government; as a married couple could not till now be ſeen together in publick without being ranked among the vulgar, a degradation, of which the vanity of the two females at leaſt

would have ſpurned the very idea. His firſt act was to ſolicit the releaſe of his friend and countryman Bezenval, not from the king to whom all pardon belonged, as a part of his prerogative, nor from the National Aſſembly, which now thought itſelf omnipotent, but from the permanent Committee at the town-hall, who, he ſaw, had for the preſent ſuperſeded both, and uſurped all power. Having procured this boon and finding the council in good humour he ventured a ſtep farther, and with his uſual benevolence, or perhaps with an oblique eye to popularity, propoſed a general amneſty or act of oblivion, as the moſt obvious mode of quieting the publick mind and of effecting an univerſal reconciliation. Here too he ſucceeded, and a proclamation conformable to his deſires was immediately iſſued.

But how deficient is human foreſight! how often do ſtateſmen find their beſt plans terminate more fatally than their worſt! Necker ſoon found to his great mortification that he had rated too highly his ſkill in directing the capricious populace. Some reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirits, enemies to Necker and to any regular government, repreſented this illegal act of compaſſion and humanity as a daring and inſufferable uſurpation in the Electoral Committee, and as an inſidious attempt in the recalled miniſter to become once more a favourite at court and with the ariſtocratical conſpirators againſt the national liberty both within and without the realm. Diſperſing themſelves among the ſections they produced ſuch an agitation in the general maſs of the electors, and ſuddenly rendered the popular fury ſo outrageous, that the Committee retracted their order for the releaſe of Bezenval and their proclamation of general pardon and peace. The National Aſſembly too influenced by Mirabeau,

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who could bear no equal in popular favour, as it was now the direct road to power, ſeized this opportunity of checking the uſurpation of the committee, and cheriſhed the diſſenſions among the electors. For a ſimilar reaſon the cruel and unrelenting Robeſpiere eſpouſed the ſame cauſe.

In the midſt of the diſcuſſions, which theſe ſubjects occaſioned in the National Aſſembly, the members from every diſtrict were alarmed with letters announcing terrrible outrages and devaſtations committed by the peaſantry in the provinces. The diſgraceful examples of outrage and cruelty ſet by the populace of the capital were, like other faſhions, faithfully copied in the country, and prove to a demonſtration that the preſent ſpirit of inhuman barbarity prevalent in France is not the effect of foreign importation but the natural growth of the ſoil and the genuine offspring of ſlavery breaking her fetters and acting the counterpart of Tyler and Cade's tragedies.

The enormities now practiſed in the country being chiefly directed againſt the two firſt orders rendered their cordial union with the third almoſt indiſpenſible. Accordingly the viſcount of Noailles in the midſt of the general conſternation ſtood up, declaring that the exceſſes of the people aroſe from the weight and accumulation of taxes and of feudal ſervices, which they could no longer bear; that their conduct was the effect of deſpair and threatened ſtill greater outrages, if proper means were not adopted to calm the tempeſt of their mind; that the ſacrifice of private intereſt to the publick good would reflect eternal glory on the nobility, and that in fact the relief of the peaſantry was now the only mode of preventing their own ruin and the general devaſtation of the realm. The reſult was that the nobles being heated after

dinner by the fumes of wine and actuated by the momentary enthuſiaſm of patriotiſm and emulation for popularity outbid each other as at an auction for the applauſe of the multitude, propoſing the total abolition of all privileges, of the game laws and of the chace, the redemption of all feudal claims at a fair valuation, the extinction of the rights of lords to the perſonal ſervice of the peaſants, and of the rights to fiſheries, warrens and dove-cots, and in general the equal impoſition of all burdens upon each individual of the community in proportion to his property. The heat produced by the colliſion of patriotiſm, emulation and revenge, for revenge and the deſire of retaliation contributed to the ſacrifices of this memorable night, was ſo fervent that the deputies of certain provinces, that enjoyed peculiar privileges, ventured without waiting for the conſent of their conſtituents to add them to the general maſs, imitating all of them on this occaſion their Gallick anceſtors, whom Cæſar repreſents as haſty and precipitate in their deciſions, rather than their German progenitors, who, according to Tacitus, waited for the cool hours of ſobriety in the morning to ſanction the bold ſuggeſtions of intoxication in the evening.

When an adjournment of the meeting was propoſed, the preſident ſuddenly pauſing reproached himſelf with entertaining ſo premature an idea, before he gave the venerable body of the clergy ever ſympathiſing like good paſtors with the diſtreſſes of their flocks, an opportunity of expreſſing their ſentiments on ſo intereſting a topick. Unable to reſiſt ſo touching an appeal the holy order relaxed their uſual rigour in caſes of eccleſiaſtical property and concurred with the others in what they could not prevent, inſiſting however that

that the money ariſing from the ranſom of their feudalities ſhould be applied to the maintenance of the poorer clergy—Some dignitaries indeed, who were pluraliſts and foreſaw the limit at which they thought the proceedings of the night muſt ultimately terminate, declared that for the future they would be ſatisfied with a ſingle benefice. But to their ſorrow the event ſoon proved the deficiency of their foreſight, and that the gift of prophecy or the knowledge of futurity is no longer attached to their order. The committee appointed to reduce various propoſals made and decreed in the courſe of this extraordinary ſitting into the form of a law included the tithes among the other feudalities, that had been relinquiſhed, a conceſſion which no churchman had ever intended to make, conſidering them as eccleſiaſtical and not national property. For, ſaid they "tithes are not a tax impoſed by the nation, but a rent-charge laid by the original proprietors upon their eſtates for the ſupport of the church; and the actual proprietors have accordingly purchaſed their eſtates ſubject to this burden. Tithes therefore are real property veſted in the church and cannot be transferred more than any other property from the clergy to the laity. If the nation wiſhes to be free, it ſhould begin by being juſt." "This ſtatement, ſaid the oppoſite party, is not juſtified by hiſtory, which informs us that till the fourth and fifth centuries the chriſtian prieſthood lived wholly on the alms and voluntary oblations of the faithful, and that even after that period, when they obtained the name of tithes, they were ſo called from their ſimilarity to the Jewiſh tithes, the payment of which was a matter of obligation and not of choice like the Chriſtian; becauſe under the Jewiſh theocracy the prieſts and the Levites, to whom as publick officers, the

tithes were paid, conſtituted the civil power, and tithes themſelves the civil liſt, ſtanding in the place of our taxes and ſubſidies. The clergy indeed in their councils enacted canons enjoining the payment of tithes as not abrogated by the goſpel; but this encroachment on the property of the laity was not ſanctioned by the civil power till the time of Charlemagne towards the cloſe of the ſeventh century, when tithes gained a regular eſtabliſhment in France, being granted for the maintenance ofthe church, for the ſupport of the poor, for the ſtipend of the biſhop, and for the livelihood of the parochial miniſters, and having been, as we are told gravely by the great council of Frankfort in a canon, extorted by a violent famine occaſioned by demons, who howled in the air againſt the non-payment of tithes, and whoſe voracity left the ears of corn empty, as they ſhot out of the ſtalk. Thus like all eccleſiaſtics ever watchful to make a gainful trade of pious frauds and to render calamity more calamitous, our continental clergy by means of an accidental ſcarcity brought, as uſual the devil and his angels to their aid, and ſet the example to the Anglo-Saxon clergy of making the Daniſh invaſions a pretext for the introduction of tithes into Britain. Had the clergy a right to ſwallow up the revenue intended for theſe four purpoſes in their own vortex? That part at leaſt which was meant for upholding the edifice of the church and for ſupporting the poor, was not veſted in them as real property; nor, in fact, were the two remaining parts, as prieſts were public functionaries removeable, or at leaſt ſubject to regulation, at the will of the people, whoſe ſervants they were. In a rude age, when money was ſcarce, they were paid, like judges, kings and ſoldiers, in portions of land or in tithes. But

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where is the difference between a territorial and a pecuniary penſion? Both muſt be ſubject to ſimilar regulations. If eccleſiaſtical benefices be real property, they muſt be ſubject to its laws, and deſcend to the next of kin or to the teſtamentary legatee of the incumbent. But an incumbent, as ſuch, can have neither kindred nor legatee. No individual prieſt can as ſuch be a proprietor, as he holds inalienable property in truſt and can no more diſpoſe of it than a ſoldier can deliver up a fortreſs that he garriſons. How then can an aggregate of ſuch individuals poſſeſs this right? The clergy not being a voluntary aſſociation of perſons poſſeſſing an original right differ eſſentially from corporations, which can alienate and inherit. Tithes having been originally granted by the nation under Charlemagne not for a valuable conſideration, but for the public good gratuitouſly, may be reſumed by the power that gave them for the ſame purpoſe; and it would be a ſoleciſm in politicks, when we are aboliſhing all veſtiges of feudal oppreſſion, to leave ſtill in exiſtence the greateſt of all, that fatal inſtitution which palſies every part of the creation, where it prevails, and ſtops the circulation of induſtry, culture and population. Why ſhould not this nation, that is at leaſt as much enlightened as Spain, imitate its wiſdom in rendering tithes the means of eaſing the diſtreſſes of the people and ceaſe to make the ſterility of the kingdom a part of its religion? When engaged in the work of reformation ſhould we not tread in the ſteps of the reformed ſtates of Britain, Batavia, Germany and Scandinavia, and eaſe the church of its cumbrous wealth for the benefit of the publick? The property of the Jeſuits was lately ſeized with much leſs colour of juſtice, as it bore the appearance of private more

than of public property. Even the Pope gave his conſent to the converſion of a third of the tithes to the uſe of the poor. Should not our ſhepherds likewiſe feed their flocks as well as be fed by them? They may well truſt to the generoſity of the nation for their ſupport; as is done in Virginia and the other American ſtates, where every man that wants a prieſt muſt pay him by contract. At any rate is our religion to depend upon their riches, upon lawn ſleeves and coſtly purple, and not upon the poor apoſtle breathing the ſpirit of the Lord with the glory of God on his right hand? According to this reaſoning Chriſt ought to have accepted the kingdoms of the earth and their glory and to have capitulated with Satan for the propagation of the faith. Religion languiſhes in the hands of wealthy dignitaries, and flouriſhes under thoſe, who receive tithe neither in kind nor in money, and never know the taſte of tithe-pig. Riches make all claſſes of men gradually indolent and ſlovenly in the performance of their duty, and prieſts, like others, are ſubject to human infirmities, and relax their induſtry in the holy vineyard. Hence their own inceſſant complaints of the decay of religion. A revolution therefore in religion is not leſs neceſſary than in politicks; without the former the latter will be lame and imperfect."

This mixture of argument and ridicule, however, did not contribute ſo much to the downfall of the clergy, as the ſpirit of retaliation generated among the nobility by their deſertion in the great queſtion of voting by orders. Thus mutual animoſity rendered the two firſt eſtates the prey of the third, who having nothing to give could not enter into this competition of generoſity, and could only expreſs its admiration of the voluntary offer of ſuch rich ſpoils. But neither of theſe ſacrifices

crifices nor decrees ſimilar to our royal proclamations againſt immorality and irreligion, that were iſſued by the aſſembly to curb licentiouſneſs, to reſtore order and enforce the payment of taxes, could ſtop the torrent of popular fury in the country, and ſtill leſs in Paris, where certain democratical deputies by their emiſſaries kept the people in a continual ferment. Their real object was the erection of a republick and the removal of the king and of the aſſembly for that purpoſe to the capital, where being their priſoners they might be diſpoſed of at pleaſure: but the oſtenſible cauſe of diſſatisfaction was the king's heſitation in ſanctioning their new Bill of Rights, their limitation of every legiſlature to a period of two years, and their grant of a ſuſpenſive negative only on every propoſed law to the crown for the term of two legiſlatures.

During the ill-humour produced by theſe circumſtances the notorious Count D'Eſtaing, who commanded the national guards at Verſailles, ſuſpecting their fidelity or doubting their ſtrength requeſted a reinforcement of experienced regulars for the maintenance of order and the ſecurity of the royal family. The regiment of Flanders being accordingly brought to Verſailles, and its officers with thoſe of the national guards invited by the king's body-guards to a feaſt in the royal opera-houſe, of which the boxes were filled with ſpectators, the king towards the end of the entertainment entered the hall, and behind him the queen leading the young dauphin and followed by a train of male and female courtiers. So unexpected a viſit to a company of ſoldiers, whoſe hearts were heated with liquor and expanded with gaiety, could hardly fail of rouſing the ſpirit of loyalty; and accordingly the healths of the royal family were drank

drank with acclamations of joy. To add to the enthuſiaſm of the moment a peal of loyal muſick burſt upon the audience from the attendant band, the gates of the houſe were thrown open to the grenadiers of each body, who after drinking the healths of the royal family hurried away to paſs the reſt of the night in ſinging and dancing under the windows of the palace, where after treading, as it is ſaid, the national cockade under foot, they received white cockades, the emblems of loyalty, from the fair hands of the queen's favourite ladies.

Theſe military indiſcretions the trumpeters of Republicaniſm proclaimed to the Pariſians as inexpiable crimes, and repreſented the feſtivities of the night as impious orgies inſtituted expreſsly for the ſubverſion of freedom by the idolaters of monarchy. But neither theſe clamours,, nor the preſſure of famine, nor the multitude of deſperadoes in Paris would have proved ſufficient, had not the duke of Orleans and other diſcontented grandees been prompted by ambition to diſtribute money among the populace. A groupe of women or of men in the garb of women actuated by this powerful engine aſſembled before the town-hall clamouring for bread, and being allowed to paſs by the diſaffected national guards, who refuſed to direct their bayonets againſt the breaſts of citizens and women, they were promiſed every poſſible relief with all ſpeed by the magiſtracy. Not ſatisfied with this anſwer one among the motley tribe cried out "let us go directly to Verſailles and petition the king for ſuccour." Having been previouſly tutored they all joined in the ſame cry, and paſſing through the national guards forced open many ſhops and ſome magazines for arms. Having reached the Eliſian Fields to the number of five thouſand they elected for their leader one Maillard,

lard, who had been very active in ſtorming the Baſtile, and was probably the propoſer of their preſent march. With theſe Amozons armed ſome with ſwords, ſome with muſkets and ſome with pikes, each as chance directed, ſome men with long beards and in fantaſtic dreſſes were intermingled. In the rear of the proceſſion were ſeen pieces of cannon dragged by forced horſes with one fiſhwoman mounted on each horſe and a couple on each cannon.

This groteſque mixture took the road to Verſailles four hours, before Fayette, who was now at the head of the Pariſian national guards, and whom his countrymen at the commencement of the revolution loved to ſtyle a young hero for his ſuppoſed gallantry in humbling Great Britain by the eſtabliſhment of American independence, could procure an order from the municipality to follow. Fayette was cenſured for not preventing this expedition, which had ſuch a fatal termination. But the charge againſt him ſeems groundleſs; for open, brave and generous and having the beſt object in view, the eſtabliſhment of a limited monarchy on the baſis of liberty, he is painted by his intimates as diſintereſted as ambition will permit, and the very reverſe of Orleans, to whom he was perfectly adverſe and hoſtile. The fact is that he had loſt the confidence of the troops, who partly through the indignity ſuſtained at the famous banquet by the three coloured cockade and partly through the affront of not guarding, as uſual the king's perſon, were reſolved on revenge and a participation in the predatory excurſion of the Pariſian furies, among whom Orleans, Aiguillon, and Biron and other malcontents are ſaid to have acted in diſguiſe. The national aſſembly had juſt voted that a deputation of fifteen members headed by the preſident

preſident Mounier ſhould demand of the king, who had accepted the conſtitution, an unqualified aſſent to various decrees, when a band of the moſt daring of the armed fiſhwomen inſiſted on entering the hall, abuſed the deputies, whoſe ſpeeches they did not reliſh, ordered ſix of their number to accompany the deputation to the king and after paſſing from the hall to the palace through a lane of this motley multitude of armed men and women under a heavy and cold ſhower of rain were charmed with the king's expreſſive ſenſibility in ſpeaking of the diſtreſſes of the people, and on their return made a ſuitable report to their conſtituents, who now expected from one what they had in vain ſought from one thouſand two hundred kings. But being threatened with the lantern for ſuffering the court to corrupt their fidelity they made their peace by procuring from the king a written order for removing every impediment that ſtood in the way of ſupplying Paris with proviſions.

In the mean time Fayette at the head of twenty thouſand national guards arrived at Verſailles about midnight, when the national aſſembly after receiving from the king a tardy and reluctant aſſent to their decrees had retired to reſt. When rouſed from ſleep by this unexpected event they were relieved from every apprehenſion by Fayette's aſſurances of the exiſtence of the profoundeſt tranquillity. The national guards fatigued with their march and chilled by the cold rain had taken refuge in ſheds, piazzas and publick houſes for ſhelter and refreſhment, and the Amazonian bands influenced by the ſame motives had followed their example. About three in the morning Fayette having, as he thought, ſecured every poſt and avenue leading to the palace, lay down in bed to recruit

recruit exhauſted nature. At ſix various troops of the armed Pariſian rabble of both ſexes that had ſpent the night in eating and drinking at Orleans's expence near the palace, finding Fayette's orders badly obeyed and the avenues open ruſhed furiouſly through the paſſive national guards of Verſailles acroſs the courts crying "kill the life-guards, give them no quarter." Fifteen of theſe brave men after a vigorous reſiſtance were ſurrounded and overpowered; eight ſought refuge in a neighbouring houſe. The former on the point of being murdered at the foot of the great ſtair-caſe were reſcued by the intervention of Fayette at the head of a company of grenadiers, and the latter by the generous interpoſition and pathetic language of an officer of the Pariſian national guards Two were actually butchered, and ſome furies in female habits treading the warm corpſe of the murdered Miomandre, who fell covered with honourable wounds in defending the entrance, ran with horrid threats and imprecations towards the queen's apartments, and in their blind rage pierced the empty bed in many places with their pikes. The queen, when the alarm was given by Miomandre, had ſought for ſhelter in the king's chamber; and there he found her, after a vain ſearch elſewhere, with the young dauphin locked in her arms; for, as ſhe had declared before, when requeſted to conſult her ſafety by flying from the fury of the Pariſians, ſhe was reſolved, if ſhe muſt be murdered, to be murdered at the king's feet.

Louis ſeeing his family ſafe and himſelf in no immediate danger, as they were now under the protection of Fayette, diſplayed upon this occaſion his uſual benevolence by anxious inquiries after the fate of the life-guards and by appearing at laſt

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in the balcony to intercede with the populace for theſe gallant and innocent men. At this juncture the queen being deſired to appear by ſome of the armed rabble, who perhaps wiſhed to aſcertain whether her intended murder had been perpetrated or not, advanced with the dauphin and the princeſs royal at her ſide. "No children," cried ſome of the mob, who probably thought them brought as a ſafeguard, and imagined that on their removal the horrid tragedy of the night would be completed. Regardleſs of this conſideration and and of every menacing appearance ſhe made the children retire and ſtood alone and erect before the multitude with a ſerene and undaunted countenance. This magnanimity and her majeſtick appearance overpowered animoſity and rancour for a moment and extorted from the admiring majority ſhouts of applauſe, in the midſt of which the lovely figure withdrew, having on this as on other occaſions diſplayed the ſpirit of Maria Thereſa and proved herſelf the genuine offspring of the Cæſars.

Though one object of the expedition was thus fruſtrated, the leaders were determined not to be diſappointed in their principal view; and therefore began to cry "the king to Paris." This cry was in a moment circulated, and "to Paris, to Paris" was vociferated from ten thouſand mouths. The king having no alternative at his option complied with the popular requiſition, and the National Aſſembly reſolved to follow at the inſtance of Mirabeau, who appears to have been concerned in this Amazonian expedition; as he offered if the aſſembly would paſs a decree declaring the perſon of the king alone inviolable, and every other individual, let her or his rank be ever ſo high, amenable and reſponſible to the law, to ſupport with

with his ſignature and ſeal a detail of the charges made by Petion in the National Aſſembly againſt ſome manœuvres practiced by the court, and particularly by the queen and the colonel of the life-guards, as is ſuppoſed, at the entertainment given by that body; and proteſted againſt transferring the National Aſſembly to the grand ſaloon of the palace for the protection of the royal family, when in imminent danger, as a deſertion of their poſt, whether the danger was real or imaginary.

Without regard to the fatigues and agonies of ſo diſtreſſing a night Louis and his family were without any interval of repoſe forced to yield to the impatience of the rabble and to proceed under a guard of a hundred Swiſs and of a troop of dragoons before and behind his carriage. The armed females were in various groupes intermingled with the Pariſian guards who preceded and followed, ſome being ſeated in waggons and carts ornamented with green boughs and white, red and blue ribbons; ſome beſtriding the cannon, ſome on horſeback and two commonly on one horſe with the hats of the life guards on their heads and their belts acroſs their ſhoulders, rending the air every now and then with their ſavage ſhouts and the choruſes of their abominable ſongs, and diſmounting at every halt and dancing in a ring with joined hands round two men, who carried on long pikes the bloody heads of the murdered life-guards. To render theſe orgies the more diſguſtful, they were celebrated before the eyes of the king and queen and of the ſurviving and captive life-guards, that recognizing the faces of their butchered friends, as the heads were turned round on the points of the pikes, they might have a more lively ſenſe of their own miſerable condition and of popular deſpotiſm and ferocity. No act

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of violence took place on the road; but one ſpectator is ſaid to have fallen a victim to a ſhot that was fired at the royal carriage in the proceſſion through Paris, where Louis was ſurfeited with proteſtations of loyalty from his good citizens, and obliged to declare that he would make the capital his ordinary place of reſidence, never imagining that the palace of the Tuileries was to be the priſon, where he who had lately been the reſtorer of Gallic liberty, was every day to be exhibited with his family as a ſpectacle to quiet the ſuſpicion or to gratify the curioſity of the multitude.

1791. The republican party having thus ſucceeded in rendering the nominal ſovereign a kind of ſtate-priſoner and conſequently an occaſional engine of power in their hands, began to conſider how the repreſentative branch of the new legiſlature might be made equally ſubſervient to their purpoſes. The eagerneſs of the people to hear the debates on the meeting of the States General was prodigious, and the Third Eſtate who foreſaw the advantages to be derived from a numerous audience of democratic enthuſiaſts, gave every encouragement to crowded galleries, that ventured firſt to applaud and then gradually to hoot. At Verſailles their right to this privilege was not fully eſtabliſhed, but upon the removal of the aſſembly to Paris it was indulged in its utmoſt extent. The two parties regularly employed mercenaries in each gallery, and that, which could ſecure a hundred and fifty ſeats on both ſides, was ſure of overpowering the other with clamour. But, when the hirelings of both parties were nearly equal, the real ſentiments of the ſovereign people were as doubtful as the oracular anſwers of the Sibylline prieſteſſes.

The republicans to ſecure the aſcendant applied for aſſiſtance to the Jacobin Club, of which they were

were members. This club, which in Paris amounted to eigthteen hundred, correſponded directly with eleven hundred clubs of inferior note; and theſe again with ſubordinate circles of affiliated ſocieties amounting in the whole to more than fifteen thouſand aſſociations conſtituting one-twentieth of all the male inhabitants of France. Such an immenſe body actuated by one ſpirit, and that the ſpirit of the leading club at Paris eaſily gave a preponderance in the ſcale of politicks to the party, whoſe cauſe they eſpouſed, and ſoon made the opinion of the nation conformable to their own. Accordingly every important queſtion was previouſly debated in the Jacobin ſociety, and then ſubmitted for the ſake of legal form rather than from neceſſity, to the National Aſſembly for its ſanction, the public approbation having been already pre-occupied. By this manœuvre even the galleries as well as the hall were overawed, and the Republicans alone heard with patience.

Notwithſtanding this triumph over the ſupreme executive magiſtrate and over the repreſentative branch of the legiſlature the party laboured under many embarraſſments, but under none more perplexing than the derangement of the finances, which after the final retreat of Necker and the excluſion of the deputies from miniſterial offices, were like other public matters, neceſſarily left to the management of a committee. Necker's plan of a national bank founded on the cheſt of diſcount and on the cheſt of extraordinary ſupplies, into which the mighty ſums expected from the viſionary reſource of patriotic donations from foreigners as well as natives, and among them the ſilver buckles of the National Aſſembly, were poured, having

failed, this committee adopted the expedient of iſſuing notes or bills, called by them aſſignats, upon the credit of the eſtates of the clergy, which with the lands of the monaſteries now aboliſhed by decree were declared national property, and calculated to yield annually a revenue of ſix millions ſterling. As the original deficiency of the revenue, which was the principal cauſe of convoking the States General, amounted to nine millions ſterling, by this vaſt reſource in conjunction with the great ſum likely to ariſe from the ſale of the royal domains now alſo voted, a fund ſufficiently ample for all the exigencies of the ſtate ſeemed to be created to ſuch as could not diſcern the many gulphs of avarice and rapacity opened by the new ſyſtem in the National Aſſembly, in the aſſiliated clubs, in the municipalities and other ſubordinate ſocieties without number. The people in general actuated by the ſame motives determined to participate in the common ſpoil and to make this prodigious acceſſion to the national income a plea for refuſing to pay taxes; and the Aſſembly with a view of quieting them, repealed the duties on leather, oil, ſoap, ſtarch, iron, ſalt, and tobacco, which uſed to be ſo productive to the royal treaſury.

But the ſame diſorders continued; for the ſpirit of aſſaſſination, pillage, and conflagration is not ſo eaſily laid as raiſed. The properties and perſons of the democratic and ariſtocratic leaders in the provinces were attacked without diſtinction. The prieſts and monks, who certainly had juſt reaſon to complain of ſo ſudden an invaſion of what they had always deemed their legal right without an adequate compenſation, at leaſt for their lives, were every where in motion. The

parliaments,

parliaments, or rather courts of law, of which the judges and counſellors and officers had purchaſed their places, having on their ſuppreſſion received no equivalent were refractory; and the ſtates of ſeveral provinces poſſeſſed of peculiar privileges, particularly in Provence, Lorraine, Brittany, and the Lionnois proved at their annihilation rebellious. All theſe circumſtances united ſeemed likely to produce a general commotion, and to make the new fabrick totter; but the ſteadineſs and intrepidity of the National Aſſembly ſoon reſtored tranquillity after a terrible execution and carnage in Lorraine. The conſequence of the animoſities thus engendered was that a decree paſſed for ejecting prieſts that did not take the civic oath "to be true to the nation, to the law, and to the conſtitution," and that the non-juring clergy, the lawyers and the nobility becoming the objects of perſecution emigrated in great numbers, and drained the kingdom of ſpecie and other riches. Even the king's aunts, who having drank the cup of pleaſure to the dregs, and at laſt diſcovered, like moſt old maids, the vanity of earthly, had placed their affections on heavenly enjoyments, quitted their own country as a land of irreligion and infidelity, and ſought an aſylum in the holy arms of the pope and his cardinals.

The republicans, far from being intimidated, were only exaſperated by theſe emigrations, which they called acts of deſertion meriting the moſt exemplary puniſhment. In fact it is known that they ſecretly rejoiced at a conduct which they ſaw would prove the fruitful ſource of future confiſcations much more productive than thoſe of the clerical and monaſtic orders; and therefore they gave every kind of encouragement to the ſavage ferocity of the peaſantry. As a prelude they decreed the

total extinction of all ranks, and an abſolute equality of rights among the whole body of the citizens that were enrolled among the national guards, that took the civic oath, and poſſeſſed property equal to the eſtimate of three days labour.

Here the queſtion is, "was this conduct wiſe and politic? Is not a diſtinction of ranks the univerſal plan of nature in all her works from the loweſt vegetable to the higheſt claſs of intellectual beings?" In a grove does not the moſt thriving tree engroſs the nutritious juices of the earth and ſtarve its ſurrounding brothers? And have we not all heard from the poets of the oak, the monarch of the wood? Among the gregrarious animals of the brute creation we find ſovereigns and and ſometimes deſpots, if not tyrants. In a herd of horned cattle is there not the lordly bull and the maſter-cow? In the diſciplined army of wild deer do we not ſee a general and his ſubordinate officers arrange the whole multitude into flank companies, a van, a centre, and a rear? The lank-haired king of Nootka Sound will not feed himſelf, but has his raw cod's head put into his mouth by his obedient ſubject; and the woolly-headed African and copper-coloured American have adopted the ſame practice. This therefore is the order of nature; and it is vain to reſiſt her decrees. You may improve, but you can never totally alter her by culture. Strength of body and ſtrength of mind ſeparately, and ſtill more conjointly, conſtitute a natural ground for ſuperiority and a rational foundation for diſtinction. Society indeed at firſt originated not more from the love of intercourſe peculiar to the individuals of the ſame ſpecies than from the deſire of mutual protection; as thoſe, who felt themſelves ſingly weak, foreſaw that united they would be ſtrong, and that

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the terror of their collected ſtrength would ſecure weakneſs and ſimplicity from violence and fraud. The very exiſtence of ſociety therefore demonſtrates that a diſtinction of ranks is founded in nature, and that a perfect equality is a mere chimera. But ſtill it may be aſked "is an hereditary diſtinction of ranks of natural or of artificial growth?" Is an hereditary legiſlator more in the courſe of nature than an hereditary mathematician?" Knowledge and wiſdom certainly do not deſcend by the law either of entail or of bequeſt, and therefore it ſhould ſeem that a corporation of legiſlators, eſpecially a corporation monopoliſing almoſt all lucrative offices, is a ſoleciſm in politicks. And yet the example of Great Britain, where the legiſlators of the Upper Houſe are, like the regal line, hereditary, ſeems to overthrow this theory; as they ſerve as a balance to the democratical and monarchical branches of the legiſlature, moderate the exceſſes of both and exerciſe the functions of juſtice in the laſt reſort to the general ſatisfaction of the country. But is it to their hereditary tenure that we owe theſe happy effects? By no means. The well-earned fame of the peerage for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice is derived from the conſtant influx of able men, and particularly of eminent lawyers, from the other houſe, who enlighten their underſtandings and ſupply their want of the habits of patient induſtry and laborious inveſtigation ſo neceſſary in the deciſion of knotty queſtions of law. One only can hold the patent of peerage, and even the heir, if he would learn the arts of government or wiſh to become conſpicuous as a ſtateſman, muſt humbly ſolicit the favour of the freeholders of a country or of the electors of a city or borough to procure a ſeat in the Lower

Houſe. All this diſcipline muſt train him to humility and to a diſuſe of the haughty demeanour ſo natural to nobility, and ſo remarkable in the late nobility of France. Hence a Britiſh nobleman is often more acceſſible and affable than a rich commoner, and is in general civil and polite. Hence politicians imagine that, were Britain to experience a revolution ſimilar to that in France, it would not prove dangerous to the nobility and gentry. But, not to go back to the age of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, let us recollect the conduct of the mob in our own days; let us call to mind that in the year 1780 the houſes of Sir George Saville and of Lord Mansfield were either plundered or burnt, and confeſs that even this iſland and in theſe enlightened days, the moſt diſtinguiſhed uprightneſs and the moſt ſhining talents are not ſecure in a popular commotion. Indeed the depredations committed every night on the highway round the metropolis are a ſtanding proof that want and rapacity pay no reſpect to perſons.

Jealous of ariſtocracy as well as of monarchy, the French in their new conſtitution rejected an Upper Houſe, partly becauſe they were reſolved to have no corporations, and eſpecially a corporation of nobility intereſted in reſtoring power to its priſtine authority; partly becauſe in ſweeping away the rubbiſh of the feudal ſyſtem or of a government founded on conqueſt they would not leave one of its principal ſupports ſtanding; partly becauſe the nobility, who were numerous, ſeemed adverſe to the plan, as few of them could partake of the honour, and partly becauſe the example would be Britiſh, and yet not ſuſceptible of Britiſh advantages.

Influenced

Influenced by ſimilar motives the Aſſembly repealed the feudal and Gothic law of primogeniture, which ſacrificed the younger and often the beſt to the elder, and frequently the worſt male branch of a family, and left the public to provide for them as for the children of the parochial poor, or rather as for ſturdy beggars in its fleets and armies, and in its civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments. After demoliſhing the three great ariſtocracies, the military, the ſacerdotal and the judicial, which had been the main pillars of the monarchy, and of which they thought any correction would be only mean repairs on mighty ruins, they reſolved for the increaſe of population to break to pieces thoſe prodigious maſſes of property, which had been accumulating for ages, and with the fragments to build their new republican edifice. It is to be hoped that no faſtidious airs of ſuperiority or deſires of retaliating affronts will prevent Britons from following their ſteps in copying this Grecian architecture, which the imitative Romans imported with the Grecian inſtitution of Juries into this iſland, and of which veſtiges ſtill remain in Kent.

While in the midſt of the preceding legiſlative acts the Aſſembly was employed in quieting diſturbances in the provinces, in quelling factions in the navy, in adjuſting quarrels between the regulars and the national guards, and cruſhing an inſurrection in Paris, the king and royal family immured in the Tuilleries languiſhed in captivity and inſignificance from the day that they were led paſſive victims from Verſailles to Paris. Conſtantly the ſubjects of ſatire, deriſion, and inſult, they might well be alarmed by a new order of ſelf-created knights, who, like the Aſſaſſins of Paleſtine,

ine, propoſed the murder of kings as the object of their inſtitution.

Ever apprehenſive of the poiſoned bowl, the ſecret dagger or the open bayonet, they ſignified perhaps with a view of eſcaping from ſo many horrours, their intention of breathing freſh air in an excurſion to the royal retreat of St. Cloud, but were, in ſpite of their own remonſtrances and of the expreſſed wiſhes of the Aſſembly, prevented by a tumultuous aſſemblage of armed Pariſians, and national guards, who with much abuſe cut the traces of the king's horſes, and forced him and his family to quit the carriage and to walk to the palace amidſt the groans, the hoots and hiſſes of the multitude. By theſe attrocious outrages the republican leaders probably meant to force the king upon precipitate meaſures, that, like James the Second of England, he might become the earlier ſacrifice, and leave an open field to their ambition. Having been hitherto kept in check by the friends of limited monarchy in the aſſembly they ſet in motion their uſual engine, the Pariſians, to haſten the king's flight, an event, from which they expected a deciſive victory. Upon any other ſuppoſition it is impoſſible to account for the royal family's eſcape from Paris on the eleventh of June. Strongly guarded by diſaffected ſoldiers and jealouſly watched by ſuſpicious citizens they could never have ſurmounted the difficulties which nature and art had oppoſed to their departure. Corruption by a poor, degraded and impriſoned king muſt have been too limited in its operation to explain the myſtery; and compaſſion ſeems to have been long unknown to the breaſts of the French. Remiſſneſs in the guards at the inſtigation of the party,

party, who reigned in Paris, is the only probable ſolution. Were not this reaſoning founded on truth, how could the king and queen with the dauphin and princeſs royal paſs the barriers and ſo many gates, where their faces were perfectly known, undetected, and proceed one hundred and ſeventy ſix miles on the road to the frontiers without diſcovery or ſuſpicion, and yet be immediately recogniſed from an accidental ſight of their effigies, by men, who had never ſeen their perſons?

Certain, however, it is, that the queen's picture aided by the ſuſpicions created by a troop of dragoons and another of huſſars, that paraded through the ſtreets of Menehould in Champagne, on the night that the royal family arrived, awakened the jealouſy of Drouet, the poſtmaſter, to call out, "to arms," immediately upon their departure for Metz, and determined him with others to ride to Clermont. Finding at that town that they had taken the road to Varrennes he ſtruck acroſs a way impracticable for carriages to that town and arrived a few minutes before the royal family. By the aſſiſtance of alarmed citizens he overturned a loaded waggon, accidentally ſtopping in the ſtreet, on a bridge, over which the carriage muſt paſs. The plea of midnight, doubts about the validity of the paſs, though ſigned Louis and Montmorin, and other evaſive excuſes retarded the progreſs of the fugitives, till Lon, a judge, who had ſeen the king, identified his perſon by a ſignificant look to the chief magiſtrate of the place, who now appeared. "Yes," ſaid Louis, finding diſguiſe no longer practicable, "I am your king. Inſulted, outraged, perſecuted, and menaced with daggers and bayonets at Paris, I am come to ſeek for ſhelter among

among my faithful ſubjects in the provinces, where I truſt ſome reverence is ſtill entertained for the name of king, eſpecially for that of a king whoſe ſole ſtudy it has been to alleviate the burdens of his people, and who has never allowed the blood of a ſubject to be ſhed in his quarrel. Had I been ſtern and inflexible, like ſome of my predeceſſors, I might now inſtead of ſupplicating you to aſſiſt in my eſcape from perſecution, have made my perſecutors tremble at my frown. Do not you, I beſeech you, join a vile conſpiracy to render humanity and benevolence a ſcourge and a curſe to ſovereigns, and teach them to rule their people with a rod of iron. You will ſurely have pity on fallen majeſty, and will not allow the poliſhed manners of Frenchmen to ſuffer in a compariſon with the behaviour of Engliſhmen to the fugitive Charles the Second, or of the mountaineers of Scotland to the outlawed Pretender, who lived for many months ſecure among the pooreſt ſhepherds, though more than three hundred thouſand livres were offered for his head. If I am now betrayed, in vain will France contend for ſuperiority in civilization, gallantry, or generous ſentiment; it will be degraded into the rank of barbarous and brutal nations totally unconſcious of noble conceptions. Neither I nor my family can return to Paris; for there certain death awaits us from the traitors, who long to reign in my place. Follow me then to Montmedi, for I do not mean to paſs the frontiers; and inſtead of the eternal infamy of informers and the accuſing ſtings of conſcience merit that honour, that wealth, and that glory which ſhall be your portion."

Finding nothing pathetic in this humble addreſs the patriots reminded him that, like himſelf, they had

had joined in the general confederation celebrated in the field of Mars, where they had ſworn to be faithful to the nation, to the law and to the conſtitution; ſhewed him the decree by which he was forbidden to exceed the diſtance of twenty leagues from the National Aſſembly, and adviſed his return to the capital, as the moſt eligible plan for both parties.

Here the queen with the dauphin in her arms exclaimed, "Ah! gentlemen, is the oath to be binding only on one party? Is the ſovereign to remain in ſhackles and the ſubject to be exempt from all reſtraint? May the people violate their oath and impriſon their king with every mark of indignity and contempt, and he not be at liberty to fly from their outrages till the hour of returning reaſon and repentant loyalty calm their perturbed ſpirit? Forbid it juſtice; forbid it every ſacred tie that connects ſociety with its head. Six tedious months and more has your unoffending, your beneficent ſovereign languiſhed in confinement, ſighing over the diſtreſſes of his family, of the great family of the nation, whom he ſaw the devoted victims of the criminal ambition of a few daring and unprincipled demagogues. Will you not have the virtue to ſecond his efforts in ſecuring a rallying point to the friends of order and legal government at Montmedi? Have you hearts to aid aſſaſſins in embruing their hands with the blood of the Bourbons, that illuſtrious race, whom France has ſo long and ſo juſtly revered? Behold the young and helpleſs heir to the throne; behold his anxious mother, a miſerable fugitive, imploring your protection and ſoliciting your aſſiſtance in the eſcape of her huſband and children, who, if dragged

dragged to the capital, will inevitably fall ſacrifices to the implacable rage of republicaniſm. As you value your wives, your children, and your parents, have pity, I conjure you, on a diſtreſſed mother pleading the cauſe of her tender offſpring and devoted huſband, and ſave us all from impending ruin; ſo may you ſhare riches and fame in this world and eternal felicity in the next."

Deaf to the calls of pity and unſeduced by the charms of beauty the ſtoical apathy of theſe patriots continued unſhaken and ſteady to its purpoſe, and ſternly commanded, ſince it could not perſuade, the royal family to return. The heart elated by the pride of upſtart power often delights in humbling the exalted, and diſdains petty gifts from the legal magiſtrate when it expects enormous largeſſes from an uſurping deſpot. Various detachments of horſe, that hovered in the neighbourhood for the expreſs purpoſe of eſcorting Louis to the frontiers, influenced either by treachery or overawed by the fear of the armed citizens, atchieved nothing memorable, but allowed the creſt-fallen monarch with his diſconſolate wife and children to be led captive towards their former place of confinement.

As the mournful proceſſion moved ſlowly along to anſwer the paces of the accompanying infantry, Louis with his agonizing ſpouſe ſat caged like Bajazet, when taken by Tamerlane, and with a dejected and forlorn look beſpoke in vain the pity of the multitude that increaſed every moment to enjoy the ſpectacle, and to add with their reſpiration to the ſuffocating heat of the weather. Within the carriage ſat commiſſioners from the National Aſſembly to watch him as keepers; behind

hind in another chaiſe rode Drouet crowned with laurel, like a Roman conſul mounting in his triumphal car to the capitol, and driving before him his devoted victim to the dungeon to be ſtrangled; on the coach-ſeat were the three life-guards, who acted as couriers, with their hands tied behind their backs. Such was the diſmal progreſs of the man, who had been lately chriſtened the Reſtorer of French Liberty. To render the pangs of the king more acute the odious Orleans ſtood in the throng gaping at the ſight and after the Regency. As a ſad prognoſtication of his own future deſtiny he ſaw the multitude, who obedient to order did not, as uſual, uncover in his preſence, reſtrained only by the promiſe of legal execution from tearing in pieces the three life-guards, whoſe only crime was fidelity to the ſupreme executive magiſtrate, whoſe mandates they were bound to obſerve by martial law, and by honour.

When examined in his uſual place of confinement by a deputation from the Aſſembly, Louis ſteadily perſevered in declaring that, as he found himſelf not a free agent at Paris, and thought the public voice could not during his impriſonment be perfectly expreſſed, he meant to take refuge in Montmedi, till the ſenſe of the nation ſhould be thoroughly known, and that he might on the ſpot be ready to ſuppreſs any inſurrection or invaſion, The queen being interrogated, anſwered, that having at her marriage ſworn to be an obedient wife ſhe could have no will but her huſband's, and ſhe had therefore reſolved to ſhare his fortune, and, if neceſſary, to die at his feet.

Though theſe declarations were conſidered as mere evaſions, yet the National Aſſembly, ſenſible of the inſufferable outrages of the Pariſians, and

of many other juſt grounds for the king's flight, would not liſten to the clamour of the Republicans, who inſiſted on his forfeiture of the regal dignity, like our James the Second, by dereliction or abdication; the time of dereliction, whether a day or a year, making no difference in the principle. On the contrary, as the friends of limited monarchy ſtill made the majority, the uſual intercourſe between the Aſſembly and the ſovereign was renewed, and in September he ſigned the conſtitutional code; an act of which the completion was upon principle to terminate the labours of the conſtituent aſſembly.

1791 It would be idle as well as tedious to recite at large or minutely to inveſtigate this act, as it is no longer in force. It will be ſufficient to obſerve that, beſides the convulſions likely to ariſe from the injuſtice done to the clergy and monks, the excluſion of the king's miniſters from a ſeat in the Aſſembly, though deemed a ſelf-denying ordinance, was of itſelf, without any other defect, ſufficient to overturn the conſtitution. For this inſtitution not only precluded the poſſibility of ſelf-defence in the Aſſembly, but alſo rendered the predominant deputies the real miniſters, and the oſtenſible ſervants of the crown mere clerks in office. The neceſſary conſequences were frequent changes and unſteady councils, every deputy almoſt having it in his power by an accuſation to remove a miniſter. Hence the conſtant ſtruggles of factions in the Aſſembly to gain the ſuperiority, and hence finally the bloody conteſts of Briſſot and Robeſpiere, and of Robeſpiere and Tallien. Is it not a groſs miſtake then to imagine that the weakneſs of the crown aroſe from a ſuſpending

inſtead

inſtead of an abſolute negative? A ſuſpending negatve is as much as a good king ought to wiſh, or a wiſe king to uſe, except in the laſt extremity, and that when he is countenanced, if not by a majority of the people, at leaſt by a very reſpectable minority. Beſides this radical and enormous evil in the conſtitution, there was another eſſential defect. Though there was but one houſe, queſtions were decided by acclamation and without debate at the ſpur of the moment. In Britain every bill muſt be firſt propoſed, and brought in by leave; then it muſt be read a firſt, a ſecond, and a third time, and debated, after the blanks have been filled, and every article has been diſcuſſed ſeveral times perhaps in a committee. The whole of this proceſs may be repeated in the Upper Houſe, by which it may be ſent back to the Commons for reconſideration, and then be ſent up again to the Lords, and after all rejected. Here is room for deliberation and for the gradual knowledge of popular opinion; and therefore haſty determinations will be leſs frequent; and the ſenſe of the nation will be enabled to counteract the intereſted deſigns of party. If the precipitate vivacity of Frenchmen and the total excluſion of the members of a preceding from a ſucceeding legiſlature be conſidered, it muſt be acknowledged that they ought to have eſtabliſhed as many checks and controuls as poſſible, and inſtead of two to have adopted three different houſes with all the formalities above enumerated.

But ſtill all theſe precautions would have proved ineffectual without the ſuppreſſion of the Jacobin Club and the affiliated or Correſponding Societies, which with their mercenary brethren in the galle-

ries

ries agitated the whole kingdom, overawed the legiſlature, rendered it a kind of petty council to the great council of the nation, and made repreſentation in a great meaſure uſeleſs.

The minute partition of the kingdom into eighty-three departments, and of theſe into diſtricts and cantons ſimilar to our counties, tithings and hundreds, inſtead of large and unwieldy provinces, equal ſeveral of them in population and wealth to conſiderable kingdoms, ſeems a wiſe meaſure calculated equally for internal harmony and peace, and for external defence and ſecurity; the Britiſh empire by conſiſting of three great members being, as we have learned from experience, liable to dangerous rebellions.

The plan of primary and ſecondary electoral aſſemblies, which they borrowed from Hume's idea of a perfect Republick, would have been excellent, had not the qualification of the primary and ſecondary electors and of the repreſentatives been fixed at too low a ſtandard, being but half a crown a year in direct taxes for the firſt, for the ſecond thirty-three crowns in ſome caſes, twenty-five in ſome, and fifteen in others, and nothing at all for the laſt, who ought in all caſes to be men of independent property. Hence the half-crown citizens infinitely outnumbering the reſt nominated electors of their own deſcription, and theſe electors in return appointed beggarly repreſentatives. And, as property always follows power, theſe beggarly repreſentatives threw the whole country into confuſion, that they might fiſh in troubled waters and fatten on the ſpoils of the nation.

Amidſt theſe and many other errours none ſeems more abſurd than the grant of repreſentation to

territory,

to territory, which may be deſert, and therefore incapable of the franchiſe. One of their regulations, however, is worthy of imitation in every free country, and that is the neceſſity impoſed on every free active citizen to enroll his name among the national guards, if he would be an elector; for it neceſſarily makes an armed nation; and an armed nation is in its own defence, and on its own territory generally invincible.

Such was the ſhort-lived conſtitution declared by the penetrating ſagacity of Fox, and by the whole conſtellation of Erſkin's boaſted luminaries to be the moſt glorious monument of political architecture to be found in the annals of mankind. Have not all theſe brilliant luminaries, who ſmiled at the predictions of Burke, as the ravings of a lunatic, been obliged by the event to confeſs that, though his oracles were delivered in proſe, he was no leſs a prophet than a poet, and that comparatively they are as yet but novices in politicks, and ſtrangers to the vagaries of the human mind? If diſpoſed to forgive an aged veteran retiring from the ſtage this decided ſuperiority of intellect, are they alſo willing to forgive him the poſſeſſion of a penſion? Would they deign to indemnify their patrons by a moiety of monies iſſued in their names from the treaſury? Theſe queſtions might be deemed impertinent, were the nation not become a beaſt of burden and patriotiſm a notorious trade.

1791 Thus the members of the conſtituent aſſembly having after the violation of the oaths, which they had taken to obſerve the inſtructions of their reſpective bailiwicks, and to be loyal and faithful to the king, eſtabliſhed a new conſtitution that out-lived their own exiſtence as a body, but a few months, retired into obſcurity, and were ſucceed-

ed by the legiſlative aſſembly, which diſtinguiſhed the commencement of its career with the inveſtigation of the miniſter's plan of foreign politicks. Being informed that ever ſince the king's impriſonment and flight all intercourſe of importance with foreign ſtates had nearly ceaſed; but that the death of the Emperor Leopold had made no alteration in the Auſtrian ſchemes, it proceeded from violence to violence, inſiſting firſt on the proſcription of the emigrant princes and nobles, and then on the ejectment and exile of the nonjuring clergy, till it kindled a fire, which conſumed itſelf. On the decrees, which proſcribed theſe two bodies, and againſt which his nature and religion revolted, the king put his negative with that characteriſtical ſpirit of humanity which forbad him to be cruel, and with that heroick magnanimty which, however great his perſonal danger might be, would not let him ſtoop to be unjuſt. Hence aroſe numberleſs libels, lampoons, and ſpeeches, and meetings of the correſponding ſocieties, inſtigating the populace to ſedition, treaſon and rebellion, if any acts can in the French political vocabulary claim thoſe names, after inſurrection had been declared a ſacred duty.

1792 Thoſe deputies, that like the majority of the preceding aſſembly, had adopted moderate principles and were friends to a limited monarchy, endeavoured, by the inſtitution of another club called Feuillans, to counteract the deſigns of the Jacobins, who having preoccupied the publick opinion now dictated the acts of the nominal legiſlature. But theſe attempts being made at too late a period proved abortive; the Feuillans after a faint reſiſtance were turned out of their hall, and never renewed the conteſt. The Jacobins now ſole maſters of the field became every day more and

and more inſolent and ferocious; and the people in general inſtigated by Marat, an infamous blood-thirſty editor of a news paper, who had been uſher in an obſcure Engliſh boarding ſchool, and was now a deputy, were agitated by an ungovernable phrenſy. The deputies actuated partly by fear and partly by the ſame ſpirit decreed the entire abolition of all eccleſiaſtical diſtinctions, and the formation of a camp of twenty thouſand men ſelected from the eighty three departments in the vicinity of Paris, which with the reſt of the country was declared to be in danger. The king's negative did not prevent the execution of theſe meaſures; gally-ſlaves and other deſperadoes from Marſeilles, Breſt and other ſeaports, which ſwarmed with neſts of villans, repaired to Paris, and from the moſt abominable claſs obtained for all the name of Marſeilleſe.

Theſe projects being, as was foreſeen, oppoſed by the king, exaſperated the populace, but not to the extent deſired by the republicans. Hence the ſtory of an Auſtrian committee headed by the queen and court, and countenanced by the king, was fabricated; and a whiſper was circulated that the king meditated a ſecond flight. Alarmed at this calumny Louis demanded that an inquiry ſhould be inſtituted; and Lord Lauderdale's friend Briſſot formally accuſed the late miniſter Montmorin; but, as he failed in his proofs, the inquiry was dropt as hopeleſs. But Briſſot, Marat and the other deputies, who lived by venting lies in their newspapers, continued to aſſert the exiſtence of the Auſtrian committee, and by dint of effrontery and impudence made the ignorant and credulous Pariſians thorough believers.

This belief, however, was the more eaſily created that jealouſies and fears had been viſibly excited by the French revolution in the breaſts of all European potenates. Guſtavus III. king of Sweden, an adventurous monarch eager to emulate the fame of his anceſtors, had no ſooner extricated his kingdom from the difficulties, in which it was involved by the war with Ruſſia than, like another Pyrrhus, he ſought for a new enemy in France, which he ſtyled the common foe of all monarchs. But, as he meditated triumphs at the head of a general confederacy in the north, the bullet of an aſſaſſin actuated by private revenge or corrupted by French gold ſtopped his career at a maſqued ball; and Sweden with more attention to her intereſt than to her honour has ever ſince diſcovered a predilection for France. Denmark too not being a frontier ſtate, and therefore not dreading the propagation of Jacobin principles, nor ſeeing any immediate proſpect of ſharing the French ſpoils kept a-loof, and adopted the Dutch politicks of deriving riches from the empoveriſhment of her neighbours.

But neither this decided neutrality nor the cautious reſerve of Ruſſia could prevent the ſtates bordering on France from concerting ſchemes for avenging the honour of the diadem and for checking the progreſs of thoſe levelling doctrines, which threatened the ſubverſion of ſociety and the elevation of poverty, ignorance and villany on the ruins of wealth, knowledge and worth.

In the month of July, 1791, the Emperor Leopold had by a circular letter dated at Padua invited all the powers of Europe to form a confederacy for this purpoſe; and accordingly a hund-

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red or perhaps a hundred and thirty thouſand troops furniſhed by the Emperor, by the kings of Spain and Sardinia, and by the Swiſs cantons and the circles of the empire with the approbation of other European ſtates were in the end of Auguſt to join the emigrants, and with the aſſiſtance of the nobility and clergy and the ſound part of the nation to reſtore to the king his authority and to reeſtabliſh the old conſtitution. But this project was diſconcerted by the flight of the king, who yielding to the preſſing dangers of the moment, reſolved to take ſhelter at Montmedi under the protecton of Bouillé's arms; and his acceptance of the conſtitution after an interval of a few weeks promiſing a new order of things confirmed the aſſociated powers in their idea of ſuſpending hoſtilities, till the reſult ſhould be known.

A plan, which embraced ſuch a variety of intereſts and included the nobility, the clergy, and the late parliaments diſperſed through France and other countries could not long be a ſecret to the Pariſian demagogues. Beſides, they were ſenſible that their notorious injuſtice in the violent and unprovoked ſeizure of the Pope's territories, the county of Avignon and the Venaiſſin, in the invaſion of the Biſhoprick of Bale, a ſtate of the empire, in the abolition of all the feudal rights and immunities ſecured by treaties to the biſhops of Treves and Mentz and to other princes of Germany in Lorraine and Alſace, and in the incendiary publications diſſeminated by their miſſionaries in all countries, had rendered every government, their concealed or avowed enemy. Theſe ſuſpicions and fears were ſtrengthened by a conference, which took place at Pilnitz between the

Emperor and the king of Pruſſia, whoſe conjunction, like that of two malignant planets, augured miſchief to their cauſe.

When upon the failure of the plan contrived for the king's eſcape to Montmedi; Bouillé iſſued a proclamation announcing the confederacy of foreign potentates and the near approach of their armies, they thought their apprehenſions reduced to certainty, and began to prepare for the event—Exclaiming, like the philanthropic philoſophers and orators of the Millenarian ſchool in this iſland, againſt the interference of foreigners in their internal concerns, they contended "that each ſtate in the great European commonweealth reſembles a diſtinct family, and that in every well regulated community, the domeſtic oeconomy and government of each family are left to the management and direction of its own members, and that therefore the league formed in the north and ſouth of Europe againſt the independence of France was the height of injuſtice and inſolence."

"But if, as in France, the diſſenſions of a family, whether great or ſmall, proceed to violence, rapine and murder; if, as the peaſantry formerly roſe in Germany and England againſt the gentry, the poor aſſociate for the robbery of the rich; if the ſons riſe in rebellion againſt the father, are the neighbouring families to be deaf to the calls of pity? are they to be more unfeeling than the brute creation, to hear the cry of diſtreſs and not to fly to its relief? Even inſtinct here lifts up its imperative voice, and leaves no option to a humane breaſt; reaſon too in its comparing balance juſtifies the ſudden deciſion, and politicks founded on the baſis of experience lend their concluſive ſanction. It is impoſſible for a nation to be engaged in a ſerious

ſerious conteſt, in which the ſurrounding ſtates are not intereſted, each according to its relative ſituation and proximity. Did not Athens led by this conſideration, reſcue Sparta twice from the cruelty of her inſurgent ſlaves? Did not Holland relieve Britain from the preſſure of popery and deſpotiſm? Was not Geneva indebted for the reſtoration of her mixed government to the united arms of Sardinia, of Switzerland and France? And has not France on all occaſions readily interpoſed her good offices or arms in the quarrels of her neighbours? Why ſhould ſhe be exempted from the laws which ſhe has ſanctioned? Why ſhould a French maniac have the excluſive privilege of tearing his own bowels and not be ſubject to coercion."

Add to theſe conſiderations that the king at his flight left behind him a paper declaring that, as a priſoner, he viewed all his conceſſions to the national aſſembly as mere nullities, and that the Imperial cabinet in concert with the Germanic Diet had, though friendly to peace, uniformly inſiſted on the removal of every innovation in Lorraine and Alſace as an indiſpenſible requiſite; and there will be no difficulty in conceiving the alarms of the Pariſians.

The republicans hoping that Louis would temporiſe, and by temporiſing exaſperate the unprincipled and ferocious populace, propoſed that a categorical and ſatisfactory anſwer relative to peace and war ſhould be exacted from Francis the Firſt; for his father Leopold was now no more, having fallen a victim probably to poiſon, of which the violence was ſuch that he literally burſt. The firſt of May, the ultimate term fixed for receiving his anſwer, having paſſed, his ſilence was conſtrued into a declaration of war; and Lewis knowing

himſelf to be in the power of his enemies floated down the current of popular opinion and ſigned a proclamation of war againſt the king of Bohemia and Hungary.

This precipitate reſolution was accelerated by the hopes which the republicans entertained, that the levelling principles inculcated by their emiſſaries among the malcontents in the Netherlands and in the United Provinces would ſoon alienate their affections from their preſent governments and render them either willing acceſſions to their empire or eaſy conqueſts in the preſent diſmantled ſtate of the barrier towns. They knew that the ſubmiſſion extorted by the arms of the emperor Joſeph and Frederick William was deemed a heavy grievance by a ſtrong party in both countries; and the numerous fugitives, to whom the former government had granted a conditional aſylum, were ready emiſſaries to execute the orders of their affiliated and fraternizing ſocieties.

Their firſt efforts, however, proved abortive and diſgraceful. Rochambeau, who commanded their northern army, ordered Dillon, Biron, and Carl to attempt the ſurpriſe of Tournay, Mons, and Furnes. Dillon's troops falling into diſorder at the firſt onſet were ſeized with a panick, and fled crying out "treachery" and maſſacreing Dillon and other officers, as they entered Liſle purſued by the Auſtrians. Biron with difficulty eſcaped the fate of Dillon, and Carl retired ingloriouſly to Dunkirk. Rochambean finding the miniſter of war reſolved to be himſelf every thing and Rochambeau nothing reſigned, and was ſucceeded by Luckner. Fayette's forces did nothing memorable, but remained in ſtrong poſts at Maubeuge or Maulde, till, after his flight and capture by the Auſtrians, they were led

led by Dumourier to oppoſe the duke of Brunſwick.

The acquieſcence of Louis in the declaration of war was a terrible diſappointment to the republicans, who had ever ſince his flight contended that by going more than twenty leagues from the aſſembly's ordinary place of abode he had, like James II. of Britain, left the throne vacant, and forfeited his crown. Not diſheartened, however, by this prudent conceſſion nor by the removal of a Jacobin miniſtry, they ſet their emiſſaries in motion; the preſſes laboured under the weight of inflammatory placards and hand-bills and paſquinades; every calumny againſt the royal family was received with applauſe, and every apology puniſhed with rigour; the tale of the Auſtrian committee was revived; the king's ſecond flight was announced as a certainty, and, to give the more credit to the fiction, the mayor, Petion iſſued orders for double vigilance in the guards. The ragged and ſhirtleſs ſanſculotes of the ſuburbs armed with pikes and headed by Huruge and Stanterre, a brewer, repaired to the aſſembly, commanded admittance, inveighed againſt the royal family and the court, and filed off through the hall.

In the mean time immenſe bodies appeared before the palace, broke into its courts, and were with their pikes forcing open the door of the room, where Louis was at dinner, when ſtarting up, he exclaimed "I will face them; they ſhall not open the door." In this act a pike would have pierced him, had it not been parried by the hand of a guard. Here, accompanied by his ſiſter Elizabeth, he for hours patiently endured the rabble's inſolence and brutality; one inſiſted on his wearing the red cap, and another on his drinking out of a bottle health to the nation; and the queen with her

her children in another part hemmed in by multitudes and defended by a barracadoe of tables, chairs and men's bodies heard, after recovering from a ſwoon and endeavouring in vain to join her huſband, a torrent of the moſt opprobrious and degrading epithets from the vileſt of her ſex. Three ſucceſſive deputations from the aſſembly wanted either authority or inclination to quiet the tumult.

Towards night the irreſolute and ever-ſimpering Petion, who was all this time deſignedly abſent, arrived, and upon finding the deed not yet done, as he expected, not chuſing to incur the odium of open aſſaſſination, recommended moderation and diſperſion to the multitude, and aſſured the king that he had nothing to fear. "The man" ſaid the king "who has a clear conſcience has nothing to fear," and applying the hand of a grenadier, who ſtood at his ſide, to his breaſt, he ſaid, "There, friend, feel whether my heart beats quicker than uſual," and to multitudes, who threatened his life, if he did not grant all their inſolent demands, he ſaid "Alas! how willingly would I reſign my life, if my country could derive any benefit from the ſacrifice."

Theſe outrages naturally produced ſuch violent conteſts in the capital between the republicans and the friends of the conſtitution that the ſhock was felt in the diſtant departments and even in the armies. Fayette, who commanded one of the armies on the frontiers, aſſuming the conſequence of a tried friend to liberty and haſtily judging that the ſoldiers participated the ſentiments of their officers, wrote a letter announcing in the name of his army vengeance on the violators of the conſtitution, and ſoon followed it in perſon to Paris. He was immediately ſtyled by the Jacobins a ſecond Cromwell, and accuſed as a traitor, whom it would

would be meritorious in any citizen to aſſaſſinate. A proſecution was commenced in the aſſembly; but his name and the attachment of the national guards, who had not yet entirely forgot his ſervices, encouraged the majority, in ſpite of the clamour of the Jacobin club and of their imps in the galleries, to pronounce him innocent and worthy of the national confidence. Finding his influence declining and incapable of ſtemming the torrent of republican abuſe, he returned to his army, which, he hoped, would be more ductile and more patriotic than the Pariſians. But the event proved that neither Fayette nor Luckner, who ſucceeded Rochanbeau in the command of the northern army, had thoroughly ſounded the hearts of the ſoldiers or formed a juſt eſtimate of the progreſs of republican principles, which in ſix months had diſmiſſed twenty-ſix miniſters.

Such was now the prevalence of Jacobin doctrines that Briſſot and five other deputies, though convicted of a palpable falſhood in the proſecution, eſcaped with impunity from the aſſembly, and received applauſe from the galleries, and that Petion, whoſe tergiverſation and duplicity were followed by depoſition, was reſtored upon promiſe to act with more deciſion.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe ſymptoms of omnipotence in the Jacobin club, when Briſſot had mounted the tribunal to propoſe the depoſition of the king, Lamourette, biſhop of Lyons, begged to be indulged with the delivery of a few words. "Let us make a ſacrifice of our paſſions and prejudices upon the altar of our country; ſince no human frailties are abſolutely incompatible but vice and virtue. Let us ſet a great example to Europe, and inſpire our enemies with terror. Let the preſident put the queſtion that all, who hold

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in equal deteſtation a republick and two houſes, and wiſh to preſerve the conſtitution inviolate, ſhould now riſe." All actuated by the enthuſiaſtic contagion of the moment roſe; for theſe Frenchmen ſeemed to have adopted Hudibraſtic principles and to have thought that oaths are but words, and words but air floating like the light goſſamer for the ſport of boys, or rather as the counters of the wiſe and the coin of fools. In ſpite of interchanged embraces in token of reconciliation, in ſpite of the mutual congratulations of the king and preſident on ſo auſpicious an event, in ſpite of the amicable celebration of the anniverſary of the revolution in the field of Mars by the king, by the aſſembly and four hundred thouſand citizens, they ſoon voted the nation to be in danger, encouraged the arrival of the Marſeilleſe, ordered pikes for the whole maſs of the people, heard the king with patience accuſed of aſſerting what was not true, and after joining in acclamations of long health to the ſovereign, countenanced a petition from Petion and a countleſs multitude for his depoſition.

But theſe violent acts were not ſufficient to gratify French and republican impatience. It was known that perſecution had at laſt exhauſted the king's forbearance, and that nothing but the queen's antipathy to a ſecond flight, which, ſhe feared, would prove as unſucceſsful as the firſt, prevented an attempt to eſcape through Normandy to a veſſel ready for the reception of the royal family at Fecamp. On the 10th of Auguſt therefore the forty-eight alarm-bells ſounded at midnight, and the Marſeilleſe and other ruffians of various deſcriptions, to the number of twenty thouſand, marched with thirty pieces of cannon under republican leaders to the attack of the palace, which was defended by ſeven hundred Swiſs, twenty thouſand

ſand national guards, and many gentlemen devoted to royalty, and to the conſtitution. Mandat, who had an order ſigned by Petion for the defence of the palace, preceded and acted with honour and ſpirit; but repairing, after repeated meſſages to the town-hall, he was ſurpriſed to find there a new and ſelf-elected municipality accuſing him of a conſpiracy to murder the citizens. Without a hearing, without further evidence, he was ordered to the Abbey, but was in deſcending the ſtairs ſhot through the head and fell pierced with daggers and pikes, on which his head was in triumph paraded through the ſtreets for the uſual amuſement of the polite Pariſians.

Petion, for he and Manuel and Danton ſtill continued at the head of the new municipality, Petion in the mean time ſimpered in the palace and endeavoured to perſuade the royal family to take refuge in the boſom of the national aſſembly, hoping that it would fall a ſacrifice to the battalions ſtationed in the paſſage for that purpoſe. But the queen, who was not of a paſſive temper, and ſuſpected the villanous leer of the mayor, declared that ſooner than fly ſhe would be nailed to the wall. At this moment Petion was ſummoned, probably by concert with his aſſociates, to the bar of the aſſembly, and ſoon after put under an amicable arreſt at his own houſe. Having ſet fire to the train, which led to the mine, he retired to a proper diſtance from the exploſion.

During theſe tranſactions the king reviewed the Swiſs, by whom he was received with loud acclamations; but, when he reached the national guards, the artillery and ſome other battalions, inſtead of hailing him cried, "long live the nation," and ſome had the inſolence to add "long live Petion." While, after the review, he was balancing

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in his own mind theſe alarming ſymptoms of diſaffection, which he foreſaw, would ſoon prove contagious, Roederer at the head of the department arrived, aſſuring him that the national guards being corrupted could not be truſted, and that the only ſafe aſylum was the national aſſembly. Overflowing with the milk of humanity, and ever averſe from ſhedding blood, eſpecially the blood of his ſubjects, and in his own cauſe, Louis with agonizing fears for their ſafety left his faithful adherents, who had formed themſelves into regular companies for his protection, and dropt tears at this ominous farewell. Having, as it was now ten in the morning, eſcaped the ſnares laid for their aſſaſſination in the dark, the royal fugitives reached the aſſembly unhurt, except by the invectives and threats of the multitude, who were reſtrained from violence only by the intervention of the directory of the department. The queen indeed, who knowing herſelf to be the moſt obnoxious of the company carried the young dauphin in her arms as a feeble ſafeguard, was expoſed to real danger, when the moſt forward of the directory left her naked by ſnatching the child out of her hands, and conveyed him into the hall. Scarce were they ſeated in a box allotted to the editor of a newſpaper, when cannons roared and balls entered the windows of the hall. Some deputies began to meditate flight; but thoſe in the ſecret holding out their hands and expanding their throats roared out "liberty and equality," and the preſident reminding all that the ſeſſion had been declared permanent, commanded them to remain at their poſt. Indeed, eſcape from their preſent ſituation was impoſſible, as they were ſurrounded by armed men and armed viragos worſe than men. Among theſe a madam Teroigne, a noted courteſan, was conſpicuous; on horſeback

horſeback ſhe exaſperated the vile dregs of the populace to burſt open the doors, and to drag out the queen, that ſhe might feaſt her ferocious eyes with the ſight of her mangled limbs.

Still the artillery roared, and diſcharges of muſketry were heard. The Swiſs obſerving five of their countrymen treacherouſly ſtabbed behind with pikes under colour of a parley, and being hard preſſed by the incumbent maſs fired in ſpite of the king's orders to the contrary, and compelled the aſſailants to retreat with the loſs of their guns. The Marſeilleſe rallying made a ſecond charge, and ſuſtained a ſecond repulſe. But the treacherous national guards from the other ſide of the river pointed their guns againſt their flank, and ſome Marſeilleſe having entered by certain back-ſtairs attacked them in the rear. Theſe brave foreigners being now deſtitute of ammunition, and thus aſſaulted in front, in flank and in rear at laſt gave way, and were miſerably ſlaughtered, but not unrevenged; for, wherever the fortune of the combat was not very unequal, they ſold their lives dear. Every where the palace reſounded with the groans of the dying, the ſhouts of the victors, and the mingled noiſe of diſtreſs and exultation.

When all reſiſtance ceaſed and ſupplication alone was uſed, the cruel rage of republicaniſm ſpared nor age nor youth, nor merit. The grey-haired veteran fell weltering in the gore of his blooming ſon, and the badges of military diſtinction earned in many a well-fought field were trod under foot as worthleſs gewgaws. From the roof to the foundations the apartments of the Tuileries floated with blood, and exhibited the picture of a vaſt ſlaughter-houſe. The king's adherents and favourites lay piled in heaps, and hags intoxicated with the king's wine more like furies than women, with

with ſwords ſnatched from the ſoldiers hacked the dead bodies, or holding bottles to their mouths deſired the ſcoundrels to drink for the laſt time health to the nation. Many of the national guards, who came too late to partake of the carnage, in order to evince their patriotic alacrity, ſearched for the remains of life with the points of their bayonets, and, like drunken Alexanders, ſlew the ſlain.

Nor was the thirſt of blood ſatiated with the maſacre in the palace and its environs; every form that bore the reſemblance of Swiſs in the city was demoliſhed; even the porters at the inns and hotels were hewn in pieces, and many genuine patriots, that had been moſt inſtrumental in the cauſe of liberty fell victims to publick fury or to private revenge.

The medium of the numbers ſaid to have been ſlain on both ſides is two thouſand five hundred. Heaps of corpſes were burnt in bonfires made with the combuſtible furniture of the palace, which was pillaged and diſmantled.

After this exploit the ſovereign people by means of their leaders in the Aſſembly proviſionally revoked the power entruſted to Louis XVI, who, as deſtitute of their confidence, was declared to be the ſource of all their evils; and therefore immured with his family as a priſoner in the Temple, an inſulated edifice ſurrounded with high walls and deep moats. As the unhappy captives moved ſlowly along in mournful proceſſion to their dungeons among an innumerable hoſt, Petion, who ſat domineering in the carriage, warned the queen not to eye the people with ſo confident an air, and being anſwered "Why not? you ſee they are calm," replied "I know that on the contrary they

they are very much irritated, and may be provoked to violence by a glance."

In the ſquare of Vendome the proceſſion was arreſted by Petion's rabble, that the fallen monarch might have leiſure to contemplate the overthrow of Louis the fourteenth's equeſtrian ſtatue, which with that of Henry IV. and almoſt every other monument of regal grandeur and taſte had been deſtroyed by theſe Gothick republicans. In the paroxiyms of their inſanity the barbarians with active zeal demoliſhed every work of art that had the remoteſt affinity to ariſtocracy or a limited monarchy, and involved them all in one common ruin. The reader therefore will not be ſurpriſed to hear that the buſts of Necker, Fayette, Mirabeau and other heads of the revolution were ground to powder.

The next ſtep of the predominant party was to order the primary aſſemblies, at which every French citizen twenty one years of age and reſident one twelvemonth at the place of election, that took the new civic oath to maintain liberty and equalty and was not a menial ſervant, ſhould have the right of voting, to chuſe a body of electors, and theſe again a body of repreſentatives qualified as above and equal in number to the preſent legiſlature to meet on the 20th of September under the name of the National Convention, which was to decide the fate of the monarch and the kingdom.

Six Jacobin miniſters, Danton, Le Brun, Roland, Servan, Monge and Claviere were choſen like our cabinet council, for the adminiſtration of juſtice, of foreign affairs, of the police, of the military and marine departments, and of the finances. The ſoldiers in all the departments were authoriſed to nominate their own officers; and all functionaries, who ſhould deſert their poſts, were

declared infamous and guilty of treaſon. Many, however, of the former functionaries, were according to uſual cuſtom on great occaſions ſacrificed to revolutionary principles, ſome with the form but not the ſubſtance of juſtice, and ſome by the prompt vengeance of the populace.

Of all the unhappy victims none fell more lamented than the duke of Rochefoucault, who in retiring to his eſtate from the Pariſian ſcenes of horrour was dragged out of his chariot from his ſcreaming family, and brutally murdered by his own tenants, to whom he had always acted the part of a kind maſter and beneficent patron.

In the midſt of proſcription and havock the non-juring clergy could not expect that their ſcruples of conſcience would be regarded by men who had none. They were all condemned to exile, though their numbers were allowed to exceed forty thouſand; and, if they did not in a limited time quit the realm, they were to be tranſported to Guiana, where it was ſaid they would learn to work and become men inſtead of prieſts. Many not having it in their power to croſs the ſeas were butchered by the ſanguinary populace who thought, if they were permitted to paſs the frontiers, they would ſwell the armies of the emigrants. Thouſands took ſhelter in the Britiſh iſles, where to the everlaſting honour of the nation they were in ſpite of prejudice and an adverſe religion maintained upon the principles of humanity by ſubſcriptions, voluntary contributions and parochial collections, till an aſylum was prepared for them in Canada and other parts of the Britiſh dominions.

Zeal againſt eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments did not ſtop here. Marriage was declared to be no longer a religious but a civil contract capable of being

being annulled by the mutual agreement of the contracting parties, or at the ſolicitation of either with the ſanction of a jury, which was now adopted from the Engliſh or rather Scotch juriſprudence in all caſes not of a civil nature.

Were it not that it is one of the French characteriſticks to intermingle contraries, to blend gaiety with cruelty and ſerious with jocoſe ſubjects and to ſuperſede all debate by acclamation, it would not be eaſy to conceive how they could find time to decide ſo grave a queſtion among the din of arms and the tumultuous preparations for the proper reception of the German and emigrant armies, that had now invaded their territories. The king of Pruſſia true to his engagements at Pilnitz, of which he aſſerted the execution was ſuſpended in hopes that the acceptance of the conſtitution would ſecure to the king a reaſonable ſhare of authority, and enable him to fulfil the treaties ſubſiſting between France and the Empire, by reſtoring to the princes of the latter their rights in Lorrain and Alſace, entered the French dominions in the latter end of Auguſt at the head of fifty five thouſand men. The Auſtrians under Clairfait and Hohenlohe exceeded thirty thouſand and the emigrants led by Condè and other chiefs ſwelled the whole hoſt to more than one hundred thouſand. The duke of Brunſwick celebrated for many a gallant exploit in the wars of Hanover, and famous by the conqueſt of Holland had the ſupreme direction of the whole maſs.

The oſtenſible reaſons for the king of Pruſſia's conduct have been detailed; but, as Pruſſia, like Rome, trades chiefly in arms, it cannot be ſuppoſed that ſo politic and circumſpective a prince as Frederic William ſhould, after taſting the

ſweets of the partition of Poland, be ſo laviſh of the blood and treaſure of his ſubjects as not eventually to expect an indemnification, and reſt ſatisfied, like a Swediſh Quixote, with empty fame. There can be little doubt that his Weſphalian dominions were to be made ſquare and compact, and that Lorraine, Alſace and the French part of the ciacle of Burgundy were in caſe of ſucceſs to be partitioned as rich ſpoils.

The combined arms at firſt made a rapid progreſs, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe a happy iſſue to their efforts. Longwy and Verdun ſurrendered; and the duke's manifeſto threatening ruin to all oppoſition and offering protection to ſubmiſſion ſeemed likely to have its entire completion. The French armies, weak, diſorderly and diſpirited always retreated on the approach of the enemies and did not venture even to haraſs their march. But what the philoſophers of France could not by their wiſdom atchieve the interpoſition of that providence, of which they denied the exiſtence, atchieved for them. Inceſſant floods of rain poured down from heaven, ſwelled the rivers and torrents, deluged the vallies and plains, and rendered the roads ſo deep and miry as to be impaſſable to artillery and heavy carriages. The allies could ſecure neither ammunition nor proviſion in Champagne, a barren country, where inſtead of friends, as they had been promiſed by the emigrants, they found none but enemies, who by cutting off ſtragglers forced them to have recourſe in ſeveral inſtances to military execution. Beſides, the jealouſy, that has ever ſubſiſted between the two allied armies, proved a great obſtacle. Often was the duke of Brunſwick heard to declare that with the ſame force well ſupplied with neceſſaries and compoſed entirely of Pruſſians or of Auſtrians,

Auſtrians, he could have eaſily penetrated to Paris, when his plans of operations, if approved by one claſs of generals, would not be oppoſed by another.

Preſſed, however, as the allies were, by famine and diſeaſe, for the cold and moiſtneſs of the ſeaſon, the bad quality of their food, and the grapes of Champagne, had on this occaſion, as in the wars of the 15th century, produced a dyſentery or bloody flux among them, they penetrated the foreſt of Argonne, where, though they routed the planet-ſtruck army of Dumourier, they could not for want of heavy cannon force certain defiles, through which it was neceſſary to paſs, till they were rendered, by the addreſs of Marſhal Money, too ſtrong to be attacked, but at too great a hazard. This obſtacle made it neceſſary to turn the foreſt by a circuit of 50 miles. But, when this object was attained, and the plain of Grandpré occupied, the weather proved ſo tempeſtuous, the country ſo impervious, and proviſion ſo ſcanty, that any further progreſs was found impoſſible. A diſtant cannonade, indeed, on Kellerman's diviſion of the army, which with numberleſs reinforcements had now joined Dumourier's, was commenced in order to try the countenance of his troops; but nothing deciſive was attempted; and the army, which now fed on its famiſhed horſes, and had great numbers of ſick men in its hoſpitals, made a retrograde, but ſlow motion, after in vain attempting, as the price of its retreat, to procure the king's ſafety and reſtoration. The French would enter into no terms with the ſlaves of deſpots, as long as their feet polluted the ſoil of liberty. Dumourier, in his vain-glorious diſpatches, promiſed to ruin the allied army; but neither he nor Bournonville, whom he chriſtened

the French Achilles, durſt even moleſt its rear. Verdun, however, and Longwy, capitulated; but the terrible threats of vengeance on the heads and houſes of thoſe who were ſtigmatiſed as cowards, for having reſigned theſe fortreſſes but with their lives, were not literally put in execution. For the decrees of the French, were not, like the laws of the Medes and Perſians, irreverſible. The inflation of rage aud enthuſiaſm ſoon ſubſides.

During the progreſs of theſe military operations, the National Aſſembly and the Municipality of Paris were not idle. To unnerve the members of the confederacy, a decree was paſſed inviting the ſoldiers of tyranny into the boſom of freedom, as French citizens, with the promiſe of trifling penſions as the rewards of treachery. Not ſatisfied with this ſtratagem, the Jacobin leaders circulated through the Pruſſian and Auſtrian camps, an addreſs, in the German language, from the French to the German privates; and, as it is no bad ſpecimen of the lively, but tautological and indigeſted eloquence of the country, it is here verbally tranſlated: "Brave, but miſtaken men, what is the cauſe in which you are engaged? Have you conſidered? Are you inſenſible to the wrongs which you have endured, and ſtill endure? And will you draw your ſwords on purpoſe to enſure the continuance of them to yourſelves, and to entail them on your children? Have you no deſire to enjoy bleſſings which ſhould be common to all, but are denied to millions, and among others to you? Can you forget that you have been torn from your families and friends by tyranny, or forced into your preſent profeſſion by want, which was the conſequence of tyranny? And what is that profeſſion? Conſider well, and ſuffer truth to be heard. Is it not murder, nay the moſt wicked of mur-

murders? It is no vulgar blood that you are called upon to ſpill, but the blood of men, or rather of heroes, who devote themſelves for you, for their country, for the human race. What quarrel have you with them? They wiſh to embrace you as brothers. If you fall, they will weep over you; for you will fall miſtaken, diſhonoured, and, alas! accurſed. If they fall themſelves, their ſurviving companions will glory in their virtue, embrace them in death, and mingle ſongs of triumph with their tears. You cannot hope to vanquiſh men like theſe. Combating for your freedom as much as for their own they fear nothing but ſlavery.

"Have you no ſenſe of the blows, which you have received, and of the inſults, which for years you have daily endured? Are you not men? Can you not feel? Are you in love with laſhes, impriſonments and executions? You know what deſpotiſm is; for it has been exerciſed upon you in all its rigour. The day of relief is come; and will you blindly ſacrifice your lives to protract your ſufferings? You are in chains; and will you ſlaughter thoſe who kindly offer to knock off your fetters? Once again, beware; lay your hands upon your hearts, and do not ſtain your ſouls with the blood of your beſt and deareſt friends. You have men who call themſelves your commanders; and their commands are that you ſhould be guilty of the moſt hateful and horrid crimes: but you cannot be ſo ſenſeleſs as to be ignorant of your duty or your power. Your numbers to theirs are as twenty to one; and can you ſtand to be ſhot in the field, yet daſtardly tremble and obey theſe engines of injuſtice? Think for yourſelves; be men and not the brutal herd that tyrants would make you." But theſe inſidious manœuvres proved

ineffectual. The Germans convinced by diſcipline and habit that an army to merit the name muſt be actuated by one ſoul and kept in motion by one principle, the will of the commander, were but little affected by French rhetorick. Some of thoſe that were inveigled into the ſnare, were maſſacred as ſpies by the ſuſpicious ſoldiers, who, eſtimating the hearts of others by their own, thought foreigners capable of every enormity; and this ſpecimen of Gallic faith and generoſity ſtopped the influx of deſerters.

As a remedy for this and every other failure all the citizens who did not obey the orders of the executive power, and did not march or deliver up their arms and uniforms, when required, were declared traitors and puniſhable with death. The army intended once to be formed at Soiſſons, a meaſure to which the king had refuſed his ſanction, was now deemed indiſpenſable for the quiet of the interior parts of the kingdom and for the defence of the frontiers. In addition to this precaution the barriers were ſhut; a fortified camp, at the works of which a deputation from the aſſembly was every day to handle the ſpade and pickaxe and mattock, was ordered to be conſtructed; and the Pariſians were by proclamation invited to the field of Mars for the ſelection of ſixty thouſand men deſtined to meet the enemy. Commiſſioners were appointed to direct the enthuſiaſm of the people, to diſarm the diſaffected, and to announce to the armies and to all the departments the patriotic efforts of the capital, in hopes that the flame would be catching and kindle a fire in every breaſt.

On the firſt of September in the morning the municipality of Paris conſidering that the imminent danger of the country required a grand effort

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fired the alarm-guns and hammered the bells in the forty eight pariſhes, now called ſections. Immenſe multitudes crowded at the ſummons to the field of Mars; but being reminded by ſome bloody villains eager for plunder or revenge that, before they marched to the attack of external enemies, they ſhould exterminate internal foes, and ſecure their defenceleſs wives and children from the machinations of impriſoned traitors, they adopted the advice without heſitation. As the aſſembly voted without debate, the populace acted without conſideration. Hurried on by a momentary impulſe they proceeded in a tumultuous body to the various places of confinement, and by a ſelf-conſtituted jury condemned or acquitted the miſerable victims, as their caprice dictated. The proceſs was very ſimple and expeditious. The foreman without calling any evidence, and hardly without interrogating the culprits, aſked his aſſeſſors, who are ſaid to have been Italian Lazaroni or Pariſian cut-throats, whether it was their pleaſure that the priſoner ſhould be enlarged. No acquitted them, but Yes conſigned them to a band of executioners, who ſtood with axes in their hands, and with their ſhirts, if they happened to have ſhirts, tucked above their elbows and their arms gored with blood, ready to ſtrike the wretched ſufferers. Death, however, did not appear in a ſingle form. Sometimes the griſly king of terror's ſcythe was converted into a pike, ſometimes into a ſword, a dagger or a bayonet, or the but-end of a muſket or a hammer. The priſons became abſolute ſhambles, where theſe barbarians ſat in judgment on men, like butchers in a ſlaughter houſe over a drove of oxen. The firſt objects of their fury were the non-juring prieſts, and the next the Swiſs officers, who had ſurvived the tenth

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of Auguſt. Both claſſes were ſacrificed to a man; except D'Affry, the commandant, who made his peace by ſwearing that he had quitted the palace, when the queen taking up a piſtol threatened to ſhoot him for refuſing to give the Swiſs orders to fire upon the people, as was done by his ſon fatally for himſelf and his countrymen. Deputies from the aſſembly and from the municipality pleaded in vain for mercy; the ſavages with more than Indian cruelty pierced the helpleſs and ſupplicating fugitives between their ſheltering knees.

Nor were murder and rapine confined to the priſons. The ſtroke of the aſſaſſin thirſting for revenge or ſearching for booty was heard in every ſtreet. Verſailles copied the example of the metropolis and exhibited the ſame bloody ſcenes. Even the priſoners, that were ordered from Orleans to be judged by the revolutionary tribunal, did not eſcape; the ſanguinary patriots burſt the barriers and cut their throats upon the road. Soon after the jewel-office was robbed; but, as it appeared from the evidence of two thieves caught in the fact that ſome conſiderable Jacobins were at the head of the enterprize, no ſerious inquiry enſued; and it was generally believed that the booty was partly employed in the hands of one Semonville to bribe the Turkiſh Divan into a participation of the war, and partly diſtributed among the principal demagogues as an ultimate reſource in caſe of flight or voluntary exile.

Petion, whoſe heart was not quite callous like Santerre's and Robeſpiere's, tried to prevent the full exhibition of this tragedy; but he was thought chicken-hearted, by men like the Pariſians, whoſe conſciences were ſeared; and their fortune roſe upon the ruins of his popularity. In this horrible carnage above a thouſand people, many of them

perſons of the firſt diſtinction and merit, ſuffered in Paris alone; but the number that periſhed in the various places, where the demon of civil fury raged, is incalculable.

Of all the victims that were ſacrificed by theſe inhuman idolaters of liberty none fell a more intereſting object than the beautiful and admired marchioneſs Lamballe, the friend and confident of the queen, and well known in this iſland for her various accompliſhments. Being aſleep in bed, when called upon to be conveyed to the Abbey, ſhe begged to be left undiſturbed, as one priſon was the ſame to her as another. When compelled to dreſs in haſte and appear before the infernal judicature, no promiſes nor threats could extort a ſyllable from her to the prejudice of the queen or royal family. As ſhe was retiring from the preſence of this abominable jury ſtupefied with horrour at ſtumbling on mangled bodies at every ſtep, her head was gaſhed behind with a ſabre, and a violent effuſion of blood enſued. Supported by two men ſhe proceeded exhauſted and fainting, when another ruffian with determined aim ſevered her head from her body, and relieved her perſon from pain but not from indignity. Her hands indeed by a natural movement adjuſting her garments enabled her, to fall in a decent poſture. But, as Nero is ſaid to have feaſted his eyes with the ſymmetry and beauty of his murdered mother's perſon, a deteſtable Pariſian ſtruck with her charms is ſaid to have offered to her headleſs corpſe a violence, at which human nature ſhudders. Her head being ſtuck on a pike was immediately carried to the temple by the rabble, who regardleſs of the three-coloured ribband placed there as an impaſſable barrier by deputies and commiſſioners compelled the appearance of the royal family

that they might enjoy the ſpectacle of their agonizing pangs and feaſt their eyes with the ſight of the queen ſwooning in the arms of her attendants.

Nor was this diabolical ſpirit of aſſaſſination confined to the vulgar; the legiſlative body felt the contagion. Debrie, a diſtinguiſhed Jacobin deputy propoſed that a volunteer regiment of twelve hundred regicides ſhould be raiſed and armed with daggers and other inſtruments of murder for the extirpation of kings and their generals, and that they and their deſcendants to the fourth generation ſhould be rewarded with a penſion of a thouſand livres.

In ſupport of this motion it was urged "that kings being the ſole authors of wars ought to be the only ſufferers; that wallowing in luxury within their palaces they devoted to miſery at home or to the ſword abroad their ſubjects blindfold; that retaliation was not to be feared, as nothing could be added to the threats contained in the duke of Brunſwick's manifeſto; and that upon the principles of humanity it was better that a few privileged families ſhould be exterminated than that whole kingdoms ſhould be deſolated."

In reply it was aſked, "Is it certain that kings and not the nations, over whom they reign, are the authors of war? All government ultimately depends upon opinion, and, if the governed did not agree in opinion with the governours in the juſtice and expediency of war, it would be impoſſible for the latter, who muſt always be comparatively few in number, to execute their plans of conqueſt. Does not all hiſtory prove that free ſtates and particularly democracies, from ancient Perſia, Greece, Rome and Carthage to Arabia, Tartary and Britain, are actuated by ambition more

more than monarchies? Monarchs enjoying what demagogues want, wealth, eaſe, pleaſure and diſtinction, can in the nature of things be but ſeldom impelled to war by their own diſcontent, and by that reſtleſsneſs and love of change, which are ſo congenial to the human miud. They are commonly hurried on by the rapacity or reſentment of their ſubjects, who inheriting the propenſities natural to men in a civiliſed and well as in a barbarous ſtate, may be juſtly defined belligerent as much as rational animals. If foreign nations be now exaſperated againſt us, will not their rage be increaſed tenfold by the adoption of a meaſure, for which we have the pattern only of a ſingle Roman, and that in a rude and barbarous age? Were kings deteſted by other nations as by us, they might perhaps be obliged to us for performing the odious taſk of ridding them of tyrants; but being revered and loved by them as legal magiſtrates and beneficent parents they will abhor us as parricides. Accordingly parricide is deemed a crime ſubordinate to regicide, as it is a leſs injury to murder the father of a ſingle family than the father of a whole country. Such crooked politicks are unworthy of a great and enlightened nation, and ſuit only the mean and puſillanimous cutthroats of Italy. Let us imitate Rome in her better days, and copy the example of Camillus and Fabricius, not that of Mutius Scævola and Clælia. Aſſaſination, as it muſt be perpetrated in cold blood, is an engine of deſtruction, at which nature revolts; and ſecures no advantage, as it may be turned againſt you. Open war is attended with calamities enow; let us not multiply them by this barbarous practice."

The French, however, at this period were not more diſtinguiſhed for treachery and aſſaſination than

than for activity and vigour. Every man, who would enjoy the new rights of an active citizen, being by law under the neceſſity of becoming a national guard, naturally felt the military ardour, and was eager to ruſh into the field. Hence upon the approach of the combined armies the French hoſts increaſed like ſwarms of locuſts devouring and waſting every thing in their courſe. Paris, Verſailles and the diſtrict of Soiſſons are ſaid in ſix days to have equipped and ſent into the field thirty thouſand men; and it was computed that in twenty days more Paris alone would have eighty four thouſand ſoldiers on the frontiers. From theſe eſtimates, though magnified, the reader may form a conception of the vaſt numbers on their march from the eighty three departments; for all France, as in Cæſar's time, was now in motion; and, what was of more conſequence, uſed the ſame arms and the ſame art of war as its invaders.

The republicans availing themſelves of the preſent enthuſiaſm poured towards the middle of September two numerous hords of theſe vaſt multitudes, one into Savoy, and the other into Nice; alledging that the king of Sardinia had acceded to the treaty of Pilnitz, harboured the emigrants and in various inſtances evinced his inimical intentions. Both countries being unprepared and previouſly tinctured with Jacobin principles by miſſionaries were reduced almoſt without reſiſtance. Indeed the progreſs of the French arms in each was leſs a hoſtile march than a triumphant proceſſion; and yet was in the reſult accompanied with much devaſtation and cruelty. For Anſelm, lately a monk but now a general, knew not how to command obedience; and admiral Truguet, though he ſhook the Italian ſtates and gave law on

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the coaſts of the Mediterranean, was upon the whole unſucceſsful with his fleet.

Yet this irregularity is not a matter of ſurpriſe in raw troops, when the rulers of the nation ſet the example of injuſtice and violence by forcing Monteſquiou, the commander of their army in Savoy, to fly for refuge into Switzerland for not giving Jacobin laws to Geneva, a peaceable and inoffenſive neighbour.

While the ſouth of Europe was conſumed by theſe tribes of caterpillars, the north was devoured by another. Cuſtine at the head of numerous legions invaded the Palatinate, an electorate of Germany, and after a vigorous reſiſtance from a ſmall body of Auſtrians made himſelf maſter of Spires and Worms, defenceleſs towns, in which he found ſtores and magazines of various kinds. After a forced march Mentz, a ſtrong and important fortreſs, was reduced by capitulation either through cowardice or the corruption of the governor; and Frankfort, a rich Imperial city renowned for commerce, was ſoon added to theſe conqueſts. To ſay nothing of pillage and depredation in moſt places enormous contributions were exacted under various pretexts. Thirſting for more plunder Cuſtine meditated the conqueſt of Coblentz, the head quarters of Frederick William, and requeſted the co-operation of Kellerman, who alledging the weakneſs of his army, declined the expedition and was accuſed by Cuſtine of treaſon. As an indemnification for this diſappointment he poured his myrmidons into Heſſe, but was in a rencounter with the Pruſſians repulſed. The conſequence was that he loſt Frankfort and ſeveral thouſand men, who periſhed in the aſſault and retreat. Still, however his numbers enabled him to make a reſpectable defence and to

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keep poſſeſſion of Mentz and of his other acquiſitions on the left of the Rhine.

While the French arms were thus conſpicuous in offenſive efforts, they were not leſs ſo in defenſive operations. Thionville a ſmall but ſtrong fortreſs on the northern frontiers of Lorraine, having been inveſted by the Auſtrians and ſummoned to ſurrender under pain of bombardment replied that "the buildings might be deſtroyed and not one ſtone be left on another, but the ramparts could not be burnt." The threat, though literally executed, could not exhauſt the patience and perſeverance of the defenders, for, though the gates were deſignedly left open for five hours, not a citizen quitted the town; nor could the aſſailants with all the arts of war force them from their poſt by ſurpriſe or ſtorm. After the loſs of many brave men in mutual aſſaults and ſallies the Auſtrians were upon the retreat of the allies from Champagne obliged to relinquiſh the attempt with ſhame and diſgrace.

Liſle, the capital of the French Netherlands, was expoſed to the ſame trial and gave a ſimilar ſpecimen of ſpirit and conſtancy. The citizens foreſeeing their fate tranſmitted to Paris a public act, in which they ſwore they would be buried in the ruins of the town rather than abandon their poſt. When ſummoned they anſwered that "they had juſt renewed their oath to be faithful to the nation and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at their poſt, and they would not be guilty of perjury. After this ſpirited reply the municipality ſuſpended the keys of the city on the tree of liberty denouncing inſtant death to the firſt who ſhould propoſe or attempt to remove them. The ſtreets were unpaved, and every poſſible art was uſed to leſſen the effects of a bombardment.

bardment. Three tiers of batteries were erected by the beſiegers; thirty thouſand red hot-balls, ſix thouſand bombs and innumerable ſhots from one of the fineſt battering trains, that ever appeared in the field, ſhowered deſtruction on the devoted city; but neither the fall of private houſes, which were for an obvious reaſon the firſt objects of attack, nor the overthrow of the publick buildings could terrify it into a ſurrender. The women and boys ſnatched the fuſes out of the bombs to prevent their exploſion, and, when the houſes could no longer yield protection, they took ſhelter in vaults and cellars, which being now covered with vaſt ruins ſerved as caſemates. The Princeſs Chriſtina, who in hopes of entering the city in triumph had, in order to animate the ſoldiers, applied the firſt match in the preſence of her whole court, found all her expectations blaſted, and the beſiegers obliged to make a precipitate retreat, after having indeed deſtroyed the town, but with all this mighty parade and expenditure killed only five hundred perſons, and theſe chiefly women and boys.

The cauſe of this retrogade motion was the approach of various French hords deſtined for the conqueſt of Belgium and Batavia. The republicans fluſhed with a ſeries of unexpected ſucceſs had decreed that winter ſhould not ſtop their military operations. Finding the confiſcated property of the emigrants and of the church unequal to the various demands of the civil and military departments they anticipated in imagination the ſpoils of theſe rich countries as inexhauſtible reſources. The loſs of men they valued but little; as they ſtarted up, as it were by magick, at their command. Money, the ſinews of war, was the only indiſpenſiable requiſite wanted to feed and

clothe the maſs of their hungry battalions. Accordingly Dumourier, who had been making preparations, for the expedition from the firſt moment of Brunſwick's retreat, led ſixty thouſand men into the Netherlands, and ſoon compelled the Auſtrians, who were not in force, to retire to their own frontiers.

In the vicinity of Mons, however, the French general found them to the amount of nearly twenty thouſand prepared to make a determined ſtand on elevated ground fortified by three tiers of redoubts mounted with twenty heavy guns and ſtrengthened by three field pieces to each battalion, in all about one hundred pieces of cannon. On the right of the Auſtrians was the village of Gemapp and a river, and on their left a wood; ſo that the hazard of attack was not trifling. But, as freſh battalions poured in conſtantly, and Dumourier had promiſed that, ſince he could not fill their mouths with bread, he would with bullets, an engagement was reſolved on, before Clairfait ſhould arrive with a reinforcement. With artillery more numerous than that of the Auſtrians and with French troops double their number aſſiſted by Belgians and Batavians, this enterpriſing, intrepid and boaſtful general advanced with the new levies in front, and perceiving that his artillery made no impreſſion ordered his troops ſinging the Marſeilleſe ſong to ſtorm the entrenchments from all quarters exactly at twelve. The firſt redoubt was ſoon carried, but with great loſs. In the interval between the firſt and ſecond batteries, for they roſe one above another like the ſeats of an amphitheatre, the ſhowers of grape-ſhot and muſketry ſtaggered the aſſailants, and being in their confuſion and flight attacked by the Auſtrian cavalry they were miſerably ſlaughtered. Supported,

ed, however, by a ſucceſſion of new battalions and ſome regiments of horſe they rallied, and by the incumbent weight of numbers forced the ſecond line of cannons, The ſummit of the eminence being now almoſt gained, the French met with little reſiſtance from the laſt redoubt; as the Auſtrians ſaw the neceſſity of a retreat, and of the removal of their artillery. Eight pieces of cannon only fell into the hands of the victors, a clear proof that the retreat was orderly and that the French had no reaſon to boaſt, as they did, of their proweſs, though they might of their numbers. Dumourier's account of his loſs in what he calls the moſt terrible battle that ever was fought is ridiculous and incredible; for he makes it only amount to three hundred killed and ſix hundred wounded, while he ſwells the loſs of the enemies to four thouſand wounded. Is it not more likely that on this day ten thouſand republicans fell, as in his ſecond diſpatch to the legiſlature he reduces to thirty thouſand the army, which in his firſt he had made forty thouſand? Or did he in his ſtatement of the killed and wounded include only the regulars and neglect the national guards and other new levies, Whatever may be the real ſtate of the fact, certain it is that this battle decided the fate of the Belgic provinces of Auſtria; as was predicted by Dumourier, who outran his promiſe of eating his Chriſtmas dinner at Bruſſels by ſome weeks, and ſoon added the biſhoprick of Liege to his other acquiſitions.

Dumourier, who was a ſoldier of fortune, and therefore, like the cameleon, changed colour according to the object, with which he was in contact, having after ſupporting for a time the principles of a limited monarchy now become a republican, had on entering the Netherlands iſſ-

ued a proclamation explaining the reaſons for the eſtabliſhment of a republic in France and profeſſing fraternity and a deſire of aſſiſting the Belgians in breaking their fetters, in ſhaking off the yoke of their Auſtrian oppreſſors, and in erecting, like France, a free and independent commonwealth, unſhackled by any laws or any connections not of its own choice. In conſequence of theſe fair promiſes the French were received as brothers, and readily ſupplied with neceſſaries in a plentiful country, which had not yet felt the calamities of war. Dumourier's army lined the banks of the Meuſe and in conjunction with another under Valence ſecured the frontiers of the new conqueſts from Aix la Chapelle to Sedan. Bournonville with a conſiderable body of troops occupied both ſides of the Moſelle; and though he failed in his attempt upon Treves, and was forced to retire into Lorraine for proviſions and recruits, he kept the communication between Dumourier's army upon the Meuſe and Cuſtine's upon the Rhine tolerably free from interruption. Wherever the power or influence of theſe armies extended, they eſtabliſhed clubs and correſponding ſocieties, in which revolutionary and republican doctrines were inculcated by arguments and enforced by menaces and acts of violence. Hence addreſſes ſoliciting a ſpeedy incorporation with France poured in upon all quarters, from the cities of Belgium, from Liege, from Spires, Worms, and Mentz, from the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice. Even Geneva became a club; and Bâle actually fraterniſed.

Intoxicated by this favourable tide of their affairs the Pariſians, who either believed, or affected to believe, theſe addreſſes, the genuine effuſions of men's hearts ſtruck with admiration of their new

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ſyſtem, imagined that, like the Arabs, they had nothing to do for the propagation of their faith but to let their hords looſe upon Europe, which they might conquer, as Rome did Greece, by an inſidious proclamation of univerſal liberty to all mankind. In fact, the common cry through France was that in every country kings only were their foes and the people their friends; and that, wherever their armies ſhould penetrate, they would find no antagoniſts but depriſed nobles, hated prieſts, and abhorred miniſterial dependents. This deluſion ſo eaſily diffuſed among a vain populace was encouraged by the National Convention, which had on the 20th of September ſucceeded the National Aſſembly, whoſe character may be thus briefly delineated. This wavering aſſembly deſtitute of principle and energy vibrated always between its duty and its fear, and, when the former ſeemed likely to preponderate in the balance, had not courage to prevent the republicans from throwing into the lighter ſcale the make-weight of their pikes and daggers. During its nominal reign but real ſlavery the liberty of the preſs was annihilated; and the populace who were now the ſovereign people, hearing only one ſide of a queſtion and conſtantly imbibing the poiſon of republicaniſm, precipitated their inſtrument, the aſſembly, into a labyrinth, from which it could be extricated by nothing but a diſſolution. Thus periſhed by an untimely death this feeble but tumultuous legiſlature, after having, as tools in the hands of Jacobin leaders, demoliſhed the new fabrick of their conſtitution, and raiſed a ſtorm, which daſhed many of their own, and more of their countrymen's veſſels to pieces, and covered the Britiſh ſhores with the wrecks.

If the preceding body of deputies moved with haſty ſteps, the ſucceeding advanced with gigantic ſtrides to every ſpecies of innovation and extravagance. Novices in government and hoping to be welcomed every where with a fraternal kiſs, and now enabled to work with ſuch a prodigious engine as 24,000,000 of true ſans-culottes, they thought no project too mighty for their power; nor need we be ſurpriſed at any novelty or even abſurdity propoſed in a Convention, which was a ſtrange mixture of heterogeneous ingredients, collected from various nations: the French indeed formed the baſis; but foreigners, like the wolves and tigers in the Ovidian deluge, floated in the maſs. Gallic painters, poets and players, butchers, pamphleteers, news-writers, attorneys, degraded nobles, and renegado prieſts conſtituted the bulk of the aſſembly; but Swiſs apoſtates, Savoyard coblers, Pruſſian outcaſts, Italian bravoes, Belgic malcontents, and Engliſh republicans formed a conſiderable portion. In ſhort, the whole was a perfect Noah's ark, crowded with animals clean and unclean, of every deſcription, and with ſome non-deſcript. Of the foreign claſs, the moſt notorious was Cloots, a Pruſſian maniac, who, to be deemed the more ſavage, had chriſtened himſelf Anacharſis, and without being abſolutely naked like his Scythian nameſake, appeared before the legiſlature, accompanied with a motley tribe of white, black, nut-brown, and copper-coloured wretches, dreſſed in all the fantaſtical habits of the known world, and dancing and kiſſing one another like brothers and friends. The next was Thomas Paine, an Engliſh ſtaymaker, poſſeſſed of little learning but of ſtrong natural parts, accuſtomed to the waves of civil commotion and of a temper adapted to ſtorms, but mad with wild

wild and impracticable ſchemes of reform, and ready to ſacrifice to his extravagant ambition the repoſe not only of his own country but of the whole world. Joſeph Prieſtley, an Engliſh ſectary, reſpectable in common life as well as in the walks of philoſophy, through timidity or the love of ſcience declined to be a deputy, but ſent his ſon, an adopted citizen, to reſide in France, and offered his aſſiſtance by letter for the overthrow of deſpotiſm and the eſtabliſhment of freedom. Though he had contributed to ſet the houſe on fire, he did not chuſe to be cruſhed by the ruins; and, as he afterwards retired to America at the proſpect of a ſimilar conflagration in Britain, he ſhrunk back appalled from the lightening that flaſhed on the Gallic horizon.

From an aſſembly thus ſuddenly collected from the dregs of the high and low vulgar of every deſcription, from a ſenate, where the aſſaſſin Orleans now ludicrouſly ſtyled Equality, the incendiary Marat, and the cobler Simon were diſtinguiſhed and even reſpectable characters, what moderation or wiſdom could be expected? Having after the verification of their powers decreed that the laws not abrogated, the functionaries not ſuſpended, and the exiſting taxes ſhould be continued they proceeded on the 21ſt of September, at the inſtance of Herbois, a tragedian, to the determination of the king's fate, and without any grave diſcuſſion voted the abolition of royalty by acclamation, crying out that kings are in the moral order of things what monſters are in the phyſical, that courts are the receptacles of crimes and the dens of tyrants, that their hiſtory is the martyrology of nations, and that, as all were ſenſible of theſe truths, there was no room for deliberation. Expreſſes were immediately diſpatched to the eighty three departments

to communicate this important event, and that for the future *the French Republick* ſhould ſtand in the place of *the Nation* in all the publick acts and on all the publick coins and ſeals. All citizens were declared eligible to all vacant places, even to thoſe of judges; and no title was allowed but citizen. The princes of the blood were not only deprived of their titles but of their legal poſſeſſions; the knights of St. Louis were ordered to ſurrender their croſſes not as patriotick donations but as publick jewels; and ejected prieſts, except infirm and aged men above ſixty, were ſtript of their penſions.

Though the clergy by this removal of the ground from their feet were, like the fabled body of Mahomet, left ſuſpended between heaven and earth without any viſible ſupport, the malice and perſecution of their enemies did not abate. Manuel ſupported by Danton and his party propoſed that the very name of prieſt ſhould be aboliſhed and that no religious eſtabliſhment ſhould any longer exiſt. "Since we have, ſaid they, overturned royalty, why ſhould we allow the hierarchy, one of its principal buttreſſes, to exiſt more than nobility? The only plauſible reaſon ever aſſigned for a religious eſtabliſhment is that the regular ſalaries annexed to it are bribes for aiding the civil power in the preſervation of order and government; and that, though an evil, it is the only effectual remedy againſt a greate revil, the turbulent ambition and expenſive impoſture of ghoſtly directors. But what weight can ſuch futile reaſoning have with thoſe who patroniſe toleration? And is not univerſal toleration already a law of the land? A predominant or eſtabliſhed religion is ſure to breed perſecution, and perſecution reſiſtance, and reſiſtance a ſacred war. The true ſecret

cret for the prevention of ſo great a curſe is complete liberty of conſcience. Why ſhould not the property of the clergy, which is national property, be converted to the publick uſe inſtead of ſupporting an indolent and unproductive claſs of men, who have by ſetting their foot on what Archimedes wanted, another world, been enabled to move this world at pleaſure? Clergymen only pervert the notions of mankind, and by diverting their attention to another ſtate make them forget their duty in this, that in the mean time they may enjoy what is real and ſubſtantial for what they know, as far as we can judge from their practice, to be imaginary and ſhadowy. Did not the prieſts, who, after being duely purified by a new confeſſion of faith, were made adminiſtrators by our colleague Dumont at Montreuil, acknowledge openly in the pulpit of the principal church before a vaſt crowd of people that prieſts are but harlequins and mountebanks dreſt in black and exhibiting tricks and puppet-ſhows to cheat the gaping vulgar out of their money? Why ſhould we, now that mankind is enlightened and the torch of reaſon blazing, be voluntarily immerſed in darkneſs and at noon-day buried in the gloom of night? Why ſhould we renounce the cultivated walks of civiliſed ſociety and deviate into the bewildering paths of barbariſm and ſuperſtition? Why ſhould we turn our backs on philoſophers and ſages and attend to dreamers and divines, men who pretend to penetrate the myſteries of another world, and, though blind themſelves, to lead the blind? Let us hope that the day is not far diſtant, when the badges of prieſthood, like feudal titles, will be committed to the flames at a civick act of faith. From experience it is found that lectures of morality, which can be but ſeldom

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the real objects of clerical induſtry, when addreſſed to grown people, have little or no effect; the character being already formed and the tree inclining as the twig was bent. Habits of good or bad behaviour muſt be contracted in early youth, as the mind becomes gradually too ſtubborn to yield to culture. If we muſt have an eſtabliſhment for the inſtruction of ſociety, why do you not begin, like the ancient Perſians, at the fountain-head and pay the inſtructors of youth, whoſe minds are tender and flexible and capable of being moulded like wax? If we may believe the writers on the wealth of nations, even this plan is waſteful and impolitick; as the inſtructed ſhould always pay the inſtructor, and the example of our univerſities demonſtrates that a ſettled revenue never fails to render the teacher remiſs and ſlovenly, and that the intereſt of literature is better conſulted by leaving the field open to competition. Why ſhould not religion, (if religion being an affair between God and man only, between the Creator and the creature, ſhould ever become the object of attention to the ſtate) be left equally open and free? The truth is that religious eſtabliſhments according to the moſt enlightened authors are barefaced impoſitions on the credulity of mankind and calculated merely for extorting a revenue from their fears and terrours; and that clergymen are only the ſucceſſors of their exploded prototypes, prophets and diviners, who held the people tributary. The only difference is that the expence of the former was trifling, and that of the latter is intolerable. What think you of two hundred and ſixty millions of louis in every circle of ten years? And yet, according to our political arithmeticians, this muſt be but a moderate calculation, as the agricultural produce of the French empire,

empire, of which a tenth went every year before the revolution to the clergy, can not be eſtimated at half of the whole produce ſhared in various ways by the church. The impotence of France before the revolution may be traced to the immenſe and conſuming hords of idle nobles, idle clergymen and idle monks, that the people maintained with the ſweat of their brows. She had two hundred thouſand of the monaſtick order, and nearly the ſame proportion of the clerical; while her nobles with their lazy dependents exceeded both in number and waſte. To what do you owe your preſent triumphs and your proſpects of future glory but to the gigantick efforts, by which you ſhook this enormous load from your ſhoulders? Except an inconſiderable body of emigrants, theſe prodigious hoſts amounting in all to eight hundred thouſand perſons are now converted into active and induſtrious citizens living by their own labour and augmenting inſtead of diminiſhing the general ſtock; and as a collateral and additional advantage, one ſixth of the year is not loſt to the nation in the idleneſs of judaical ſuperſtition. Weigh well the reſources derivable from theſe improvements in our political ſtyſtem and confeſs that we are capable of exertions hitherto unknown to France and inconceivable to deſpots and unregenerated nations. For what have your enemies to oppoſe to theſe formidable arrangements? Twelve hundred thouſand of the clerical and monaſtick tribes, (for ſo many do the countries leagued againſt you contain,) and the ſame number of nobles and gentry, who will not condeſcend to draw a ſword or a trigger but in the character of officers. Courage then; as we are all citizens and all ſoldiers without any privileged claſſes, our incorporation is perfect, and we need not, as in

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Britain, Ireland and other hoſtile countries, retain at home half our people armed to over awe the other; and we ſhall thus be enabled at pleaſure to threaten our neighbours ſucceſſively with invaſion. In the projects ſuggeſted for the demolition of the New Carthage you often talk of imitating ancient Rome. Imitate her then in aboliſhing prieſthood. The Roman Republick, though extended over the moſt valuable part of Europe and over a conſiderable portion of Aſia and Africa, had an eſtabliſhment of not above one hundred and fifty prieſts; and it does not appear that any of its four colleges or of any ſubordinate fraternities had a ſtated ſalary except the ſix Veſtals. The citizen and the prieſt were not diſtinguiſhed but upon ſolemn occaſions, when the latter aſſumed the veſtments of his office, and ſunk, after the performance of the ceremony, into a private citizen. Thus the prieſthood being neither a ſeparate nor an indolent and unproductive claſs, like ours, was neither envied nor deſpiſed, but, on the contrary, highly reſpected and revered; and, compoſed as it was of the moſt eminent citizens, had its proper weight in the ſtate, when it interpoſed by its legal authority and not by the incumbent preſſure of eccleſiaſtical wealth. Notwithſtanding the clamours of intereſted and bigoted men numbers contend that an illuſtrious hiſtorian is juſtified in attributing the growth of the Roman empire in ſome meaſure to the paucity of its prieſts, and its decline to the multitudes of drones introduced into the hive by Chriſtianity. We have annihilated the monks, one ſpecies of drones; and the ſame principle of policy forbids us to ſpare their elder brothers. The ignorant and uninformed are apt to deſpiſe the Mahometans, as unenlightened and ſuperſtitious barbarians and

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arrant bigots; yet they have the good ſenſe to allow every man to take up and lay down the trade of religion at pleaſure, a change of habit being the only ſymbol of divine inſpiration. No impoſition of hands, no ordination is deemed neceſſary; but it is left optional to every man, like Mahomet himſelf, to aſſume or not to aſſume the character of a prophet. In Virginia, if not in all the other American ſtates, there is no religious eſtabliſhment; at leaſt no man is obliged to pay a prieſt as in France, if he thinks that he can find his way to paradiſe without a heavenly guide. Hence we ſhall never hear of Catholicks and Huguenots, of Janſeniſts and Moliniſts in theſe countries. Every man being left at liberty to follow the dictates of his own conſcience and not obliged to pay for the whimſies and caprices of his neighbour, no ſacred wars can ariſe about the ſuperior divinity of dogs and cats, of white and black elephants, of monkeys and baboons, of leeks and onions, and of what is of leſs value than leeks or onions, of homoouſian and homoiouſian quiddities."

To theſe impious doctrines, the Convention not only liſtened with patience, but alſo declared with the greateſt coolneſs to a member who profeſſed himſelf an Atheiſt, and contended that nature and reaſon ought to be the only gods taught in republican ſchools, that they were not in the leaſt intereſted in theological opinions. "I defy (continued the Atheiſt) a ſingle individual among the twenty-four millions of French citizens to accuſe me, with juſtice, of a crime or even of a peccadillo. Can the Chriſtians or the Catholicks, of whom the laſt ſpeaker has been talking, make the ſame challenge? We have overturned thrones, and ſhall we allow the altars, on which the idolaters

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uſed to ſacrifice, to ſtand? Prieſts are greater tyrants than kings; the latter are ſatisfied with rendering their dupes miſerable in this life, but the former extend their tyranny beyond the grave, and threaten their auditors with eternal puniſhments; a ſtrange and abſurd doctrine, the truth of which ſome men have had the ſimplicity and good nature to take upon their word." Need we now be ſurprized that David Hume was at Paris a bigot?

But it was not merely againſt heaven that the ſucceſſes of Dumourier emboldened theſe ſons of earth to proclaim war; thinking themſelves, like the hoſt of ancient giants, above all controul, they provoked the hoſtility of all nations. After declaring all emigrants, real and reputed, puniſhable with death in twenty-four hours, by a military committee, and ſubjecting foreigners, who had left the French for another ſervice, to a ſimilar fate, they decreed by acclamation that the French nation ſhould grant fraternity and aſſiſtance to all thoſe who wiſhed to procure liberty, and who had ſuffered, or were now ſuffering, in the cauſe of freedom. To leave no doubt concerning their ultimate views Savoy was incorporated as an 84th department with the Republic, under the name of Mont Blanc. In purſuance of the ſame plan it was reſolved that the generals of the Republic, in all the countries occupied, or to be occupied by its armies, ſhould aboliſh all the antient contributions, nobility, taxes, feudal rights, real and perſonal ſervitude, the excluſive right of hunting and fiſhing, and all privileges; ſhould ſuppreſs the conſtituted authorities, convoke primary aſſemblies compoſed of perſons ſworn to obſerve liberty and equality; ſhould put under the ſafeguard of the Republic all the public property, as well

well as that of the ſovereigns and of their adherents and abettors, and the eſtates of religious and lay communities; ſhould lay taxes not bearing heavy on the lower orders; ſhould fraternize with the people; ſhould ſettle the ſum due to the republic for the expence of their deliverance; and that the people ſhould be conſidered as enemies who, refuſing liberty, ſhould enter into accommodations with their tyrants, and that the French, under the ſanction of an oath, would never lay down their arms till the countries once entered ſhould be free and independent.

As there will be among all nations many individuals really or ideally unfortunate, there muſt alſo be many malcontents; and malcontents aiming at power, and conſequently wiſhing the overthrow of the exiſting government, will repreſent it as oppreſſive and tyrannical, the preceding reſolutions might by all countries be reckoned a declaration of war. This was, however, more particularly the caſe with England and Holland; becauſe the diſaffected in both had commenced a direct and fraternal correſpondence with the French Republicans. This friendly intercourſe originated in an addreſs from Cherbourg to the ſociety of conſtitutional whigs in England, who were requeſted to circulate it in Engliſh to all the affiliated ſocieties; ſo that it appears from the very words that the clubs in France were not unacquainted with the exiſtence and correſpondence of the Britiſh clubs of malcontents, and that, if the parliament ſhould prove hoſtile, they relied upon their efforts to make the Engliſh populace eſpouſe their cauſe. The plunder, which the revolution had procured to the French *Sans-culottes*, by the proſcription and murder of the nobility and clergy, would, they thought, be a ſufficient temptation to the

the Britiſh rabble to imitate their example, and to diſcharge the holy duty of inſurrection. Nor were they miſtaken in their conjectures. Engliſh clubs, by deputation, preſented to the National Convention addreſſes congratulating it on the impriſonment of the king, in which they declared "that England was degraded by an oppreſſive ſyſtem of inquiſition, the inſenſible but continual encroachments of which had deprived the nation of its boaſted liberty, and reduced it almoſt to the abject ſtate of ſlavery, from which the French had ſo gloriouſly emancipated themſelves; that the French already were, and Britons were preparing to be, free; that innumerable ſocieties intended for this purpoſe were forming themſelves in England; that though they appeared only in the name of a crowd of Engliſhmen, they ſpoke the ſentiments which would be expreſſed by a great majority of them, were they conſulted, as they ought, in a National Convention; and that, if the rapid progreſs, which reaſon was now making, were duly conſidered, it would not be ſurpriſing if the French ſhould in a ſhort time ſend an addreſs of congratulation to a national convention of England."

The firſt addreſs (for the preceding words are copied from ſeveral) was ſent off in print by expreſs to the eighty-three departments and to the armies, to prove that, though attacked by great and powerful enemies, they were not without numerous and ſpirited allies. A convivial meeting of Engliſh, Iriſh, Dutch, and other gentlemen reſiding at Paris, was held with great parade, to celebrate the victories of the Republicans, and to vote an addreſs of congratulation to the National Convention. Here, as far as draughts of wine could operate, every conſtitution of government

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in Europe, except the French, was drank down; and the names of Prieſtley, Fox, Sheridan, Barlow, Mackintoſh, Tooke, and Paine, were extolled to the ſkies. Sir Robert Smith and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, after diſclaiming their own titles, drank the ſpeedy abolition of all hereditary titles and feudal diſtinctions; and this toaſt, as well as the Approaching Convention of Great-Britain and Ireland, and the Fall of Prieſthood, was honoured with an unanimous cheer of three times three. The addreſs, from which ſome words are quoted above, paſſed without a diſſentient voice, and was received by the National Convention with applauſe, and with re-echoed ſhouts of gratulation by the galleries.

Having now, as they imagined, converted the majority of Britons as proſelytes to the republican cauſe, they openly threw off the maſk, and diſdained any longer to uſe the inſidious duplicity which they had hitherto practiſed towards Britain. In May, Chauvelin, the French ambaſſador in London had, after proudly rejecting all foreign interference in the internal affairs of France as a direct aggreſſion, declared "that in return France would loudly and with ſeverity diſcountenance any of her agents in courts at peace with her, who ſhould dare to deviate for an inſtant from a reciprocal neutrality, by fomenting or favouring inſurrection againſt eſtabliſhed order, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the internal politicks of thoſe ſtates, under the pretext of proſelytiſm, which, if exerciſed among friendly powers, would be a flagrant violation of the rights of nations." Here it is obſervable that no mention is made of ſecret emiſſaries, or of addreſſes from French to Engliſh clubs, and that even accredited agents are not to be puniſhed, but merely diſcountenanced.

Hence, though Britain at the inſtance of France, and in conformity to treaty and good neighbourhood, forbad, by proclamation, her ſubjects, under the ſevereſt penalties, to engage directly or indirectly in the ſervice of the allied powers, and declared her firm reſolution to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, by neither perſuading nor diſſuading any of the belligerent ſtates at the deſire of another, Chauvelin affected a total ignorance of clandeſtine intrigues, but betrayed his conſciouſneſs of French guilt, by applying to his own nation the general word "foreigners," inſerted in a proclamation againſt the ſeditious practices of correſponding ſocieties. Though the correſpondence between Engliſh and French clubs, for the avowed purpoſe of celebrating the French, but with the concealed view of effecting an Engliſh revolution, was notorious from their meetings, toaſts, and publications, in many large cities and populous towns, the ambaſſador repreſented this circumſtance as unconnected with the French government, and as ſure, when known, of being univerſally condemned in France. And yet long before this period the leaders of the French uſurpers had often affirmed in the legiſlative aſſemblies that every people was their friend, and every government their foe, and that therefore, to eſtabliſh French liberty, it was neceſſary to diſorganize Europe, to ſet fire to its four corners, and to purge it of its tyrants by the eruption of the volcanic principles of equality. Certain it is that to produce this exploſion in due time, their pioneers and miners worked under ground in every country to which they had acceſs, but in none ſo induſtriouſly or ſo openly as in Britain and its dependencies, becauſe the liberality of the government, naturally reſulting from the freedom of the people, admitted

mitted every latitude ſhort of flagrant ſedition and rank treaſon.

The treacherous artifices of the French republicans to create two parties, the governed and the governors, in Britain, and to detach the body of the people from the three branches of the legiſlature, being no ſecrets to the Britiſh cabinet, they recalled Lord Gower, the Britiſh miniſter at Paris, when the royal authority was ſuſpended, and the executive power delegated to a cabal of ſix, alledging that, as his credentials were no longer valid, his functions ceaſed, and his preſence in France could be no longer of ſervice, but at the ſame time giving aſſurances of neutrality, of the obſervance of treaties, and of univerſal indignation throughout all Europe, if any act of violence ſhould be offered to the royal family of France. From theſe laſt expreſſions, and from a joint note communicated ſoon after to Lord Grenville by the Imperial and Sicilian ambaſſadors, it appears that this diſmal cloſe of the French tragedy was now nniverſally expected, and the expectation was but too fatally juſtified. At the requiſition of theſe two ambaſſadors, therefore, no aſylum was to be granted to the regicides, or to their abettors, in the Britiſh dominions; and the Dutch concurred in the meaſure.

The inſidious manœuvres of the French, and the preventive meaſures of the Engliſh, miniſters naturally exaſperated the public mind on both ſides; but what rendered the Jacobins outrageous and frantick was the effect produced in this iſland by the king's proclamation, exhorting all ranks to rally round the conſtitution, which was endangered by the machinations of foreign and native levellers. The unanimity diſplayed on this occaſion by the great maſs of houſeholders in every

pariſh throughout the Britiſh dominions terrified the malcontents into acquieſcence, and forced them through fear to feign principles of loyalty.

But the leaders of the National Convention, though alarmed, did not abſolutely deſpond; having drawn the ſword of civil war, they knew from hiſtory and experience that they muſt throw away the ſcabbard; and therefore at every hazard they prepared for victory or death. As a ſecurity to their own lives, and a ſacrifice to the inſulted honour of the nation, the demagogues reſolved on the execution of the king, and on the extinction of the royal family. Neither the frowns of Britain and Holland, nor the threats of Spain and the ſubordinate branches of the Bourbon family, could ſtop the fury of the Republicans, who wiſhed to divert the public odium from their own perſons, by accuſing the king as the author of the inſurrections and maſſacres of which they had been the prime movers. A commiſſion of twenty four deputies, ſelected from various committees, having been for ſome weeks employed in ranſacking every ſuſpected place for criminating papers, and in collecting evidence againſt the depoſed monarch, produced on the 6th of November a report full of vague and unſupported accuſations; and on the 7th the committee of legiſlation preſented a plan for his trial, prefaced by theſe words, "We maintain that, the rights of nations being, like thoſe of man, impreſcriptible, he who has violated them cannot found on the ſilence of poſitive laws any pretenſions to a ſcandalous impunity. The Roman ſenate, though debaſed and corrupted, dared however to try Nero, whoſe perſon, by the tribunitian power granted to the Cæſars, was ſacred and inviolable. But, notwithſtanding the ſhameful exceſs to which terror and

and the habit of ſlavery have carried human ſubjection, it has never been ſo great that the code of any people has eſtabliſhed abſolute impunity in favour of any individual pontiff or king. Hitherto theſe great examples of national juſtice have been ſtained by violence, meanneſs, and injuſtice. The ſenators, who condemned Nero, were at that time the ſlaves of Galba. The judges, who depoſed Henry of Caſtile, were only baſe courtiers ſold to his ſiſter, the hypocritical and ſanguinary Iſabella. The ſon of Vaſa was ſacrificed by the grandees of Sweden to the ambition of John his brother, a tyrant more artful, but no leſs barbarous, than he. Charles the Firſt fell under the axe of Cromwell, and not under that of the law; and Elizabeth of Hungary, and Jane of Naples, were puniſhed for their crimes only by aſſaſſination. The forms of juſtice employed to cover theſe acts of vengeance were but ferocious hypocriſy. The moment however is arrived when the French nation can give to the world an example of the juſtice of a great people, exempt from any impure mixture of human paſſions. But what ſhall be the tribunal whoſe authority and impartial equity can remove all ſuſpicion, and diſſipate every idea of violent or political prejudice? Two methods ſeem to have an equality of ſuffrages. One is the formation of a jury choſen by the electoral aſſemblies of the departments, and the other is that the Convention ſhall reſerve to itſelf the deciſion of this great queſtion. The latter is the plan propoſed by the committee."

This plan, detailed in fourteen articles too inſignificant to be here ſpecified, being printed, was ſent to all the departments and municipalities, and tranſlated into all the European languages. A propoſal made by Manuel for putting all thoſe

who ſhould ſpeak for the impeached Louis, under the ſafeguard of the laws, being ſuppreſſed by murmurs and hoots, ſufficiently indicated the ſpirit of equity by which the Aſſembly was guided; and the final event might be clearly foreſeen from the motion of Robeſpiere on the third of November, "that without any further inquiry they ſhould pronounce ſentence againſt the king." "He cannot, ſaid this inflexible and bloody tyrant, appeal to the ſocial compact, he has himſelf annulled it; his fall is already decided by the forfeiture of his crown; it is his puniſhment that liberty demands. His ſentence was pronounced, when his palace was taken; the people have ratified the ſentence by approving the proceedings of the 10th of Auguſt, and whatever has ſince been the conſequence. To put the queſtion, "whether he is criminal?" would be to betray the faith due to the ſovereign people." "Why then, ſaid others, did you, after this declaration of the popular will, afford to Louis an aſylum in the boſom of the National Aſſembly? Why was he not at that moment abandoned to the fury of the multitude? Was he only preſerved from aſſaſſination to be reſerved for the forms of legal murder? A ſtate of nature, where the paſſions alone govern, is preferable to this mixture of rule and miſrule, of war under the name of peace, becauſe every man is on his guard, and can only blame himſelf if he is caught ſleeping. But your plan is to murder men at midnight, when you have, under the name of kind phyſicians, deadened their ſenſes with opium and laudanum. Brutus killed Cæſar, but it was in a full ſenate. Cæſar was ſurrounded by legions, and Brutus had but his arm. If Cæſar had been in priſon, Brutus would have demanded that he ſhould be heard before judgment

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ſhould paſs. We are judges, and we ought to diveſt ourſelves of that hatred which other citizens may juſtly entertain againſt the culprit."

The latter opinion prevailed, and the arraignment of Louis was decreed. But, though reduced to a ſimple and accuſed citizen, he ſeemed to inſpire the Convention with dread, as if he were ſtill a monarch. The public ſtores and magazines guarded, the ſquares filled with armed men, the ſtreets lined with pikes and bayonets, no previous notice, no hint of the approaching criſis, all indicated apprehenſions of tumult and inſurrection. Conſcious of acting with violence the conſpirators expected a violent reſiſtance, and prepared for the event. But the preparations were ſo formidable as to command ſubmiſſion.

On the morning of interrogation the ſequeſtered Louis (for to render his ſituation more diſmal, and to derange his faculties, he had been torn from his family, and deprived of the queen's keen penetration and active vigilance) was firſt alarmed with the beat of drums, the ſound of trumpets, the din of arms, and the tread of horſe's feet in the courts of the temple. When informed by the mayor, Petion, that the moment big with his fate at the bar of the Convention was come, he diſcovered no heſitation nor reluctance, but maintained his uſual dignity of aſpect in his paſſage through the lanes of armed guards. In a brown undreſs, with neglected hair and beard, for, like the moſt infamous aſſaſſins, Ravaillac and Damien, he had been denied razors and all edged inſtruments, leſt by ſuicide, a crime which his religion and conſcience forbad, he ſhould ſteal out of life with a bare bodkin, and prevent what his accuſers called a glorious ſpectacle, he entered the hall, accompanied by the treacherous mayor, by two

rals, of whom one was the brutal Santerre, lately a brewer, but now commander of the Pariſian guards, and by two municipal officers. At the appearance of the late ſoverign as a culprit before his own ſubjects all tumult immediately ſubſided, and the benches and galleries bent forward with ſolemn ſtillneſs and eager attention.

Barrere, the preſident ſaid to the fallen prince as he ſtood at the bar. "Louis, the French nation accuſes you, and you are to be judged by the Convention. While the Secretary reads the charges, you may ſit down." Louis knowing that it would be in vain to diſclaim the authority, and much more the power of the Convention, did not, like Charles I of England, refuſe to plead to the indictment. Conſcious of his own innocence he choſe to make it appear by ſubmitting to a trial not only without murmur but with ſilence. He therefore made uſe of the permiſſion granted him to ſit down, and heard with profound attention the numerous articles, in which he was accuſed of crimes, that may be claſſed under two diſtinct heads, crimes antecedent and ſubſequent to his acceptance of the conſtitution, and the latter again diviſible into crimes common to him and to the miniſters, and crimes peculiarly perſonal to himſelf.

The crimes laid to his charge prior to the acceptance of the conſtitution were "that he had attempted to diſſolve the aſſembly in June 1789; that in July of the ſame year he had endeavoured to overawe the aſſembly with troops; that he had ordered the regiment of Flanders to march to Verſailles; that he had contrived the inſult offered by the lifeguards to the national cockade; that he had corrupted the public mind in 1791 by paying for various publications; that he had in a letter

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applauded Bouillé for his ſanguinary conduct at Nancy; that he had fled to Varennes, that he had been the cauſe of the bloodſhed in the field of Mars on the 19th of July; and that he had encouraged libels againſt the patriots.

The crimes ſubſequent to the acceptance of the conſtitution that were imputed to him and in which miniſters muſt have been involved, were that he had concealed the convention of Pilnitz from the aſſembly; that he had retarded the tranſmiſſion of the decree, by which Avignon was reunited to France; that he had excited the troubles at Nimes and the convulſions at Jales; that he had prevented the ſudden increaſe of the army during the adminiſtration of Narbonne; that he had diſorganiſed the navy; that he had been the author of the diſaſters in the colonies; that his artifices had effected the ſurrender of Longwy and Verdun; and that he had illegally retained the Swiſs guards in his pay.

The perſonal charges were "that he had refuſed his ſanction to the decree againſt the generals and to the decree for the formation of a camp near Paris; that he had written a letter to the biſhop of Clermont, in which he promiſed that, if he ſhould recover his authority, he would reſtore the chriſtian religion; that he had illegally kept his guards in his pay; that he had aſſiſted the emigrants; that he had correſponded with his brothers; that he had uſed his influence at the court of Vienna to the prejudice of France; that he had by his ambaſſadors encouraged the confederacy of deſpots; that he had carried on an iniquitous traffick in corn; that he had bribed the members of the aſſembly; that he had paid his guards at Coblentz; and that the carnage, which took place on the 10th of Auguſt, was his work.

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The futility and injuſtice of the charges in the firſt claſs were ſo evident that they ſhocked the morality even of the murderous incendiary Marat and the philoſophy of the relentleſs republican, Paine. The former demanded that they ſhould be expunged as unfounded in law and nullified by the amneſty implied in the proffer and acceptance of the conſtitution; and the latter contended that they ſhould not be applied to Louis; as they were accuſations againſt the king and not the perſon, a proſecution againſt kingly government and not againſt the king. The convention with its uſual diſregard for every thing but its own will contemptuouſly rejected both remonſtrances by paſſing them without notice.

When the articles of impeachment had been read, Louis was for two hours queſtioned and croſs-queſtioned with all the captious and inſidious arts of chicanery; but without prejudice to his intellectual or moral character. Standing at bay before a multitude of mercileſs bloodhounds eager for their prey, he repelled with eaſe their various attacks, and came off unhurt in his virtue and honour. Cool, collected and unembarraſſed he gave to all queſtions prompt and brief but explicit and ſatisfactory replies that delighted his friends and confounded his enemies. Throughout his examination he proved that his conduct anteriour to the revolution was conformable to the conſtant practice of the monarchy, and that his behaviour poſteriour to the conſtitutional act, was directed not only by its ſpirit but by its letter.

Being allowed at his own requeſt a copy of the articles and of the corroborating papers he begged the aſſiſtance of counſel to conduct his defence, and by permiſſion ſelected Target or Tronchet, or both, if the indulgence was not too great to be

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aſked. Target however, though under numberleſs obligations to the deſerted Louis, ungratefully alledged his great age and republican principles, as an excuſe; and left the honourable and pious office to Tronchet, who nobly undertook it without fee or reward. But pity for fallen majeſty and virtue in diſtreſs procured him coadjutors: five generous citizens, Grain D'Orge, Menil Durand, Sourdat, Huet de Guerville, and Lamoignon Malherbes, (for their diſintereſtedneſs in ſuch a perilous cauſe merits the record of hiſtory) offered their ſervices. The four firſt received the heartfelt thanks of the ſuffering king, and Malherbes was requeſted to co-operate with Tronchet. Four days however of the ſhort ſpace allowed for preparation elapſed before the admiſſion of the barriſters to Louis, and even then the neceſſary papers were not ready for their peruſal. Circumſcribed therefore in time and overwhelmed by a multitude of documents they ſolicited and obtained from the convention the aid of Deſeze, a young and able counſellor, without whom they declared it impoſſible for them to do juſtice to the king's cauſe at the time required.

In the mean time Louis anticipating his fate prepared, like a good catholick, for another world by a regular peruſal of his breviary and a rigid obſervance of the faſts. Secluded from all his family but the queen, who was his only conſolation next to heaven and his own fortitude and innocence, he inquired ſome times with great anxiety for his children, and as if he dreaded the concupiſcence of impure republicans, cried out one morning ſeveral times with tears in his eyes; "this day my daughter is fourteen years of age." When denied by two commiſſioners, who always watched him

him like a madman, ſciſſars to clip his beard, which was now very long, "What! ſaid he, do they think me meanſpirited enough to be guilty of ſuicide?" On this occaſion Malherbes, when ſearched, leſt he ſhould convey concealed arms or poiſon, declared to the inquiſitors that "the king was a man of an elevated character; that his mind was ſtrong and courageous, and ſuperiour to all weakneſs; that, were he a philoſopher, or profeſſed the religion of the ancient Romans, which attached a kind of honour to ſuicide, he migh kill himſelf; but that, being a genuine catholick, a true believer and a pious man, he could not lift up his arm againſt his own life for fear of incurring the wrath of God."

On the day of defence he came unexpected by the populace and therefore without buſtle to the bar attended by his three advocates. The galleries were ſo crowded with Jacobin hirelings that ſome of the deputies moved that they ſhould be cleared to ventilate the room, but the clamour was ſo great that, till the motion was dropt, no ſpeaker could be heard. Hence the mercenaries remained triumphant, and in the ſequel terrified the friends of juſtice and humanity into acquieſcence or ſilence.

When the preſident deſired Louis to make his defence, he anſwered with his uſual majeſtick brevity, firm voice and undaunted aſpect, "my counſel is to ſpeak for me;" and pointing to Deſeze ſat down according to the preſident's direction.

"Citizens, ſaid Deſeze, the ſilence which now prevails, gives me reaſon to hope that my client is not prejudged, that you ſtill think his cauſe not deſperate, and that the day of juſtice has at laſt ſucceeded to the days of prejudice. Misfortune

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of every deſcription is certainly entitled to our compaſſion, and in every feeling breaſt that compaſſion riſes in proportion to the height from which the unfortunate have fallen. Hence, as unfortunate kings claim more pity than the unfortunate in other ranks of life, Louis, who occupied the moſt brilliant throne in Europe, muſt excite a correſpondent degree of intereſt. This diſtinguiſhed perſonage you have ordered to appear at your bar; and he has obeyed with calmneſs and dignity, emboldened by conſcious innocence and ſupported by the teſtimony of his whole life. To us he has revealed his inmoſt thoughts; and hence we know that, in replying without preparation and without mature examination to charges, which he could not foreſee, and in thus making an extemporary defence, he could not but evince his innocence. The truth of this aſſertion, which in us is the reſult of reaſon and of ſentiment, I ſhall eſtabliſh by irreſragable proofs; and I ſincerely wiſh this hall could be inſtantly enlarged, that the multitude who have conceived the moſt fatal prejudices againſt Louis might come here to receive contrary impreſſions. Louis knows that Europe waits with anxiety for the ſentence, which you are to paſs, and that it will be handed down to poſterity. But though, anxious for his future character, as you alſo ought to be for yours, he is ſtill more anxious for his own immediate poſterity, whoſe fate will be involved in your deciſion; and therefore now turns his attention principally to his contemporaries. Like him we forget poſterity, and look only to the exiſting generation. Waiving for the preſent the ſituation, in which Louis ſtood by the conſtitution; forgetting that you and he were coordinate branches of the legiſlature and that conſequently one has no right, for I ſpeak not of

power,

power, to trench upon the privileges of the other, let me ſuppoſe that you are legally entitled to paſs ſentence: yet will I undertake to prove that you ought to bring in a verdict in his favour.

You accuſe him of a wiſh to diſſolve the Aſſembly in June 1789, and prove the fact by the parole-evidence in the Aſſembly. But how can any evidence prove a fact of this nature? By the immemorial cuſtom of the monarchy the king's will was then the law, and he had but to will the diſſolution of the Aſſembly, and it would be, like the States General in preceding reigns, diſſolved of courſe. The truth therefore is that it is to his neither wiſhing nor willing the diſſolution of the Aſſembly, you owe your ſeats as legiſlators, and France what liberty it now enjoys. Had he been that ſtern tyrant delineated by the diſtorting pencil of exorbitant ambition, his breath would at firſt have nipt democracy in the bud and blaſted every opening bloſſom of freedom in its ſpring. But being mild, generous and beneficent, he cheriſhed the growing hopes of his ſubjects and encouraged every plan that ſeemed likely to remove their burdens or to relieve their diſtreſſes. If he was ſometimes miſtaken in his ideas, he is not ſo much to be blamed as his adviſers.

To the charge of ſurrounding and intimidating the National Aſſembly at the ſame period with troops the ſame obſervations are applicable. Being authoriſed by law to order any part of the army to march where he pleaſed, he had but to ſpeak; and the Aſſembly would have been immediately diſlodged from its hall, and its functions would have ceaſed. But though the deputies had violated the oath impoſed on them by their conſtituents, he did not, though urged by various counſellors, adopt this ſtrong meaſure. Can a

ſtronger

ſtronger proof of innocence be demanded? When employed to defend the commandant I had occaſion to ſee all the orders; and they only indicated an intention of guarding the metropolis from diſturbances meditated by certain agitators. The commandant was accordingly acquitted by the Aſſembly.

But he ordered the regiment of Flanders to march to Verſailles. True; but he poſſeſſed the right as head of the army, though he did not exerciſe it, till expreſsly requeſted by the municipal officers, who declared that without it they could not anſwer for the tranquillity of that city.

As to the inſult offered to the national cockade, ſuch a mad act could never originate in the ſober mind of Louis, who was not even preſent; if the fact ever happened, it was the momentary effect of brains intoxicated with wine.

But he corrupted the public mind by paying for publications againſt liberty and for libels againſt the patriots? Againſt what liberty and what patriots? Not againſt the liberty eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution nor againſt the patriots by whom it was ſupported. At that period evey other liberty was deemed criminal, and every other patriot an incendiary. A republick was not yet adopted, and republicans were reckoned a faction. The king being one of the conſtituted authorities was bound in duty to oppoſe the factious. If he was ſurpriſed into any improper grants, they are only a proof how eaſily intereſted miniſters impoſe upon a beneficent prince. Whatever publications were then patroniſed by government had a laudable end in view, the ſupport of the conſtitution; for the plans now calumniated but never executed were addreſſed to Mirabeau and Fayette, the moſt popu-

lar

lar characters then in the nation, and therefore calculated for the publick good. How then can Louis be criminal in turning their own engines againſt the agitators, who then intended, and have ſince effected the ſubverſion of that conſtitution? Parties were at that time divided, and it was impoſſible for the moſt ſagacious mind to foreſee which would prevail. The preſervation of the exiſting ſyſtem was evidently the duty of Louis.—But let me for the ſake of argument ſuppoſe that the papers, upon which theſe charges are founded, contain criminal projects, how do you bring them home to Louis? The papers are the letters of a dead man. Have you proved his ſignature? No! How then can papers, which would not be legal evidence againſt a private perſon, be evidence againſt our client? The king's bureaus and deſks were broke open and ranſacked. Where is the proof that theſe papers were found in them? Why did you vote the previous queſtion upon the motion for the appearance of Roland and the lockſmith to ſubſtantiate them? Have you no ſuſpicion of fraud? Has it not occured to you that ambitious and unprincipled ſpirits have impoſed upon the facility of the convention by forgeries, by fabricating ſome papers and withholding others? Had we all before us, thoſe which may now appear to bear hard upon Louis might then turn out to be very innocent. Garbled evidence can never be truſted.

The letter of approbation ſent to Bouillé needs no defence, as his conduct was applauded by the aſſembly. Nor was the journey to Varennes reprehenſible; as its object was ſafety to Louis and his family and the diſcovery of the nation's real ſentiments. Can it be a crime in a man impriſoned by a part of his ſubjects to attempt the recovery

very of his liberty that he may know the opinion of the whole? If you do not, poſterity, ay and every diſintereſted man of the preſent generation will, do juſtice to the purity of Louis's motives at that critical juncture. He was then apprehenſive, and he had too much reaſon to be apprehenſive, of being maſſacred with his family. For the truth of this fact you have his and the queen's teſtimony in the moment of diſtreſs and agony, when nature ſpeaks undiſguiſed, and pours out the genuine language of the heart. Would you deny him the right of ſelf-preſervation, the firſt law of nature? Even that right he did not exerciſe in its full extent; for, when he might have proceeded on his journey by force, he choſe rather to return at every hazard than to ſhed the blood of a ſingle ſubject. And yet this is the man, whom inordinate ambition paints to you as a ſanguinary tyrant. What times! what morals! I bluſh for the age in which I was born. Let us hear no more of the age of reaſon; call it rather the age of barbariſm and of blood. Nothing elſe will account for the cruelty of charging him with the tumult on the twenty eighth of February and with the murders in the Field of Mars; when in the former caſe he ordered the multitude to lay down their arms; and when in the latter he was impriſoned by the nation, guarded in ſight, and allowed no external communication.

Theſe arguments every reaſonable and impartial man will deem complete refutations of the reſpective charges. But, were there no other, one argument would amply ſuffice. After the date of theſe tranſactions the nation aſked, and Louis granted his ſanction to the conſtitution; and this mutual compact implied a general oblivion of the paſt. What elſe but this conviction

could induce the moſt furious of Louis's perſecutors to adviſe the eraſure of theſe articles from the other charges? What could induce the majority to retain them I dare not hint. Was it fear? Have the daggers of the galleries keener points than the ſtings of conſcience?

Having diſcuſſed the charges relating to the period anteriour to the acceptance of the conſtitution I come now to thoſe poſterior to that event; and firſt to thoſe in which he muſt have acted by miniſters generally forced upon him by the other branch of the legiſlature. Should I allow, what is not the fact, that by the conſtitution he was equally reſponſible with his miniſters, ſtill I ſhall prove that no blame attaches to his conduct. For where is the crime of concealing from the aſſembly the Convention of Pilnitz, a treaty, which from its nature muſt have been ſecret and known only to the two ſovereigns, by whom it was contrived? When other princes were ſolicited to become parties, and the ſecret was in conſequence divulged, the king communicated what came to his knowledge to the Aſſembly. Ever ſince the meeting of the Emperor and of the king of Pruſſia he might have his ſuſpicions, like you; but ſuſpicion cannot become the ſubject of publick communication without incurring the danger of giving offence, and perhaps of exciting war.

Whatever delay attended the tranſmiſſion of the decree for the reunion of Avignon to France did not originate from the king but from the miniſter, as authentic documents prove. And yet, as in conjunction with ſimilar decrees it produced the convention of Pilnitz and armed half Europe againſt France, it would have been happy for us, if its tranſmiſſion had been delayed to this day.

That

That Louis was not concerned in the troubles excited in the South is evident from the trifling ſums borrowed in his brother's name to forward that event. Had he interfered in the buſineſs, means more adequate to the end would have been uſed. If you thus accuſe him without the leaſt proof of theſe troubles, you may as well charge him at once with all the evils attendant on ſo great a revolution.

What but an extravagance of this nature could induce the framers of the arraignment to aſſert that he prevented the army from being recruited in the miniſtry of Narbonne and diſorganiſed the navy in that of Bertrand, when the aſſembly declared that the former upon his reſignation carried with him the regret and confidence of the nation, and the latter after repelling every general accuſation retired without encountering any ſpecifick charge?

Upon foundations equally unſolid he is charged with the diſaſters in the colonies; with the ſurrender of Longwy and Verdun and with the retention of the Swiſs guards in his pay. The convulſions of the colonies aroſe from the diſſemination of the principles of liberty and equality, principles to which you contend the king was adverſe: The cowardice and avarice of the citizens compelled the troops to ſurrender Longwy. Could Louis make them cowards or miſers? And who but the king appointed the commandant who at Verdun preferred death to the infamy of a ſurrender? The Swiſs guards were paid for a conſiderable time after the aſſembly ſeemed to think their departure neceſſary. But what was the cauſe? A final adjuſtment had not taken place between the Swiſs cantons and the miniſters. When the miniſters decreed that two battalions

ſhould depart, the decree was directly executed. Thus then it appears that Louis, though not made reſponſible by the conſtitution, always conducted himſelf in theſe caſes, as if he had been only the Aſſembly's miniſter.

Now let us examine the caſes by which he is perſonally affected. The firſt relates to his refuſal of ratifying the decrees againſt the prieſts. To ſay nothing of the rights of conſcience, which forbad him to make war upon the religion of the nation or of his right of refuſal according to the conſtitution, it is ſufficient here to obſerve that the majority of the people were at that time adverſe to the decrees, and that, as a good prince, he was bound to oppoſe meaſures, which have ſince deſolated the fineſt and moſt populous provinces of France, and coſt her many hundred thouſand citizens, and will, it is to be feared, coſt her many huudred thouſand more. The camp near Paris he prevented, becauſe it was intended by the Jacobins againſt himſelf and the Aſſembly; but he ſubſtituted a much more uſeful camp, the camp at Soiſſons, which fed our armies on the frontiers with ſubſidiary troops and ſaved France in the hour of invaſion.

The charge ariſing from the letter to the biſhop of Clermont deſerves no anſwer, as it was only a religious opinion and merely hypothetical. If I recover my power, ſays Louis, I mean to reſtore the Chriſtian religion. Could it be criminal in Louis to wiſh the reſtoration of the worſhip, to which he was trained from his infancy, and for which the majority of his people anxiouſly ſighed? Beſides the abolition of Chriſtianity made no part of the conſtitution; and even that he appears in the very act of acceptance to have thought capable of legal reforms.

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The pay continued to his guard inſtead of blame deſerves praiſe, being merely an act of juſtice and humanity. By the decree of the Aſſembly the guards were to be organiſed anew, and the pay could not ceaſe, till that event took place; as many of the old muſt be incorporated with the new guards, and one eſtabliſhment of ſo eſſential a nature could not at ſuch a critical juncture be annihilated, till another was formed.

Of aid granted to the emigrants there is no proof; as Rochefort, the ſolitary example adduced, neither was nor is an emigrant, and the maintenance granted by Louis to his two nephews, of whom the elder was fourteen and the younger eleven years of age, was an innocent, or rather laudable tranſaction, ſince there was no law that aſcertained the age, at which emigration became criminal, and the Aſſembly has ſince fixed it at a much more advanced period of life than eleven and fourteen. The two young princes were entirely without reſources. Ought Louis to have ſtifled the feelings of humanity? Becauſe he was a king, ſhould he have ceaſed to be a kinſman? The Engliſh never accuſed William and Mary of treaſon for allowing an annual penſion to their father, James II. for his ſubſiſtence at St. Germains. Beaupré had been in Italy ever ſince 1789 and never borne arms againſt France; and the governeſs of his children had reſided in Spain for the ſame time. Why ſhould not they, like other agents, be paid for paſt ſervices, and that out of the civil liſt, of which he had the ſole diſpoſal? That Louis conſtantly oppoſed the efforts of the emigrants in general is proved by a variety of facts, of which I ſhall only mention one. Being informed by his reſident at Frankfort that the emigrants, who attempted to procure arms and

ammunition in that city, were prevented by the magiſtrates, he directed the reſident to return them thanks and to encourage them to perſevere in their refuſal.

The money, for which Bouillé had an order, never came from the king. The order was from his brother, as the very words imply; and the real fact is that the king never gave any pecuniary aid to his brother. From motives of humanity he became in 1789 ſecurity for him to the amount of a ſum leſs than twenty thouſand pounds of Engliſh money.

The inſtances produced of his manœuvres at foreign courts are two, and his miniſters are ſaid to have been Dumouſtier and Gouffier. But it is now in proof that Dumouſtier was not Louis's agent but his brother's; and that Gouffier had received his letters of recall three days before he began his intrigues againſt his ſucceſſor and the new order of things.

From the charge of carrying on an iniquitous traffick in corn he ſtands entirely cleared by the affidavit and letters of Septeuil, the only evidences relied on as proofs.

The plan, upon which the accuſation of ſuborning and corrupting ſeveral members of the legiſlative aſſembly is founded, eaſed the National treaſury to the amount of ten millions of livres, and charged the civil liſt with the intereſt. Was corruption ever applied before to an act of ſelf-denial? muſt Louis be expoſed to ſhame and odium for repleniſhing your exchequer out of his own pocket? This is a ſpecies of corruption of which generous and diſintereſted princes, like Louis, only are capable.

But he paid his guards at Coblents. This is a grave and heavy charge, which, if true, would make

make me tremble for my client; and his accuſers ſeem to have been ſenſible of its weight, for they have ſuppreſſed the paper which would have rendered it a nullity, and prevented altogether its appearance. The paper, however, has at laſt been procured, and from it we clearly ſee that every individual that was to be paid muſt give a particular receipt and certificate of actual reſidence within the kingdom. Where now is Louis guilty? Not ſo his accuſers; to them belongs the guilt of ſeeking by the ſuppreſſion of evidence to ſhed innocent blood.

To find Louis arraigned for the maſſacre on the 10th of Auguſt, excites my aſtoniſhment; for it is an event, for the glory of which many in this aſſembly have contended, an event, which was premeditated, arranged, and matured, which had its agents, its counſel, its directors, and articles regularly ſigned and ſealed. Are not all theſe circumſtances notorious facts, known to all, and denied by nobody? How can you make what you deem glorious to yourſelves criminal in Louis, even if you could prove him your accomplice? But he leaves you all the glory, as he can claim no ſhare. Being one of the conſtituted authorities he reviewed the troops in the palace. If you blame him for this legal precaution, blame alſo the mayor and the municipal officers; for they partook of that guilt. But did the troops in the palace march againſt the populace, or the populace againſt the troops? You know that the latter part of the alternative is the fact. What was the object of the populace in this military array? The caſe is too clear to need an anſwer, and I leave it to every man's conſcience. Who began firſt to fire no man can tell, as the actors in all probability fell upon the ſpot, but all may ſafely affirm that the

the populace began the aſſault. Was the king there? no; he was in the boſom of the National aſſembly an hour before a trigger was drawn or a match lighted. How then is Louis involved in the glory or the guilt? Louis, who never gave a ſanguinary order, who at Varennes preferred captivity to the loſs of a ſingle ſubject's life, who on the 20th of June refuſed all aid, and by his firmneſs and magnanimity alone repreſſed the audacity of the multitude, who at the age of twenty, exhibited on the throne an example of morality, juſtice and œconomy, who aboliſhed ſervitude in his own domains, and to crown his deſerts gave at their deſire to all his people liberty? Having thus diſproved all the charges article by article to my own entire conviction, I hope that I have convinced every impartial auditor, not only of Louis's innocence, but of his merits as a ſovereign; and that you, who have aſſumed the united offices of accuſers, of jurors and of judges, will not in this deſpotick capacity, which ſets you above all controul, think yourſelves above juſtice. Now juſtice requires that you ſhould pronounce ſentence according to the conſtitutional laws eſtabliſhed, when the crimes charged in the indictment are ſaid to have been perpetrated. Though you are now ſovereign as repreſentatives of the ſovereign people, the ſyſtem till within theſe few months was totally different. Louis was by the will of the people their repreſentative, as well as the National Aſſembly, and therefore had his peculiar rights. What were thoſe rights? Inviolability was common to him and to the Aſſembly. He as well as the Aſſembly might be guilty of abuſe, and both were liable to the ſame puniſhment; for abdication, which is the only puniſhment applicable by the conſtitution to the monarch,

narch, is equivalent to want of popularity, and its neceſſary concomitant, inefficiency in the Aſſembly. By the commiſſion of certain crimes Louis would ceaſe to be king, and the Aſſembly to be re-elected. When Louis is thus raiſed by law to an extraordinary eminence, will you place him on a level with ordinary men? Try him by known laws and not by ſtatutes made for his particular caſe; and you will find that he is blameleſs. For ever ſince the adoption of the levelling ſyſtem, which has reduced all Frenchmen to an equality, Louis cannot be accuſed of any miſdemeanour; and it is only from that date that he became the legal object of judicial power. While I in perfect union with my colleagues am thus anxiouſly ſtriving to produce in your hearts that conviction of the juſtice of his cauſe, with which my own is deeply impreſſed, mark the compoſure which Louis diſplays. No agitation, no tremor, no palpitation is diſcoverable. His eye is ſteady, his aſpect ſerene, and his countenance undaunted. He is now as free from every perturbation of mind, or body as upon examination. What power but conſcious innocence could impart ſuch fortitude? While I, who have nothing to fear—but for him, ſhake and tremble, he remains unmoved by the ſcowls of the Mountain and the clamours of the gallery. And will you againſt law, againſt juſtice, againſt the conſtitution condemn ſuch virtue? Will you reject, I will not ſay, ſuch a king, but ſuch a citizen? Wretched is the country that knows not his value, and happy are thoſe who are fartheſt from its horrors. If ſo much worth is thought unfit to breathe the French air, what good man would not wiſh to abjure his country, and to live among wolves and tigers rather than among human beings, that have renounced

renounced humanity? But ſurely this apprehenſion is groundleſs. However inveterate the cruelty of the ferocious rabble may be, your minds are too cultivated and your hearts too ſenſible to deny juſtice to innocence and pity to fallen majeſty. You will this day by a great act of juſtice ſtem the torrent of obloquy, and prove to Europe and to the world that you are not, as foreigners aſſert, all at once brutalized, but ſtill Frenchmen, that is, the moſt civilized, the moſt loyal people upon the earth. Conſider what hiſtory will ſay; conſider that your judgment will be judged by poſterity. But why do I talk of poſterity? nothing will touch your flinty boſoms; if you are not moved by the mutability of human affairs, by the tremendous and ruinous fall of that royal and innocent victim, deſtined by wickedneſs to be ſacrificed to ſhort-lived ambition."

Louis being aſked by the preſident whether he wiſhed to make any addition to the defence juſt offered by his counſel roſe, and with ſenſibility but firmneſs ſaid, "citizens, you have heard the ſum of my defence, and I ſhall not tire your patience with its repetition. In ſpeaking to you perhaps for the laſt time I cannot help declaring that I feel no reproach from my conſcience, and that my defenders have told nothing but the truth. I never dreaded the publick examination of my conduct; becauſe I knew the purity of my intentions. Judge then how much my heart muſt be rent at finding in the act of accuſation myſelf charged with a wiſh to ſhed the blood of the people, and above all with having cauſed the misfortunes of the diſaſtrous 10th of Auguſt. I thought that the many proofs, which upon all occaſions I had given, of my love for the people, and the manner, in which I had always conducted myſelf

myſelf, would have been ſufficient to demonſtrate that I did not fear the expoſure of my own perſon to ſpare their blood, and to exempt me for ever from ſuch an imputation."

The keys of the cloſets, in which ſome of the criminating papers were ſaid to have been found, being then produced, he was aſked, if he recognized them. "I know, ſaid he, that I delivered keys to Thierry; I know that my houſe was forced, and all my furniture broken. I had therefore no more occaſion for keys; but whether theſe now preſented to me are the ſame that I delivered I know not; as from the time that has elapſed I cannot recollect them." Being then remanded to his priſon he retired with the ſame calmneſs that attended him ever ſince his firſt appearance at the bar; except that in making a falſe ſtep at the door a ſudden fluſh overſpread his countenance, his eyes ſwelled, and a few natural tears trickled down his cheeks.

A decree immediately paſſed that the defence, after being ſigned by Louis and his counſel, ſhould be correctly printed and ſix copies ſent to every deputy, and one copy to each of the eighty four departments; that they might be circulated through the medium of all the preſſes in France and univerſally read by the people. The intention of the party, who propoſed this plan, was to leave the ultimate deciſion of the whole queſtion to the primary aſſemblies, not ſo much with a view of procuring the acquittal of Louis as of the condemnation of their antagoniſts, Robeſpiere, Marat, Duhem, Thuriot, and other leaders of the Pariſian populace. Theſe incendiaries, as we learn from Robeſpiere's letter to Petion, and from other documents, were the authors of all the maſſacres and inſurrections; and the philoſophical and

and modeaate republicans, as they loved to be called, imagined that by painting this ferocious band in their true colours to the different aſſemblies during their examination of the king's cauſe, they might riſe upon their ruins, and by uniting all the other departments in their own favour, keep the ſections of the metropolis under ſome controul.

The more violent party, among whom was Egalité lately known by the name of Orleans, ſure of ready ſupport from the Pariſians, their confederates in all their guilt, and the inſtruments of all their atrocities, moved through the medium of Duhem that juſtice ſhould be inſtantly done, and that each deputy ſhould individually anſwer the queſtion, "Shall Louis Capet undergo the puniſhment of death?"

This ferocious motion was, in ſpite of repeated clamours and outcries from the Mountain and their mercenaries in the galleries oppoſed by Lajuinais, who conjured the deputies not to diſgrace not only the Convention but all France by giving the enemies of liberty a right to ſay that Louis was tried by men, who were themſelves great and atrocious conſpirators, but to refer the matter to the ſovereign judgment of the primary aſſemblies. After ſeveral ſpeeches were made on both ſides, an adjournment of the queſtion for three days was moved and carried; but the deciſion produced a general uproar in the gallery; and the Mountain cloſed upon the preſident and ſecretaries with reproaches and menaces. Julien inveighed againſt the preſident as unworthy of the confidence, with which he had been honoured by his colleagues, and deſired that he might be turned out of the chair; and Thuriot, who but two days before had ſaid in the Jacobin Club that, rather than permit

permit Louis to eſcape, he would blow out his brains with his own hand, moved that the Convention ſhould not riſe till judgment was pronounced. The effect of this precipitation was a ſcene of general confuſion. The voices of the members, who ſpoke againſt the motion, were drowned in the noiſe of the hirelings; and the Mountain ſeconded by them would not allow Petion to be heard. The majority now loſt their temper and forgetting decorum advanced with menacing geſtures to meet their opponents. A ſcuffle enſued, and blows were exchanged. But this ebullition of blood gradually ſubſided. Like exhauſted pugiliſts, who cool after a few rounds, they ſoon became tired of the exerciſe, and agreed that the diſcuſſion of the preſent queſtion ſhould ſuperſede every other, till final judgment paſſed.

This ſcandalous tumult, which was not ſingle in its kind during the trial, clearly ſhews what juſtice Louis had to expect; and the acrimony and venom which pervaded the ſpeeches of the majority, provoked ſome members to declare, that bribery and corruption had effected a perfidious change of language and a ſhameful deſertion from the cauſe of juſtice. Whether Egalité or the Pariſians, or both, for the ſafety of both required the death of Louis, as they thought their ſins above the power of forgiveneſs, produced this defection, certain it is that the violent party became all at once irreſiſtible; and the poverty of the deputies renders corruption not unlikely.

It would be no leſs uſeleſs than tedious to detail the various ſpeeches; as the few, which were any way intereſting, all hinged on the probability or improbability of exciting a civil war by the reference of the king's fate to the primary aſſemblies, and it is difficult to conceive how an appeal

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to the maſs of the people could prove more deſtructive to the general intereſt than the reſervation of the whole to the juſtice of the Convention. The truth is, that neceſſitous men having miraculouſly become poſſeſſed of power were determined to uſe it for the acquiſition of wealth to gratify their appeties and paſſions. Acknowledging the French faith, which rejects a futurity of rewards and puniſhments, they held with the graſp of death the means of enjoyment in this world, and laughed to ſcorn the indolence and ſupineneſs of royalty and ariſtocracy, over which their activity and vigilance had triumphed. Having mounted the breach they reſolved at every riſk to maintain their poſt, and preferred extermination to a repulſe. Liberty or death were their conſtant watchwords; and liberty in the mouth of an uſurper always means tyranny; becauſe there is no other engine by which it can be preſerved.

To enſure victory the Pariſian populace was ſet in motion. Deputations from the ſections appeared at the bar, and this was their language. "We come to demand immediate juſtice againſt Louis Capet, over whoſe head we ſuſpended the ſword on the 10th of Auguſt that we might be regularly, but expeditiouſly revenged by your hands. Our patience is exhauſted, and we cannot wait for the ſlow deciſion of the departments. The penalty of death is certainly horrible. But did not there exiſt alſo horrible torments for thoſe who killed a crowned tyrant, while there was no puniſhment provided for the deſpot who cauſed a million of people to periſh? War is now declared by men againſt kings. In the name therefore of the maſſacre of Nancy and of the many innocent victims that Louis's ſatellites butchered on ſcaffolds; in the name of the carnage

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on the 10th of Auguſt, and of our brothers who periſhed in the war undertaken in concert with him by foreign tyrants; in the name of the citizens of Liſle and Thionville and of all thoſe nations, who, upon hearing of his juſt puniſhment, will break their chains, liſten to us, and rid the world of the tyrant. To common men we would obſerve that the blood of thoſe victims cries aloud for juſtice, and that the refuſal of it would render their unfortunate brethren deſperate; and then perhaps the ſame hands that demoliſhed the throne might in a paroxyſm of rage overthrow the ſacred temple of liberty and thus effect the ruin of the republic: but to the repreſentatives of the people it is enough for us to have expounded the principles of juſtice."

Then commenced a proceſſion of hideous figures male and female, purpoſely collected as ſufferers on the 10th of Auguſt; ſome on crutches, ſome in beds, and many gaſhed with frightful wounds, to which they pointed, calling out for vengeance.

By theſe artifices the majority was intimidated and gradually declined in numbers; till it actually became the minority, and after various motions and ſpeeches, which contained hardly any ideas new to thoſe who have read the preceding narrative, it ſaw the whole debate reduced to the three following queſtions:—"Is Louis guilty of a conſpiracy againſt the liberty of the nation and of attempts againſt the general ſafety of the ſtate?" "Shall recourſe be had to an appeal to the people before the infliction of puniſhment?" "What puniſhment ſhall he ſuffer?" To theſe queſtions each deputy was to anſwer Yes or No; and the firſt was carried in the affirmative by an immenſe majority, hardly any member daring to whiſper his diſſent. The ſecond queſtion was decided againſt

againſt Louis by 424 to 283; and the third by a majority of five, who voted for the puniſhment of death.

This ſentence being ſolemnly pronounced by the preſident, Deſeze accompanied by Louis's two other counſellors was admitted to the bar, and read the following letter from that injured prince. "I owe to my own honour; I owe to my family not to ſubſcribe to a ſentence, which declares me guilty of a crime not acknowledged by my conſcience. In conſequence I appeal to the nation from its repreſentatives, and by theſe preſents I truſt to the fidelity of my defenders to make known to the National Convention this appeal by all the means in their power, and to demand that mention of it be made in the minutes of their ſeſſions."

Here the counſel reminded the Aſſembly, "that the puniſhment of death was carried by a majority of five only, though the penal code, which formed the baſis of the proſecution, declared that two-thirds of the voices were neceſſary, and that therefore upon the principles of juſtice the decree ought to be repealed. Beſides did not the intereſt of the republick, which by the execution of the decree would be involved in a war with Britain, Spain and Holland, require its reviſal, and a compliance with Louis's requeſt? The Convention alledging that the penal code required a majority of two-thirds of the voices only for the declaration of the facts, and not for the application of puniſhment, decreed at the inſtance of Robeſpiere that there was no ground for the remonſtrance of the counſel, and that the appeal made by Louis Capet was null, being contrary to the will of the ſovereign people.

The

The next ſtep of the violent party, which was compoſed of the leaders of the Pariſians and Jacobins ſupported by the money of Egalité and of Paché, the miniſter of the military department, was to propoſe that the ſentence ſhould be executed in twenty-four hours, and no reſpite granted. After many tumults and many reſignations among the deputies, it was finally determined by a majority of ſeventy, that out of humanity to Louis and of regard for the tranquillity of the kingdom he ſhould ſuffer on the 21ſt of January in the ſquare of the Revolution between the ſtatue of his grandfather Louis XV. and the avenue leading to the Elyſian Fields.

When the fatal intelligence reached the temple, the pious monarch requeſted a delay of three days to prepare with the aſſiſtance of a confeſſor, for his appearance before God, and to bid the laſt adieu to his family, whom with the neceſſitous, the aged and infirm dependents who had ſpent their lives and fortunes in his ſervice, and had now no ſubſiſtence but his bounty, he recommended to the compaſſion of the Convention, and ro the generoſity of the nation. The Convention having refuſed the delay, and declared that the courts of law would ſatisfy the legal demands of his dependents, permitted, according to a former order, an interview between Louis and his family.

That the converſation, which laſted two hours and a half, was intereſting cannot be doubted, even if we were not aſſured of the fact by the commiſſioners who ſtood on the outſide of the door, where the royal captives were incloſed. To loſe an ordinary huſband in the common courſe of nature, and thtough the unavoidable decays of age we know to be a heavy affliction to a virtuous wife. What then muſt have been the pangs of a

queen ſtill in the prime of life, giving the laſt embrace to a king by whom ſhe was idoliſed, and who was prematurely and cruelly cut off by rebellious traitors in rhe full vigour of manhood! What muſt have been the king's agony in beholding the throbbing boſoms of his woe-begone ſpouſe and weeping daughter, the growing image of her charming mother, left preys to the brutality of his own executioners! How muſt the hearts of both have been rent in viewing their young ſon, the riſing hope of the Bourbon line, the heir of a long ſucceſſion of monarchs, hurled from his envied height to a miſerable dungeon! Where the fall was ſo great and ihe reverſe of fortune ſo terrible, no ſympathy can be adequate to the real diſtreſs, and therefore it cau be conceived by no imagination, much leſs deſcribed by the pen. Let us draw a veil over the ſcene, which ſtaggered the religion even of his placid ſiſter Elizabeth, and made her, in ſpite of all her piety and reſignation to the will of heaven, almoſt queſtion the diſtributive juſtice of the ſupreme being. The queen in retiring was heard to exclaim, ah! the butchers! the butchers! like hardened banditti they ſeal their robbery with murder as a ſecurity." Then turning to the Dauphin and wringing her hands, "do not, my ſon," ſaid ſhe, "imitate their barbarous ferocity, but copy the mild forgiving temper of your father, who, though he might have more than once cruſhed this vermin under his feet, choſe to hazard his own life, rather than to ſee the blood of one ſubject ſpilt in his cauſe."

On the morning of the execution, the citizens of the forty eight ſections had orders to repair in arms to their ſeveral ſtations; all the publick offices, ſtores, and magazines were guarded by ſtrong

ſtrong detachments; pieces of cannon were planted in all the ſquares and principal ſtreets; numerous bodies of reſerve were poſted in every quarter, the hour and place of rendezvous given out to the ſeveral brigades; carriages of all ſorts forbidden to ſtir, and large parties commanded to patrole the ſtreets. Twenty-five men ſelected from each ſection for their tried patriotiſm and expertneſs in military diſcipline, and provided with ſixteen rounds of ball-cartridges formed the guard of twelve hundred men deſtined to conduct Louis from the Temple to the fatal ſpot. When preſſed by his family to conſent before his departure to a laſt farewell, Louis remained ſilent, being unwilling, as he afterwards deſired the queen to be told, to tear their hearts with the agonies of another ſeparation. Being refuſed ſciſſars to cut his hair he rolled it up as Abbés do, that it might not retard the edge of the axe through his neck. Upon receiving intelligence that his hour was come, he begged to be allowed ſome minutes with Edgeworth, his confeſſor, and then, after recommending the queen, his family and ſervants to the nation, ſaid to the brewer Santerre, "let us proceed," Having at half paſt eight, come down from the tower of the temple, he walked ſteadily through the firſt court, and in the ſecond ſtepped readily into the mayor's carriage. The melancholy proceſſion, under the direction of Santerre in perſon, advanced along the Boulevards to the ſquare of the Revolution, which was not only lined but filled with armed men. When he quitted the carriage the executioners, of whom there were three, pulled off his coat and neck-cloth, cut his hair and tied his hands behind, an unneceſſary indignity, to which he made a mechanical and natural reſiſtance. None but the

executioners appeared with him on the ſcaffold, which he calmly mounted in a white under-waiſt-coat, with his neck and breaſt entirely bare. With a firm ſtep and undaunted countenance he advanced on the ſide of the fatal inſtrument, and ſaid, with a manly voice, "Frenchmen, I die innocent; I forgive my enemies; I wiſh my death may prove uſeful to the people. Mercy,—" —At this word the barbarian Santerre ordered the ſound of drums and clang of trumpets to drown his voice; and at the ſame inſtant the executioner conducted him to the gullotine, on which as he laid his neck, he ſaid, "I commit my ſoul to god," and his head was inſtantly ſevered from his body. An executioner taking up the head, of which the hair ſtreamed with ſmoking blood, held up the trophy to the armed multitude, who rebellowed "long live the nation, long live the republick," while hats and caps on the points of pikes and bayonets waved in the air. Theſe ſhouts were repeated by the baſe and ſervile populace, who eleven years before had on the very ſame day rent the air with exclaiming, "long live our beloved Louis."

The boſoms of all the ſpectators, however, did not harbour ſuch flinty hearts; ſome few were not ſo petrefied with fear as not have a tear for melting pity. Even ſhreds of Louis's cloaths were eagerly caught up like the remains of a ſaint; and his blood, as if he had been a martyr, was taken up on paper, and on white handkerchiefs, by perſons who had not the air of being politically ſuperſtitious. Boys employed for money crept between the legs of the ſoldiers for the ſame purpoſe; and the ſoldiers themſelves dipped their pikes in the gore, which was wiped off by the byſtanders; locks of his hair and the ribbon,

ribbon, which tied it, were bought and preſented as relicks." During the remainder of the day a deep ſilence prevailed in Paris; the ſhops continued ſhut; no carriages, no paſſengers were ſeen, except numerous patroles of armed men conſtantly paſſing and repaſſing. In a word, the day of Lou's's death exhibited almoſt the ſame picture as the day of his flight to Montmedi. The only difference was that the Convention did not diſcover the ſame calmneſs as the National Aſſembly.

The corpſe was immediately removed in a cart to the burying ground of Madelaine and interred the ſame evening near the victims who fell in the ſquare of the Revolution on the 10th of Auguſt and the remains of the citizens, who were preſſed to death near the ſame place by the crowd in the rejoicings on his marriage. The grave, into which the body was thrown, like a felon's, extended twelve feet in length and ſix in width, that it might contain a ſufficient quantity of quick-lime for its ſpeedy diſſolution.

In his will, which he compoſed in priſon, when his doom ſeemed inevitable, and which breathes the moſt fervent ſtrains of piety, the ſtrongeſt marks of reſignation and conſciouſneſs of innocence, he leaves to his heirs nothing; becauſe he had nothing to leave, his private property, which was immenſe, having been all ſeized by the rapacious hands of the republicans, and confiſcated for the uſe of the nation, or rather of themſelves. Clery indeed, his faithful valet, was entruſted on the morning of his final exit with a gold ring, inſcribed with the initials of Mary Antonietta archdutcheſs of Auſtria, for his ſpouſe, with which, he deſired Clery to tell her, he parted with regret; the ſame confident had to deliver to his ſon a gold

watch,

watch-ſeal opening on three ſides, with the arms of France engraved on the firſt, S. S. on the ſecond, and on the third the head of a child armed with a helmet. Theſe two articles with a paper, on which was inſcribed in the hand writing of Louis, "hair of my wife, my ſiſter and my children," and which with the tendereſt expreſſions he deſired to be given to the queen, were all the bequeſts that remained at the diſpoſal of the once mighty monarch of France and Navarre. Even theſe trifles do not appear to have reached their deſtination, but to have been intercepted and ſwallowed up in the inſatiable gulf of republican avarice.

"Thus, ſays a French layman, periſhed Louis XVI. in the 39th year of his age, a prince more ſinned againſt than ſinning, and who ſeems to have owed his misfortunes principally to his religion, or at leaſt to that humanity, which it inſpires. Had he adopted the ſtern and unrelenting principles of that philoſophy, by which he was perſecuted, they would have awed his ſubjects into obedience; and prevented the univerſal deſolation occaſioned by the innovations of baſe-born uſurpers. The religion of a ſovereign ought always to be more liberal than that of his people. If he is a bigot, while they are freethinkers, the moſt fatal conſequences may be expected from the contempt, which he muſt incur. Had he marched at the head of his armies, as every monarch that wiſhes to ſit firm on the throne muſt do, this errour would have been overlooked, or at leaſt would have been abſorbed in the attachment of the military order, which muſt ultimately decide the fate of every civil conteſt. But ſitting at home idle in his palace and enjoying, as the populace was taught to believe, every luxury at their expence without

without any riſk, any toil or labour, he was eaſily decried and ranked with the worthleſs kings of the Merovingian and Carlovingian race; and ſo will every king that does not watch the changes of the public mind and riſe ſuperiour to ſuperſtition and prieſtcraft—The preſs has introduced a new order of things, and its inſtructions have ſuperſeded the admonitions of the pulpit." Upon this language, which is a tranſlation from a French letter addreſſed to the author, we leave the reader to make his own comments, obſerving only that, if this reaſoning be juſt, it opens but a gloomy proſpect to the ſelf-importance of the contemplative mind, which can hardly be tranquilliſed by any conſideration but the ſoothing hope of a ſtate of exiſtence better calculated than the preſent for vindicating the diſtributive juſtice of the divinity.

THE WAR WITH FRANCE.

The royal proclamation iſſued for preventing the bad effects of tumultuous aſſemblies and the diſſemination of ſeditious writings, and the conſequent aſſociation for counteracting the ſchemes of republicans and levellers ſufficiently evinced that the Britiſh miniſters were not inattentive ſpectators of the artifices practiſed by the French agents and the Engliſh Jacobins to effect a breach between the people and the ſovereign. Yet ſenſible of the bleſſings connected with peace and eager to reduce the national debt, which muſt neceſſarily be increaſed by a war, they temporiſed and adhered ſtrictly to the principles of neutrality, hoping that, when the Covention found its efforts to make numerous proſelytes in Britain ineffectual, they would in a lucid interval adopt a ſyſtem of moderation. But, when they ſaw this ambitious and domineering aſſembly ordering their generals

to grant fraternity and aſſiſtance to all who wiſhed to procure liberty or who ſaid that they had ſuffered or were ſuffering in the cauſe of freedom, and in violation of the rights of nations and the treaty of Utrecht, to which Britain was a guarantee, forcing their way in ſpite of the Dutch up the Scheldt, they no longer heſitated, but in conformity to the imperious dictates of the nation's injured honour and to the expreſs proviſions of an act of parliament embodied the militia, increaſed the naval and military eſtabliſhments, and for the purpoſe of procuring a legal ſanction to their meaſurse aſſembled the parliament.

Chauvelin, the late French ambaſſador, who, unacknowledged and without credentials ſtill remained in London to ſerve as a focus to collect the ſcattered rays of ſedition and to furniſh incendiaries with fewel, "contended in a publiſhed note, which repreſented the French as more friendly to England than its miniſters, that the obnoxious decree related only to a decided majority of a people ſtruggling for freedom; as if a decided majority could ſtand in need of foreign aſſiſtance; that France would not attack Holland, as long as it remained ſtrictly neutral; as if it had not remained ſo, and yet been already attacked; and that the queſtion of opening the Scheldt was in the opinion of England and perhaps even of Holland too unimportant to become ſeriouſly the cauſe of a war."

In anſwer it was juſtly obſerved "that the decree ſtill remained in force and could not be explained away by a miniſter, who was perhaps left purpoſely unauthoris'd, and who might under that pretext be diſowned by the Convention; that, if the queſtion relative to the Scheldt was of little importance, it proved what little value the Convention annexed to the friendſhip or neutrality of Britain,

Britain, when they inſulted her by violating a treaty, which ſhe had guaranteed, and by encroaching on the territories and rights of her allies; that, inſtead of retracting, they continued their uſurpation, though they knew that the utmoſt importance had been here attached to the independance of the Netherlands, and that Britain would never ſee with indifference France making herſelf directly or indirectly ſovereign of theſe countries or general arbitreſs of the rights and liberties of Europe; that, though England had carefully abſtained from all interference in the internal affairs of France, ſhe had by encouraging republican addreſſes from Britiſh innovators made a very ungrateful return; that forgetful of the decree, by which ſhe renounced all ideas of conqueſt ſhe had without provocation ſeized Avignon, Savoy and Nice, and diſturbed the tranquillity of Geneva; that diſregarding the principles on which ſhe profeſſed to have made war upon the empire and emperor ſhe had granted protection not to the ſupporters but to the ſubverters of the ancient government, not, to emigrant refugees, like Germany, but to Dutch rebels, and formed a Batavian legion to overawe the States General and to deter them from applying to Britain for aſſiſtance according to the terms of treaties; and that, if ſhe really deſired peace with the Britiſh empire, ſhe muſt atone for her acts of aggreſſion, abandon her plans of conqueſt, and retire within her ancient limits."

From this language it appeared evident that the die was caſt and that the Britiſh cabinet had reſolved to paſs the Rubicon. Accordingly the oppoſition "maintained at the meeting of parliament that this was the king's object in embodying the militia and not the ſuppreſſion of riots and inſurrections

rections, as was falsely stated in his speech, which they affirmed to be a libel on the people, since it represented them as hostile to the constitution. The sacred tree of liberty, indeed, was planted at Dundee, and a body of dragoons was found necessary for the restoration of tranquillity. But the tumult was only a youthful frolick, a momentary ebullition of the spirit of reform, which presently subsided. The riots at Ebinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen, Newcastle and Shields were equally innocent; and the levelling associations in London, Manchester, Sheffield, Norwich and Glasgow were the sincerest friends to legal government and constitutional subordination. No real plan for the subversion of the constitution was in agitation; a reform in parliament was the sole object of their pursuit."

This was the sum of the arguments advanced by Fox, Erskine, Sheridan and other senators, who, as members of a society called the Friends of the People, supported what they termed the popular cause, hoping by the help of the republican party, that endeavoured to compensate its weakness and insignificance by clamour and outcry, to force their way to the treasury-bench, which is the real object of all the orators in all their contentious debates and suffocating speeches. As the mass of the people consisted of two classes, the friends of a republick and the friends of the present constitution; so the senate was composed of two parties, the ministerial and antiministerial phalanxes mutually nicknamed Whigs and Tories, but without any real difference, the Whig becoming in office a Tory, and the Tory out of office a Whig. Ever since the revolution this metamorphosis has taken place with as much regularity as the change of Voltaire's Conculix from

from a huſband in the morning to a wife a night; and, it was alledged "that, were Pitt and Fox to change ſides in St. Stephen's chapel to morrow, they would probably ſoon find reaſon to change principles. The latter would be clamorous for the proſecution of the war and the former as loud in recommending the concluſion of peace. Such was the conduct of their fathers. Why ſhould we think human nature altered in the ſons?"

After much diſcuſſion the conduct of the miniſtry was approved in the Upper Houſe without a diviſion, and in the lower by a vaſt majority; for the ranks of oppoſition had now been thinned by the defection of its principal ſupporters. Hardly fifty remained in the Houſe of Commons to diſpute the realityof plots for the introduction of the French ſyſtem of government into this iſland; and theſe fifty aſhamed of retracting their fulſome encomiums on the Gallick conſtitution and having no immediate proſpect of places or penſions could not be convinced. Nay, when the plots were afterwards detected and ſome of the ringleaders were upon conviction either hanged or tranſported to Botany-Bay, Lauderdale with others of the minor orators paid a viſit, and adminiſtered comfort to theſe deſperadoes in the hulks and tranſports; and Sheridan did not heſitate to communicate with the Correſponding Society, the very cradle of ſedition and forge of treaſon.

Many common-place obſervations were made by the minority in both houſes on the bleſſings of peace and the horrours of war, and Fox proceeded to the length of propoſing that an ambaſſador ſhould be ſent to negotiate with the the Convention; but remained ſilent, when aſked, if he would be the ambaſſador. Fox's principle,

ciple was "that, as we did not ſcruple to ſend an ambaſſador to the rulers of Algiers or of Morocco immediately after the commiſſion of the moſt horrid cruelties and barbarities, we ought not to be ſo ſqueamiſh with regard to France." But here he forgot "that in common with other courts the humanity of ours had denounced Britiſh indignation as the neceſſary conſequence of the king's murder, that the national dignity was inſulted by the contemptuous neglect of this denunciation, and that the brutalities practiced on the coaſt of Barbary, as old and inveterate habits reſulting from religion and government, had never been deemed proper objects of interference by civiliſed nations. He likewiſe forgot or choſe to overlook the negotiation, which had already taken place on this very ſubject between Grenville and Chauvelin, and which had proved abortive, becauſe the Convention would not annul the obnoxious decree of univerſal fraterniſation, nor relinquiſh the plan of opening the Scheldt, nor march back her troops to her ancient frontiers. In a word he forgot that Grenville's laſt note to Chauvelin contained the ultimate and definitive reſolution of the Britiſh cabinet, and that the Convention with every diplomatic document before their eyes had not abated a ſingle article of their pretenſions. Where then had Britain any ground for negotiation without falling puſillanimouſly proſtrate at the feet of her rival? Could ſhe ſurrender and ſuffer her hands to be bound without a ſtruggle? Nothing but the laſt dire neceſſity could juſtify ſo baſe a ſubmiſſion." The French knew that, if they abandoned the project of opening the Scheldt, they would loſe all their friends in Belgium, and therefore they clung to it with the utmoſt pertinacity, declaring,

claring, however, that, "if at the end of the war the Belgians ſhould unfettered and in full poſſeſſion of their liberty relinquiſh this navigation, the French would decline all oppoſition." This was the definitive anſwer of the executive power on the fourth of January 1793, and evinced a firm and unalterable reſolution of adhering not only to the infraction of the treaty of Utrecht, but alſo of diſmembering the Netherlands from the Auſtrian dominions and making them dependent on France. Having, as appears from the correſpondence between the imperial and French miniſters, from the dying miniſter Deleſſart's letter to Necker, from Briſſot's confeſſion, from the queen's declaration on her trial and the court's acquieſcence compelled Louis to declare war againſt Auſtria for the avowed purpoſe of bringing him to a tragical end and of erecting a republick, the French demagogues adhered ſteadily to their plan of general diſorganiſation and would not let go their hold of the countries which they already held within their graſp. Though diſappointed for the moment they truſted that by the aid of their friends and allies, the Engliſh Jacobins, fraterniſation and affiliation would ſoon prevail in the Britiſh iſles, and that, in their own words, they would ſet fire to every corner of Europe. Knowing that, if order and tranquility were reſtored to France, their reign would be at an end, they dreaded the return of reaſon and ſober reflection to their countrymen, and therefore encouraged ſtorms and tempeſts as the elements, on which upſtarts were to live. Accordingly, though the Britiſh miniſtry, in order to ſhut the mouth of clamorous ignorance and intereſted oppoſition, conſented to a negotiation between Auckland and Dumourier on the frontiers of Holland with a

view of accommodating all differences, the Convention impatient for plunder, and influenced by Briſſot and the Jacobins, declared war againſt England and Holland with unexampled perfidy, and ſeized not only all the Dutch bnt alſo all Britiſh ſhips in their harbours; thus violating the expreſs ſtipulations of the treaty of commerce. But after violating the treaty of Utrecht and maintaining the juſtice of the violation by contending that in caſes of landed property poſitive treaties are ſuperſeded by natural rights why ſhould we expect raaſon or juſtice at their hands? Their plea in general is that of the robber or highwayman, who finding civil inſtitutions in his circumcumſtances abſolute nuiſances eſtabliſhes for himſelf a new code of laws, founded on rapine and a war of poverty againſt wealth, the genuine ſource of all revolutionary government from the Athenian democracy, and other turbulent republicks of Greece to the feculent ochlocracy of France.

From Dumourier's publiſhed declaration and the literary correſpondence between him and the French temporary rulers it is aſcertained that the ſeizure of Maeſtritcht and the invaſion of Holland were projected towards the end of December. This ſcheme, which was to be opened with the conqueſt of Zealand as a ſecurity for the ſea-coaſt of Belgium, and to facilitate the reduction of the caſtle of Antwerp, Dumourier offered to accompliſh at the riſk of his head. An Engliſh ſquadron was therefore diſpatched for the protection of Holland and to retard the French operations. The exportation of corn and proviſions too from Britain to France was ſuſpended; as the latter was then threatened with a dearth, and the former might from the continuance of it be expoſed to

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the ſame diſaſter. Acts to prevent the circulation of aſſignats and other promiſſory notes of the French government were paſſed; and miniſters were empowered to ſend ſuſpected aliens out of the country at diſcretion.

Theſe meaſures, though clamorouſly oppoſed by the minority and the affiliated ſocieties, were deemed extremely ſalutary by the maſs of the people; as the Jacobins, or the levellers in Britain and Ireland, formed every day a more extenſive and cloſer connection with their brethren in France; as much ſpeculation in French paper and conſequently exportation of irrecoverable ſpecie took place, and there was an extraordinary and dangerous influx of foreigners, and particularly of the infamous band of aſſaſſins, or 1200 knights of the dagger, who were ſworn, but not gratis, like Mutius, to murder kings.

The authority thus confided to the executive branch of the legiſlature was arraigned as unconſtitutional and incompatible with the principles of trade, and a direct infraction of the commercial treaty with France. This reaſoning would have been juſtifiable and unanſwerable, had not France previouſly violated the treaty of Utrecht and all other ſubſequent treaties of peace by opening the Scheldt, and beſides invited by the decree of the 19th of November the ſubjects of all ſtates to diſplay the ſtandard of rebellion. Was not the Britiſh government therefore, though anxious for the preſervation of peace, imperiouſly called upon by the neceſſity of the caſe to adopt meaſures of precaution. The prudence of this conduct was ſo obvious that a bill of indemnity for a prohibition againſt the exportation of corn paſſed through both houſes without the ſlighteſt oppoſition. That the Britiſh cabinet earneſtly deſired the continu-

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ance of peace was evident from the general tenour of their conduct in ſtrictly forbidding the interference of Britiſh ſubjects by ſea or by land; and the miniſter, whoſe wiſdom had planned and completed the commercial treaty, by which the annual balance in favour of Britain amounted almoſt to a million ſterling, knew too well that his fame depended on the liquidation of the publick debt, not to be a ſincere friend to peace. But in his comprehenſive mind it was impoſſible that this partial and fluctuating conſideration ſhould not yield to the general and permanent intereſt of the European republick, and above all, to the eſſential welfare of the Britiſh empire. Pitying the whining imbecillity of uninformed philanthropiſts and deteſting the hypocritical cant of deſigning levellers, who united in prayers for the eſtabliſhment of a republick in France as friendly to peace and amity between two nations formed, as they ſaid, by nature for mutual love and eſteem, he reprobated the inſidious doctrine, contradicted as it was by the uniform tenour of hiſtory and by the concurent opinion of politicians and ſtateſmen,

If feuds and animoſities will ariſe in private families attached and endeared to each other by the ties of kindred and affection, when their intereſts really or ideally differ, how much more will quarrels and wars break out between nations varying in manners, habits and languages, actuated by rivalſhip, ſtimulated by adverſe claims and intereſts, exaſperated by paſt injuries and eager for ſuperiority? The nearer to an equality two nations, that from local circumſtances muſt often be enemies, are brought, the more violent and obſtinate will any accidental contention become. Nothing infuſes more ſpirit and energy into the human

human frame than liberty, or more enables the government to bring into action all the powers and reſources of the people, and therefore, when other circumſtances are equal; a free government is of all the moſt formidable both for ſtrength and ambition. But of free governments the moſt turbulent, cruel and ambitious is a democracy, as is proved by the example of the Athenian and other Grecian commonwealths; and, if another proof were neceſſary, it would be furniſhed by France. How then could an enlightened Engliſh miniſter befriend a French democracy, the moſt dangerous of free governments? He knew that the Perſians at the origin of their empire were freemen, and were, when become ſlaves, ſubdued by the freemen of Greece, who fell in the ſame manner, as the corrupt traders of Carthage had done before them, under the yoke of the freemen of Rome. He knew that the Goths, the Franks, Angles, and other northern races, who divided among them the empire of the degenerate Roman ſlaves, were freemen, and that the roving tribes of Arabia and the wandering hords of Tartary, whom Caliphs and Kâns led by the hopes of plunder and conqueſts and empire, were freemen. With all this body of hiſtorical evidence before him, could he fail of being hoſtile to a ſyſtem, which, if erected in France, muſt ultimately generate between the two nations a conteſt as obſtinate and fatal as that which prevailed between Rome and Carthage, and in which the French tiger newly uncaged would fight with advantnge againſt the Britiſh lion ſtill partially chained?

In order to render the precipitate declaration of war more palatable to France, and to inſpire it with courage, the diplomatic Committee and the Committee of General Defence made two reports

in which they repreſented " England as a petty State containing only ſeven millions, domineering over 1,200,000 dependent Scotchmen conſtantly diminiſhing by emigration, and three millions of ſubdued Iriſh Catholicks, all ready to revolt and to aſſert the rights of man in conjunction with a hundred thouſand caps of liberty landed by France for their emancipation. The thirty millions of inhabitants held in chains between the Indus and the Ganges, the Marattas, the Nizam, Tippoo, the Nabob of Arcot, and the Grand Mogul, all, all panted to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke, and only wanted the aſſiſtance of the fleets of liberty to drive the Engliſh intruders into the ſea. Liberty and equality proclaimed to the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies would not only ſecure the French iſlands but make a conqueſt of the Engliſh. The Republican men of war and cruiſers, fraught with eighty thouſand ſailors, would ſoon ruin the Britiſh commerce and cut off the ſinews of Engliſh ſtrength. The people dependent on trade, and therefore pacifick and timid would be weary of the conteſt before it was hardly begun, and clamour for peace. But, if in ſpite of every reaſonable expectation the French iſlands ſhould be loſt, would not the conqueſt of Mexico, Peru, and the Brazils make ample amends? Even the Tagus might be entered and Portugal laid under contribution. The Britiſh miniſter had only taken a bird's-eye view of the French reſources, while he had over-rated the Engliſh, which according to Sheridan, were by one million inferiour to the expenditure, though he had laid three millions of additional taxes on the people ſince the American war. In ſhort nothing was to be ſeen on the ſide of France but ſtrength, wiſdom and unanimity, and

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on the ſide of England, weakneſs, incapacity and diſcord.

In France, which contains twenty-five millions of people, every man from eighteen to ſixty is armed, and ready either in the interiour or on the the ſtontiers to fight her battles, while the ſcanty population of the Britiſh iſles can hardly furniſh thirty thouſand men to periſh annually in the burning climes of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. In naval preparations we have the ſtart of the Engliſh. In the Mediterranean we have a noble and irreſiſtible fleet, and on the coaſts of the ocean our armanents are ſtill more formidable. Eighty ſhips of the line armed, arming or repairing, with frigates, ſloops, and ſeventy more ſhips of different deſcriptions ordered to be built, will render the aggregate of our marine two hundred and ſixty ſhips. Onr armies at preſent amount to more than three hundred thouſand, and by a requiſition of the youths between eighteen and twenty-five years of age may be augmented to an indefinite number.

To ſupport the vaſt expence incurred by ſuch an immenſe eſtabliſhment what muſt be our reſource? A new emiſſion of paper to the extent of thirty-three millions ſterling, as taxes and loans are equally impracticable. The paper iſſued by government under the name of aſſignats amounts already to one hundred and thirty-two millions ſterling, and the lands pledged to one hundred and thirty-five millions; ſo that the ſecurity exceeds the debt by almoſt three millions of Engliſh money. The woods, foreſts and lands once belonging to the crown, to convents, nunneries, and to the Order of Malta, equity of redemption of lands already ſold, the redemption of certain feudal rights, and the church-lands of countries already

incorporated with the Republick will yield ſixty-five millions ſterling, and the lands of the emigrants now reckoned to amount to ſeventy thouſand, will fetch after the payment of their debts, one hundred and eighty millions ſterling. Thus excluſively of the preſent year's expences there will remain to the nation a capital of two hundred and fifteen millions ſterling to combat deſpots and their ſatellites. To this vaſt ſum add the money that will be due by enfranchiſed nations from the lands of their churches and priviſeged orders, and acknowledge that we are reſiſtleſs. In this manner the Belgians have paid two millions and a half for the levy of forty thouſand men. Why ſhould other countries delivered by our arms not follow ſo noble an example? They will follow it, electrified as they will be by the fire which animates the boſoms of Frenchmen, who will now convert their merchant-men into privateers, their capitals into funds for ſupporting the credit of our aſſignats, and the produce of their lands into magazines for our troops. The ſacred cauſe, in which we are engaged, will induce every citizen to march, like a Roman ſoldier, not only with arms but alſo with proviſions for a given time, and to think it a crime to have two coats, while a ſingle ſoldier remains uncloathed.

Thus France will become one great camp, and French men one grand army; and you will cruſh your enemies under thoſe ruins, which they are preparing for your heads. This project would be truly chimerical and ridiculous, were you really to fight the people of the countries that now ſeem combined againſt you. Such a romantick notion could not be juſtified for a moment. But the truth is, that throughout Europe you are to contend only with the rich but effeminate

nate uſurpers of power, and to have for your auxiliaries the poor but hardy and unconquerable maſs of the people. Even in England, which boaſts of the ſemblance of liberty, have you not the Correſponding Society and numberleſs other clubs in both iſlands, all burning for the reign of equality and the aſſertion of the rights of man? Fox, Sheridan, and Erſkine in attempting to hurl Pitt from his throne, which is their ſole object, will be towers of ſtrength to France, and by the aſſiſtance of her friends in England will drive him, like his father, from their deſpot's councils, after the example of Bute and Shelburne, and agree at laſt to a diſhonourable and inadequate peace. A victory at ſea as terrible and as glorious to France as the victory on land at Gemappe will ſoon bring thoſe haughty iſlanders to reaſon and terrify them into the deſired conceſſions."

While the republican braggarts amuſed the vainglorious people with theſe gaſconades, Pitt, to remedy the loſs of the French commercial treaty, concluded an experimental treaty of commerce with Ruſſia, and took into Engliſh pay ſixteen thouſand Heſſians and Badeners, and twelve thouſand Hanoverians, and engaged the king of Sardinia for a yearly ſubſidy of two hundred thouſand pounds, to join the Auſtrians in Italy with an army of fifty thouſand men. Strict alliances were formed with Auſtria, Pruſſia, Spain, Holland, Portugal, and Ruſſia, all of whom, in order to diſtreſs France, agreed to ſhut their ports againſt her veſſels.

Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland were preſſingly ſolicited to join the confederacy; but in vain: for, like Genoa and Tuſcany, they remained immoveable even to menaces. For, when the treaties with Sardinia, Spain, and Sicily, of which

the latter furniſhed ſix thouſand men and four ſhips of the line to the common cauſe, obliged Britain to ſend a formidable fleet into the Mediterranean in hopes of effecting a revolution in the ſouth of France, it was judged adviſeable to leave no port open to France in that ſea. The empire, which had ſuch ſtrong grounds for complaint, furniſhed its contingent to the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies, and Britiſh troops, both horſe and foot, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, whoſe territories were now directly invaded by Dumourier] with the Batavian legion and ten thouſand French. Already Breda and Gertruydenberg, two ſtrong towns, that might long have reſiſted all his efforts, had ſurrendered through the cowardice or treachery of their governours, and the fort of Klundart had followed their example. But the fortreſs of Williamſtadt, by which Dumourier intended to penetrate into Holland, being furniſhed with a detachment from the brigade of Engliſh guards, and defended by ſome Engliſh and Dutch frigates and gunboats, reſiſted every attack with ſucceſs. Boetzlar, the governour, a brave intelligent officer, retarded the impetuoſity of the French by the following ſtratagem. He ordered the Dutch troops, whoſe uniform was blue lined with ſcarlet, to turn their coats; and then he paraded them on the ramparts with the guards in front as an indication of freſh reinforcements from Britain. Dumourier, however, availing himſelf of a dark night, advanced with a body of choſen troops by a narrow neck of land, where only the fortreſs is acceſſible on foot, and attempted to take it by aſſault; but perceived by the frigates and gunboats, he was repulſed with great loſs by ſhowers of grape ſhot from them, and by continued diſcharges of artillery

tillery from the ramparts. Thus foiled he left Deflers to continúe the ſiege, and joined the northern army, which was now hard preſſed by the Auſtrians and Pruſſians.

In the beginning of March, Clairfait having croſſed the Roer defeated Miranda, a French general, who covered the ſiege of Mæſtricht; and on the very next day Cobourg, the Auſtrian commander in chief, routed the grand republican army under Valence at Aix la Chapelle, forced its entrenchments at Hervé and took Liege; while Prince Frederick of Brunſwick with a body of Pruſſians carried the ſtrong batteries conſtructed at Zwalme on the Meuſe, and having got poſſeſſion of Ruremond relieved Venloo. In theſe actions the loſs of the republicans according to the Auſtrian accounts amounted to 9600 men, beſides much artillery, ammunition, baggage and proviſion. The ſiege of Mæſtricht, which in ten days had felt the weight, and ſuſtained the fire of ſix thouſand bombs, was raiſed; and the diſperſed French armies were collected by Dumourier into one grand body for the recovery of their loſt glory. From the returns made to the Convention the united armies could not be leſs than ſixty thouſand, as they amounted at the commencement of hoſtilities to eighty three thouſand, and their loſſes and the invaſion of Holland could at moſt have made a defalcation of only twenty three thouſand. Indeed from the conſtant influx of freſh recruits there is reaſon to believe that the Auſtrian ſtatement, which made the whole force at leaſt ſeventy thouſand, is nearer the truth.

Confiding in ſuperior numbers, Dumourier advanced againſt Cobourg, who could muſter but fifty thouſand. The conflict began at Nerwinden on ground that riſes from the river Geete like an

amphitheatre. The republicans after paſſing the Geete with their uſual impetuoſity ſucceeded in turning the left flank of the Imperialiſts; but their own left being deceived by a feigned retreat of their opponents, fell into diſorder in the purſuit, and being ſuddenly attacked by the rallied Auſtrians, could not maintain its ground, but retreated ſix miles from the ſcene of action. Had the victorious wing of the Auſtrians immediately fallen on the flank of the French center and right, Dumourier's army might have been immediately demoliſhed. This neglect and the omiſſion of erecting a battery on a commanding height or attacking them in paſſing the river enabled the French to continue the conteſt from day-break till ſix in the evening, when the cavalry under Clarifait compleated their overthrow, and covered the field of battle with their dead bodies. Four days after this action they made an obſtinate ſtand againſt Clairfait at Neerwelpe, but, after killing ſeven hundred of their purſuers, they were obliged with great loſs to make another retrograde motion to the Iron Mountain, a ſtrong poſt, which in their diſpirited and exhauſted condition, they made but a feeble effort to maintain. The immediate conſequence of all theſe defeats was the evacuatian of the Netherlands, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who had been unmercifully plundered. Had not Dumohrier cunningly ſtipulated that for the abandonment of all his conqueſts, he ſhould be allowed to draw off his army unmoleſted, it might have been forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, having hardly ammunition for a ſingle battle.

Theſe repeated diſaſters produced violent commotions in the Convention. The generals were charged with treachery, and Dumourier was ordered

dered to the bar of the Convention. But inſtead of obeying, like Miranda, he ſeized the four commiſſioners ſent to arreſt him, and delivered them and Bournonville, who was to be his ſucceſſor to the Auſtrians. Knowing that accuſation and condemnation were nearly ſynonimous terms among the Pariſians, and that, when fortune turned her back upon their generals, death took her place, he was not ſatisfied with this bold ſtep, but attempted to cauſe a deſertion in his army, and by its means to reſtore royalty. Finding that want of ſucceſs had deſtroyed all his influence among the ſoldiery he endeavoured to purchaſe the friendſhip of the emperor, or at leaſt to ſecure himſelf an aſylum in his dominions, by delivering up ſome of the fortified towns. Here too fortune proved adverſe, and obliged him with a few followers, to become a fugitive and wanderer. Thus he, who ſtyles himſelf France's beſt general, and who thought he was at leaſt a Fabius, if not a Hannibal, turned, like the latter, a wanderer, but, if we may believe his own words, without his caſks of money.

Nor was it in the Netherlands only that the allies were at this time ſucceſsful. The Pruſſians and Auſtrians having with ninety thouſand men forced their paſſage acroſs the Rhine, in ſpite of every oppoſition from Cuſtine, Houchard and other generals, who met them with ſuperior forces, laid ſiege to Mentz and Landau. It was in vain therefore that the Convention made another attempt at negotiation, and ſent Muret to London with propoſals. The treaties already concluded, or on the point of concluſion rendered all accommodation impracticable, without a ſacrifice of every principle of honour and every proſpect of intereſt. The ſouthern departments of France, headed by the great manufacturing and commercial

mercial towns of Lyons, Marſeilles, and Toulon, and ſome maritime diſtricts on the coaſts of the Atlantick inflamed by religion, and exaſperated by requiſition were known to be meditating inſurrections, and counter-revolutions. Who but a drivelling ſtateſman or wrongheaded millenarian would damp the ardour of the one, or cool the zeal of the other? A ſtrong fleet with ſome troops was therefore diſpatched to the Mediterranean to join the Spaniſh and Neapolitan ſquadrons, and to convoy land-forces to Toulon; and camps were formed upon the ſhores of the channel to take advantage of any favourable emergence. France thus aſſailed on every ſide like a beſieged city, and labouring under a fever in her own bowels, was judged an eaſy prey.

In this dangerous criſis the Convention diſplayed the prudence and foreſight that politicians ſuppoſe to belong only to ariſtocracies as well as the promptitude and vigour that are known to be characteriſtical of democracies. As they had in the commencement of their career attached the maſs of the plebeians to the new ſyſtem by confiſcating the property of the clerical and patrician orders, they reſolved to ſecure their fidelity by an agrarian law. Accordingly they paſſed a decree entitling every inhabitant without diſtinction of age or ſex to an equal ſhare of the common lands in his municipality, thus converting even paupers into landholders and yeomen ready to fight for the inſtitutions of their uſurpation as for their own altars and hearths.

Having adopted theſe precautions to ſecure the affections of the populace, they applied their thoughts to the means of oppoſing foreign enemies. For this purpoſe ſixty thouſand men, who had

had quitted the armies without leave, were ordered to repair to their reſpective colours, and a new levy of three hundred thouſand men, conſiſting of all unmarried men and widowers from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, and of all bachelors under forty five was voted. This vaſt body of recruits called the firſt requiſition and furniſhed, cloathed, armed, and diſciplined by the departments, according to the population of each, would raiſe the total of their forces to ſix hundred thouſand, maſſes thought ſufficient both by their weight and number to outbalance all the diſcipline and proweſs of the allies. For the French generals holding the lives of citizens as cheap as the hero of Gemappe, had learned to imitate his policy, and to pour theſe raw enthuſiaſts, column after column, with the ſongs of liberty in their mouths, and the fumes of gin in their brains upon the hoſtile veterans, reſerving their beſt troops for the concluding charges, when their antagoniſts ſhould be previouſly exhauſted by labours and wounds, and like the three hundred Spartans, fall victims to laſſitude rather than to valour. Such were the tacticks of Hannibal at the battle of Zama, and, had men in his days uſed our weapons, victory would have ſettled on his ſtandards.

The mighty preparations of the Convention did not ſeem to excite much alarm among the confederates. Truſting to the embarraſsments likely to ariſe from the internal convulſions of France, they made no proportionate exertions, but continued ſervile ſlaves to the old ſyſtem of war. The Auſtrians inſtead of adopting, as they ought, the plan of requiſition in Belgium, and thus augmenting their army at once with a hundred thouſand men, depended on reinforcements

by

by driblets, which periſhed almoſt on their arrival by the ordinary accidents of the ſervice. Britain forgetting to call upon the different pariſhes for their quotas of the men deemed neceſſary for the exigencies of the publick, adhered to the old expenſive and ſlow mode of increaſing the army, and with much difficulty raiſed the regulars and the militia to ſixty or ſeventy thouſand. To theſe add forty five thouſand ſeamen voted by parliament, and fifteen thouſand men upon the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, and you have all this mighty empire's force, that was applicable to the defence of the extenſive coaſts and internal quiet of the three kingdoms, to the operations on the continent, and to the ſecurity of its American and Weſt-Indian poſſeſſions. The foreign troops indeed in Engliſh pay, including the Hanoverians and the Heſſians, amounted to twenty eight thouſand, and with the native Britons under York, might be reckoned forty thouſand; but theſe, though they certainly animated the allies by their preſence, were too few to bear down ſuch enormous columns as poured daily from the interior of France.

Nor was the navy ſufficiently numerous, as was ſoon fatally experienced, to protect a commerce ſo widely extended as the Britiſh. It was ſome conſolation, however, to the people that, though eight millions and a half were this year raiſed, four by iſſuing exchequer bills, and four and a half by annuities, the miniſter impoſed no new taxes, but retained the duties levied to defray the expences of the Spaniſh armament. The proſpect too was cheered by the flouriſhing ſtate of the finances, which exceeded the demands of of peace by one million, the reveenue being about ſeventeen millions, and the expenditure

ſixteen.

ſixteen. By Sir John Sinclair's tables, it appears that the French revenue never was more than eighteen millions; and therefore, if to the Engliſh we add the Iriſh income, it is clear that France in its happieſt days, did not poſſeſs reſources equal to the Britiſh. Before the revolution, indeed, it contained, according to Necker, twenty ſix millions of people decreaſing in Paris, and but ſlowly increaſing in any other part. What then muſt now be its ſtate, when it has loſt two or three millions by emigration, by mutual ſlaughter, by war and by famine? The population of the Britiſh iſles, which appears from the minute inveſtigations of Wales and Howlett to be rapidly increaſing, and to have been ten years ago fifteen millions, muſt by this time have received an acceſſion more than adequate to the conſumption of the war. No other ſuppoſition can account for the productiveneſs of the exciſe, and for the regular and conſtant riſe of the ſums levied on articles of the firſt neceſſity and of luxury. The former is an irrefragable proof of the increaſe of the people, and the latter of their increaſing proſperity, as conſumption will at an average be in proportion to the mouths and means. India, where the enemy allowed us thirty millions of ſubjects, and an army conſiderably exceeding ſeventy thouſand, preſented a picture no leſs flattering; for its neat revenue amounted to a million and a half, and at no diſtant period ſeemed likely to be doubled, as the agriculture and trade of the country were in a ſtate of conſtant improvement, and the value of the Britiſh manufactures exported there had riſen from four hundred thouſand to a million ſterling.

"With all theſe reſources, ſaid Burke and others, with ſo good a cauſe and the irreſiſtible plea of neceſſity

ceſſity on our ſide, ſhall we be afraid of encountering a nation, whoſe ſyſtem, whoſe ſpeeches, decrees and acts beſpeak an intention precluſive of all accommodation, a nation who in the midſt of negotiations, of one with Chauvelin and of another with Dumourier, has in the moſt perfidious manner twice committed acts of hoſtility; a nation who has invented a new law of nations and acted upon it, who has ſhewed the moſt determined malice in expreſs terms againſt all parts of our conſtitution, againſt the ariſtocracy and monarchy however limited, who has thrown the gauntlet at all kings, and a king's head that ganutlet. France, that has renounced all occupations but the ſword, will, as long as her finances laſt, eaſily find ſoldiers, while ſhe has here and there twenty thouſand men periſhing with hunger, as now in Lyons, for want of employment. Her people will fly from miſery into the army. But is not this the criſis that Britain deprecates? Is it not her object to render exertion, induſtry and frugality the ſources of wealth to the indigent, and not, like the French, confiſcation at home and plunder abroad? By confiſcation the Convention has according to its own account driven ſeventy thouſand men of property into exile. Is this a ſpecies of government to be countenanced in Britain? Or are we, like hords of Arabs and French, to make war furniſh us with plunder, and plunder with the means of war? This is not the firſt time that Gaul has poured forth her myriads of locuſts to devour Europe; but it is to be hoped that Britons will prove as fatal to her Brennuſes and barebreeched plunderers, as the ancient Delphians, fighting, like them, as they do, not only for their own religion and property but for thoſe of all civiliſed ſociety.

ſociety. Such is the nation againſt whom Britain is now unavoidably forced to contend; and yet, as if ſome members of the Convention had been ſmuggled into both houſes of parliament, five or ſix gentlemen eternally din our ears with the impolicy of the war, which they declare to be unneceſſary and without an object. All wars that are not neceſſary, or what is the ſame, inevitable, are impolitick; as the advantages attending the moſt ſucceſsful wars ſeldom counter balance their loſſes. But here the neceſſity is obvious, as aggreſſion both external and internal muſt be repelled; and the objects are ſecurity to our conſtitution and indemnification for our expences. When theſe deſirable requiſites are within our graſp, then will the moment of negotiation commence. Hitherto negotiation has been uſed by the enemy as an engine of perfidy. What reaſon have you to ſuppoſe that the ſpirit of the Convention is altered ſince the days of Chauvelin and Dumourier? Are not the Briſſotines and Robeſpierians, the Republicans and Levellers, ſtill triumphant? To throw you off your guard, and to make you relax in your exertions, they may conſent to a momentary treaty; but they will ſoon reſume their natural character, treachery, and diſplay in their intercourſe with you the ſame faith, the ſame honour, which they exhibited in their conduct to their own conſtituents, their own clergy, their own nobility and their own king. To their conſtituents they ſwore to preſerve the monarchy, to the clergy and nobility they promiſed to ſecure their property, and to the king his crown. But the lights of the new philoſophy have taught them to regard promiſes, aſſeverations and engagements as lighter than feathers. To them

Oaths

Oaths are but words, and words but wind,
Too feeble inſtruments to bind,
And thoſe that make and force them, break them,
Not they, that for convenience take them.

By one ſweeping decree they have cancelled all treaties made with deſpots and tyrants, or, in our language, with lawful ſovereigns, and conſequently with all monarchies. Can you ſuppoſe that this decree does not include our monarch, whom their generaliſſimo calls the greateſt deſpot in Europe? Will you abandon him to their rage, and violate treaties already concluded and treaties on the point of concluſion for the ſake of a hollow and temporary ſuſpenſion of arms, for it cannot be called peace, with men who are at open enmity with all faith, honour and honeſty, and ought, like pirates and banditti, to be hunted out of the European republick?"

The minority having, after every effort, failed to make an impreſſion favourable to its cauſe upon the publick mind by directing its attention to the conſideration of military affairs on the continent tried whether it could be alarmed by the military regulations adopted within the three kingdoms.

"Quoting ſpeeches never ſpoken in the ſenate, but which were the mere ſpeculations of a recluſe ſcholar in his cloſet they repreſented barracks as unconſtitutional and reprobated by legal and parliamentary authority, by juſtice Blackſtone, by Pultney and by Pelham. They complained of their erection as an innovation dangerous to liberty, as it ſeparated the ſoldier from the citizen, and would gradually render the ſentiments of the civil and military orders adverſe. The additional pay too or bread-money granted to the army was arraigned, as a daring encroachment on the privilege of the Commons, who hold the purſe, and a criminal attempt to procure popularity

larity among the common men to the executive at the expence of the legiſlative power. If barracks were really neceſſary, why was not the parliament previouſly conſulted? Why was the expence firſt incurred, and its propriety left to future diſcuſſion? The ſolution of theſe problems is eaſy. Miniſtry make it an invariable rule to degrade the legiſlature, to iſſue edicts, like the late miniſters of Louis, and to aſſemble parliament to have them regiſtered."

Such was the charge of Taylor, Maitland, Courtney and Fox. Wyndham, Beauchamp, Howard and Pitt made the following defenſe. "The urgency of the caſe admitted of no delay. Some large manufacturing towns deſtitute of an adequate police had diſcovered ſuch a riotous and ſeditious ſpirit that the vicinity of a military force properly organiſed and embodied was found indiſpenſable for the aid of the civil power. Were miniſters in ſuch an emergence to allow an alarming evil to ſpread and to apply no remedy till the meeting of parliament? They choſe rather to provide for the ſafety of the ſtate at their own perſonal riſk and to truſt to the juſtice and liberality of parliament for an indemnity; and, conſcious as they are of the wiſdom of the meaſure and the rectitude of their intentions, they have no dread of the reſult. But would they have conſulted the publick ſafety, had they billeted the ſoldiery among citizens, of whom ſome were in a court of juſtice convicted of an attempt to ſeduce and bribe them to join a deſperate faction in the overthrow of the conſtitution? No; they ſtationed them in barracks with the ſentiments of the people in their hearts, that is, with ſentiments of loyalty to the king and of love for the conſtitution impreſſed upon their minds, and ſecluded them only from

the emiſſaries of anarchy and the ſeduction of levellers, not from the opinions of the maſs of the people, to which they will ſtill be acceſſible.

"Another charge equally groundleſs is that miniſters by adviſing the king to grant to the ſoldiery additional pay have trenched upon the rights of the commons; for here the prerogative has been confined to the known limits; and the bread-money is only an allowance in lieu of a ſtoppage, which cuſtom had unjuſtly introduced and which in a ſeaſon of ſcarcity was productive of much hardſhip to the privates. So unobjectionable was the meaſure that, when it happened to be minutely diſcuſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, the tongue of oppoſition was benumbed. How it came to be ſo clamorous at this critical juncture, when every heart and every hand ought to unite againſt the common enemy, may be matter of ſurpriſe to people who are unacquainted with the minority's principles and objects, but can excite no wonder in either houſe of parliament, to whom the cloven foot has long been too apparent. What but ſiniſter views could induce theſe malcontents to repreſent barracks as innovations, when they know them to be coeval with ſtanding armies? Begin at Dover and follow the Engliſh coaſt to Berwick; proceed along the Scottiſh ſhores from Berwick to Fort Auguſtus and to Fort William, and you will every where find barracks. Ireland is not an exception, for, where no barracks exiſted, ſhe ſolicited their erection, and England has followed an example, which the intereſt and eaſe of the publicans as well as the diſcipline and morality of the ſoldiers demanded. Nor has parliament ever marked barracks with its reprobation. Some ſpurious harangues, indeed, are quoted; and two or three gentlemen ſpeaking againſt ſtanding armies in

time

time of peace are ſaid in a moment of ill humour to have treated them with diſreſpect. But did they perſuade parliament to vote their demolition? They had too much wiſdom to hazard ſo abſurd a propoſition. Much leſs would they raiſe a clamour againſt them in time of war, eſpecially of a war like the preſent, which has no parallel in hiſtory, and requires too large an army for internal defence to be accommodated without barracks. Why ſhould not miniſters ſtudy the comfort and convenience of the ſoldiers, who ſenſible that their liberty is not farther abridged than is neceſſary for the maintenance of diſcipline, have always acted the part of good citizens, and are allowed by an enemy of barracks, whoſe experience enables him to paſs ſentence, to be from their double character of ſoldiers and citizens, ſuperior in battle to any troops in Europe? Why ſhould we ſuppoſe that ſuch men foregoing the honourable rank of citizens and undervaluing the name of freemen ſhould make themſelves ſlaves to the crown? They feel on the contrary that they are the ſoldiers of their country and the defenders of the conſtitution; and it is in vain that inſidious levellers attempt to pervert their judgments or to ſeduce their affections. Let us therefore hope that the queſtion concerning barracks will no more be agitated, and that its agitators are laid for ever aſleep."

A bill for the more effectual prevention of traiterous correſpondence with foreign enemies having been introduced into the Lower Houſe, ſimilar attempts were made to excite an alarm among the people, and Fox roundly aſſerted its proviſions to be ineffectual, impolitick, and tyrannical. The extenſion of commerce had occaſioned a re-

laxation and latitude in the conſtruction put by lawyers on Edward the Third's ſtatute concerning treaſon. Mansfield and other judges of eminence had maintained that, as enſurers held the box and premium in their own hands, the enſurance of an enemy's property was a lucrative trade and at the ſame time attended with the advantage of procuring intelligence of his deſigns. But, whatever foundation there might be for this doctrine in ordinary wars, here the caſe was altered, as the propoſed bill would probably annihilate the French trade, ſince France herſelf had in her preſent circumſtances no capital for enſurance and no other country would run the riſk. The bill, though ſo violently attacked, created no new treaſon, but only explained and modified the exiſting law, having in view three diſtinct objects, to prevent France from being ſupplied with military ſtores, to prevent Britiſh ſubjects from purchaſing lands in France, and to prevent any intercourſe with France without a licenſe from the government. In the fore-mentioned act which renders it treaſon to aid or aſſiſt the king's enemies, theſe clauſes are certainly included; and yet much ingenuity and ſpecious reaſoning was employed in rendering them obnoxious to the multitude. But, as they were founded principally on the non-exiſtence of domeſtick treaſon and internal conſpiracy, which convictions in courts of juſtice ſoon proved to be too real, it would be idle here to tire the reader by anticipating the diſcuſſion.

In a free government, where all the candidates for office cannot be ſucceſsful, miniſters will by their envious rivals be often accuſed as the authors of private misfortunes, and ſtill more of publick calamities. The Britiſh merchants in conſequnce

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of the check given to trade and manufactures by the war on the continent had received great orders and engaged in immenſe ſpeculations, which beſides the circulating ſpecie, required a vaſt proportion of paper as a medium above the uſual quantity. The bank of England which was not prepared for ſo uncommon an event, ſoon perceived that the extraordinary diſcount ſolicited by the trading intereſt would exhauſt all its caſh, and therefore reſolved not to diſcount beyond the ordinary amount. The banks of Edinburgh, of Glaſgow, of Liverpool and Briſtol, and indeed all the other banks in the iſland, which muſt always be governed by the leading bank, were compelled to follow the example. Hence a general ſtagnation enſued in the commercial world, and the minority opened all its mouths againſt the miniſtry as the cauſe of the enſuing failures by plunging the nation into the gulph of an unneceſſary war. But here too their efforts failed, and the iſſue demonſtrated that theſe commercial embaraſſments aroſe from the precipitation and not from the inability of the Britiſh merchants; for their imports and exports have gradually increaſed, till they greatly exceed any thing known in the moſt proſperous years of peace. Pitt prevailed on the parliament to iſſue five millions of Exchequer-bills to be lent to the merchants upon proper ſecurity, and the buſtle immediately ceaſed; the mighty ruin prognoſticated by Fox and his adherents diſappeared, credit returned into its former channel with a full ſtream, and the loom, the anvil and the plough reſumed their operations with more than uſual induſtry.

Hardly any meaſure of the miniſtry or of their agents could at this time eſcape animadverſion. Upon the murder of Louis, Auckland, the Bri-

tiſh miniſter at the Hague, had preſented to the States General a memorial, in which he had given full vent to the expreſſions naturally ſuggeſted by ſo atrocious an enormity. Sheridan and Fox being ſtill in love with the *moſt glorious fabrick of government ever invented by the wit of man*, were not actuated by correſpondent emotions, and endeavoured to expoſe it and its author to the ſame execration, which they had poured upon the Duke of Brunſwick and his manifeſto. But the nation, who had ſcarcely put off mourning for the unfortunate monarch, could not ſympathiſe with their feelings, and was ſurpriſed to find that thirty-ſix members joined them on a diviſion.

As if the party intended to ſtir up commotions in Ireland, it was propoſed in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons to grant to the Roman Catholicks of Ireland almoſt all the rights enjoyed by the Proteſtants; but this inſidious manœuvre was eaſily counteracted, being a manifeſt invaſion of the Iriſh parliament's province.

In the agitation of queſtions likely to renew and continue diſcontents, the petitions of the Scotch boroughs were not forgotten; Sheridan propoſed to diſcuſs rhem; but through indolence or ſome other cauſe neglected to execute his propoſal. His opponeuts, however, endeavoured to fruſtrate his ſchemes in Scotland by liberal conceſſions and unprecedented favours. At the time of the Reformation, when a Catholick princeſs ſat upon the throne, the furious bigotry of the covenanters extorted from the legiſlature a law enabling the next of kin to a Roman Catholick landholder to ouſt the poſſeſſor by a ſuit in a court of juſtice, if he did not abjure his religion and embrace the Preſbyterian ſyſtem. A ſuit of this nature was then in its progreſs through the court

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of ſeſſion; but it was ſtopped by an act repealing the iniquitous ſtatute paſſed in the days of intolerance.

The long continuance of rain in the ſummer and autumn having prevented the farmers in the northern parts of Scotland from drying their fewel for winter called peat and from houſing and ſtacking their half-ripened grain, the manufactures were likely to ſuffer much inconvenience from want of fire, and the people great diſtreſs from the dearth of meal. To remove this grievance the duty upon coals carried coaſtwiſe, which in thoſe parts amounted nearly to a prohibition, and which yielded to the revenue only ten or twelve thouſand pounds, was diſcontinued, and in lieu of it a licenſe-duty of forty ſhillings per gallon was impoſed on ſtills in the Highlands, and a licenſe-duty of nine pounds per gallon on all ſtills in the Lowlands. This regulation, it was ſuppoſed, would produce a revenue of one hundred and ten thouſand pounds, and at the ſame time improve the health and morals of the people, among whom intoxication was now carried to an alarming exceſs by a number of low-waſh, and by twenty-five thouſand rectifying ſtills, and ought to be checked by any impoſt not ſo high as to encourage ſmuggling.

But, while theſe ſteps were taken for the improvement of the revenue, nothing was done to meliorate the condition of the people, on whom the burden of the propoſed taxes fell. When the vaſt increaſe of manufactures in Scotland and in the north of England took place, the demand for animal food became ſo great that the landholders in the Highlands found it more profitable to convert their farms into ſheep-walks than to leave them in the hands of the former tenants, who, beſides

beſides paying their rents with the ſurplus of their ſheep and horned cattle, raiſed corn ſufficient for the maintenance of that bold and hardy race, that has ſo often fought our battles with ſucceſs. Emigration to America and to other regions was the conſequence; the Highlands in many places became vaſt deſerts, and their vallies inſtead of being now peopled as formerly, with various tribes of warlike clans, are ſtocked with different breeds of innocent ſheep. As if the natives had no kind of property in the ſoil, on which they were born and bred, they were turned a-drift, and left in a worſe ſtate than the villans of Poland and Ruſſia. In England paupers and neceſſitous farmers are, by the laws reſpecting the poor, connected with the ſoil, and can never be left totally deſtitute. But in Scotland, where no pariſh-laws exiſt for the maintenance of the needy, the maſs of the people are in a worſe ſtate than alien ſlaves; becauſe no remedy is provided for their diſtreſs in the country, where, as all their labour and induſtry have there been exerted, all their hopes are centered.

As a partial remedy for this evil a patriotick ſociety endeavoured to find employment for the ouſted tenantry in the fiſhery on the northern and weſtern coaſts of Scotland; but their benevolent intentions proved abortive through want of local knowledge and through intereſted miſrepreſentation. From the Reverend John Buchanan's various and uſeful publications we learn that the capital advanced by him and other adventurers has been waſted in expenſive and idle buildings in places on the continent too diſtant from deep water, from the haunt of the beſt fiſh, and from the abode of ſkilful and experienced ſeamen. But why ſhould we be ſurpriſed that a few private, though reſpectable, individuals ſhould have failed

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in an enterpriſe, which in a former period of our hiſtory exceeded the powers of publick exertion? Since the Board of Trade, though directed by the well known patriotiſm, induſtry and ability of Lord Liverpool, does not call the national attention to this intereſting ſubject, all our hopes of ſeeing the rapid courſe of emigration arreſted muſt depend upon the Board of Agriculture, which was in this year eſtabliſhed through the influence and publick ſpirit of Sir John Sinclair, a ſenator of uncommon talents for economical and financial politicks, and of ineſtimable value to both kingdoms not only for his own publications and plans but alſo for thoſe of which he has been the cauſe. From the firſt report of the Board publiſhed by this gentleman it appears that out of twenty-ſix millions of acres in Scotland fourteen millions are ſtill uncultivated, though a general law for the ſub-diviſion of commons at the inſtance of any perſon intereſted and at the expenſe of all the proprietors concerned has exiſted for more than a century. Is it not clear from this fact that whatever may be the reſult in England, where the unincloſed lands belong to a great variety of individuals and muſt therefore in caſe of partition be ſub-divided into numberleſs ſmall portions, the ſame beneficial effects cannot be expected in Scotland, where immenſe tracts are the excluſive property of the heads of great families, who, though unable from extravagance or debt to cultivate the land, will never relinquiſh an inch? Nothing but a law obliging proprietors to incloſe and improve their eſtates, or to ſell them in moderate parcels to the higheſt bidders, can bring the waſtes of Scotland, of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland and North Wales into a proper ſtate of cultivation. Then and not till

then

then will the people fully employed at home ceaſe to emigrate, and by their agricultural labour furniſh with corn not only the Britiſh but foreign markets. Such a regulation can not juſtly be deemed an infringement on private right, ſince even in newly diſcovered countries the diſcoverer is by the law of nature and nations held entitled only to what he can thoroughly occupy and completely enjoy; and municipal laws can beſtow nothing but what naturally flows from that ſource. But who are to work this miracle? alas! the ſame men, from whom in direct oppoſition to their own intereſt a reform in parliament is expected. This conſummation ſo devoutly to be wiſhed by all but the proprietors of ſeats in parliament can only be extorted by the terrours of the people actuated by that powerful engine, the preſs. When the houſeholders in every pariſh, who, as they now pay the taxes, occupy the place of the ancient freeholders, or military tenants of the crown, ought alſo with the burden to ſhare the rights, join the freeholders of the counties in demanding this franchiſe, their voice will be irreſiſtible, But notwithſtanding every obſtacle, the minority, though perhaps no more friendly to an actual reform than the miniſtry, agitated the queſtion this year; and having ſigned themſelves one from the friends of the people, procured many petitions in its favour from England, and more from Scotland.

Before this period a petition unprecedented in its kind, and therefore not unworthy of notice, was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, by John Horne Tooke, a gentleman no leſs diſtinguiſhed for legal and conſtitutional knowledge than for uncommon erudition and original genius, his admirable eſſay on grammar being unequalled in any language. The petition ſtated, "that he was an elector and candidate for Weſtminſter; that

that in this city there were more than ſeventeen thouſand houſeholders rated in the pariſh books, and unrepreſented, though they contributed much more to the revenue than the electors of a hundred members then in parliament; that at the three laſt elections deliberate outrage, violence and murder were committed without the leaſt redreſs obtained, or puniſhment inflicted, as if no attorney general, no government, no legiſlature exiſted for the prevention of ſimilar crimes in future; that in 1784 a ſcrutiny took place for ten months, but without effect, after having coſt the petitioner many thouſand pounds more than the average price now paid according to ſome late proceedings in Chancery for a perpetual vote in the Houſe of Commons, where ſeats for legiſlation are as notoriouſly rented and bought as ſtandings for cattle at a fair; that in 1788, a ſimilar ſcrutiny attended with ſimilar conſequences was inſtituted, and coſt the petitioning candidate above fourteen thouſand pounds; that under theſe circumſtances he declines before a committee of the Houſe, as he did before the returning officer all ſcrutiny, ſince it would be leſs expenſive, and leſs ruinous to him to be impeached, even according to the preſent mode of conducting impeachments, and to be convicted too of real crimes than to be guilty of attempting to procure juſtice for himſelf and the injured electors of Weſtminſter by the only kind of deciſion, which the new remedial ſtatute has appointed for that purpoſe, however well adapted that mode of deciſion may be for ſettling the diſputed claims of the proprietors of ſmall boroughs, for whoſe uſurped and ſmuggled intereſt alone the framers of that act and of the other acts, which have been ſince built upon it, ſeem to have had any real concern; that,

that, though by an act in Queen Anne's reign perſons poſſeſſed of three hundred pounds a year above reprizes are eligible for cities or boroughs, even this legal right, however vicious in its principle, will be entirely defeated by the enormous expence of a tedious litigation, which may coſt the candidate fifty or one hundred thouſand pounds to prove his election; that, though the petitioner complains of the undue election and return of Hood and Fox to the preſent parliament, he is by a perſecution and proſcription of more than twenty years diſabled from making that pecuniary ſacrifice, which by the preſent mode of inveſtigation is and ought not to be neceſſary to prove effectually an undue return; that, though a very great majority of the Houſe of Commons, as it ſtill continues to be ſtyled, are not, as they ought to be, elected by the Commons of the realm, in any honeſt meaning of the word Commons, and muſt therefore feel a natural aud neceſſary bias againſt a fair and real repreſentation of the people, yet the petitioner truſts that he ſhall be able to lay before a committee choſen and ſworn to try and determine the merits of this petition evidence of ſuch a nature, that the committee on oath will think proper to report to the houſe a reſolution or reſolutions other than the determination of the return that will prove to him and to the other electors of Weſtminſter a redreſs much more important than any determination of the return."

This petition being thrice read was declared by Jekyll to be irrelevant, impertinent, libellous and fit only for deriſion and contempt. The ſpeaker, Pitt, Fox, and others, coincided with Jekyll in opinion, but thought at the ſame time that, under the imperative words of the act, it muſt be referred to a committee, as it complained of an undue

undue election and return. A committee was accordingly appointed, and after much deliberation reported the petition to be frivolous and vexatious, a deciſion which ſubjected the complainant to the payment of coſts. With this puniſhment Fox was for an obvious reaſon ſatisfied, and the houſe acquieſced. Burke indeed, who ſeems in ſome degree to poſſeſs a gift, for the reality of which his friend Johnſon contended ſo ſtrongly, the ſecond ſight, urged the neceſſity of inflicting an exemplary puniſhment for ſuch a ſcandalous and atrocious libel, declaring that otherways their dignity would ſuffer, and their character be lowered in the eſtimation of the people, whoſe peculiar attention the novelty and audacity of the petition had excited.

The petition was clearly intended by Tooke for arreſting the public attenion, and for convincing the people by ſo bold and deciſive a ſtep of the rotten conſtitution of the lower houſe. Why then did not the members prove the petition, if it was a falſe and ſcandalous libel, to be ſo in the the committee? Tooke offered to prove all his allegations, but was denied that liberty. Here then both parties were at iſſue, but the houſe declined the conteſt, and allowed the affair to ſink, as they called it, into merited oblivion. Did this ſuperciliouſneſs ariſe from the notoriety of the facts ſtated in the petition, and from the impoſſibility of diſproving them? This was the concluſion which their conduct dictated to the nation, and the ferment, which ſoon agitated the iſland through its whole extent on the ſubject of repreſentation, demonſtrates the impolicy of attempting the ſuppreſſion rather than the removal of a grievance. With the knowledge already poſſeſſed by the people, and with the light conſtantly pouring

ing from the preſs, they neither will nor ſhould reſt contented without a radical cure of the evil.

The miniſter and his adherents, however, advanced many ſpecious arguments againſt a reform. "The beſt proof, ſaid they, of a good conſtitution is the proſperity of the people for whom it was framed. What country in Europe can in this reſpect be compared to the Britiſh empire? Its commerce, its agriculture and population are rapidly advancing; and what is worthy of remark, this rapid advance has been moſt obſervable in the period unjuſtly ſtigmatized with the corruption and decline of the conſtitution. Since the concluſion of the American war and the commencement of the preſent miniſter's career our exports have increaſed ſeven millions, and our imports have experienced a proportionate riſe. Nor has any era of our hiſtory been diſtinguiſhed by a more abundant revenue or ſo great a diminution of our debt; and the people are happy, and would be contented, were not ſo much induſtry exerted by intereſted ambition to ſour the temper of the manufacturers, and to raiſe extravagant expectations in the breaſts of the labouring claſs. To eſtimate the goodneſs of a political conſtitution, we ſhould look at the practice, which cannot deceive, and not at theory, which is often deluſive. The French theoriſts guided by the falſe lights of philoſophy imagined that they could thus erect a ſyſtem ſuperiour to ours, but to their ſhame and ſorrow found that inſtead of a Juno they graſped a cloud. Let us learn wiſdom and caution at the expence of others, rather than at our own. Before you demoliſh our ancient and venerable edifice, point out to us any practical grievance of conſiderable magnitude, that renders the demolition neceſſary; for nothing but the magnitnde of the evil can juſtify the danger

ger of the experiment. That there is danger in tampering with the conſtitution is evident from the fate of France; for at firſt ſhe proceeded comparatively with a ſlow and meaſured ſtep, and upon even and known ground; but gradually reached the verge of a precipice, down which ſhe ruſhed with accelerated impetuoſity into the gulf of perdition. Conſider the words addreſſed by Gibbon the hiſtorian in the confidence of friendſhip to Lord Sheffield. "Grey, and Fox, are ſurely capable of miſchief. Will you not take ſome active meaſures to declare your ſound opinions, and to ſeparate yourſelves from your rotten members? If you allow them to perplex government, if you trifle with this ſolemn buſineſs, if you do not reſiſt the ſpirit of innovation in the firſt attempt, if you admit the ſmalleſt and moſt ſpecious change of your parliamentary ſyſtem, you are loſt. You will be driven from one ſtep to another; from principles juſt in theory to conſequences moſt pernicious in practice, and your conceſſions will be productive of every ſubſequent miſchief, for which you will be anſwerable to your country and to poſterity. Do not ſuffer yourſelves to be lulled into a falſe ſecurity; remember the proud fabrick of the French monarchy. Not four years ago it ſtood founded, as it might ſeem, on the rock of time, force, and opinion, ſupported by the triple ariſtocracy of the church, the nobility and the parliaments. Yet behold them now crumbled into duſt, if they have not rather vaniſhed from the face of the earth. If this tremendous warning has no effect on the men of property in England; if it does not open every eye, and raiſe every arm, you will deſerve your fate." You may perhaps ſay that the

object

object of this petition is not universal representation, and consequently the overthrow of the constitution. But this is not only the object, but the express demand of all the other petitions; and though you, who imagine yourselves the leaders of these petitioners, and who certainly stirred them up to action, may aim at nothing but a reform, the multitude after being set in motion will not be so easily satisfied, but swelling like a torrent, will rush impetuously over all obstacles and level every mound of the constitution. This is the fond hope of your friend and correspondent Condorcet, who in speaking of universal suffrage prophesies that, under its influence the Commons of England will imitate the third estate of France, annihilate monarchy and aristocracy, and establish the reign of equality. The little attention, which you have paid to these societies on the present occasion, will naturally tempt them to retaliate. As you prefer your own opinion in the senate to the decisions of the majority, you assume the same arrogant superiority over your petitioners, and hold the scanty signatures of the few Friends of the People to be paramount to the multitudinous subscriptions of the British Jacobins. Can you suppose that they have not marked this duplicity? We have marked it too; for were not you, who presumptuously style yourselves the friends of the people, as if the other members of this house had not as good a title to that appellation, favourable to the levelling principle of an impossible quality, you would not have presented these petitions. Indeed the language and prayer of them all demonstrate that they are of the same family, and issued from one matrix. Their face, though not one, is yet not different but like that of kindred. Confess then that you

come

come before the houſe in a very queſtionable ſhape, and may be juſtly ſuſpected of an attempt to lull the parliament aſleep, that you may gradually bring your innovating ſocieties upon the ſtage, and through Engliſh Jacobins rule the nation. Such is your overweening conceit, ſuch your extravagant notion of your own powers, that you think you can ride the whirlwind and direct the ſtorm. Untaught by the diſaſtrous fate of your idolized Mirabeau, of your panegyrized Briſſot, and of all the renowned patriots, heroes, and legiſlators of France, you have the temerity to mount Phaeton's chariot, without the leaſt apprehenſion of fall or conflagration. But allow us, who foreſee the danger of being at leaſt ſcorched, not to be ſo adventurous. Among the friends of the people we ſee the correſpondents of the Correſponding Society; we ſee among them an ambaſſador from the Revolution Society to congratulate the National Aſſembly; and from one we may eſtimate the character of all; for all cheriſh with enthuſiaſm *the* ſacred *right of inſurrection*. The friends of *this ſacred right* in Britain we know to be but a ſmall body; but, though ſmall, it is active, and therefore not contemptible. Actuated by the ſpirit of proſelytiſm, which in France converted the minority into a majority, it muſt be cruſhed in the egg, leſt, inſtead of a harmleſs brood, a ſwarm of vipers ſhould appear. In ſuch a critical time, and with ſuch an alarming proſpect before their eyes, how can thoſe gentlemen, who in a peaceable and tranquil ſeaſon, rendered a ſcheme of reform abortive, now lend their helping hand to ſuch ſuſpicious characters, when they refuſed it to Pitt, who never went, like Richmond and the petitioners, to the extravagant length of propoſing general ſuffrage, and whoſe

declared intention was to reſtore and perpetuate the conſtitution, by an infuſion of freſh vigour and energy? How can Pitt himſelf, matured as his judgment muſt now be by age and experience, entertain any ſanguine expectations of benefit from a parliamentary reform? From obſervations he muſt have learned that our conſtitution contains within itſelf a renovating principle; that the burgage tenures, which are are ſo much reprobated by ſocieties, furniſh to the moneyed intereſt the means of repreſentation; that the advance in the price of boroughs proves only the increaſe of wealth and the weight of the Houſe of Commons; that, if there is corruption, it exiſts more among the electors than the elected, and therefore has an obvious tendency to preſerve where it is, and to produce where it is not, that equality which is ſo highly extolled. Were the body of repreſentatives corrupt or dependent on the crown, how could they have voted the neceſſity of diminiſhing its influence? how could they in the caſe of Fox's memorable India-bill have reſiſted, and almoſt overpowered both the monarchy and ariſtocracy? The truth is, that by the preſent mode of election, the houſe is filled with men of knowledge, virtue and property, who are above the reach of corruption; and that the plan now ſuggeſted would crowd it, like the Convention with paupers, who would ſoon become either ſlaves or deſpots. Beſides, what, diſcriminating eye does not perceive that ever ſince the revolution the democratick ſcale has conſtantly preponderated more and more in the balance? If India be an addition to the influence of the crown, is not the loſs of America as great a diminution? Nay, is not the Indian ſquadron a vaſt acceſſion to the popular intereſt? Nor ſhould the excluſion of placemen

placemen and penſioners from the lower houſe be forgotten. This and many other ſuppoſed improvements in the conſtitution made by the legiſlature to ſilence clamour, the vaſt increaſe of the people, who, if we may judge from the conſumption of the metropolis, muſt have been doubled ſince the revolution; the freedom of the preſs and the uncontrouled circulation of the parliamentary ſpeeches have diffuſed ſuch a ſpirit of inquiry, and ſuch a maſs of knowledge through the iſland, that in every momentous queſtion the voice of the nation is raiſed, and, when raiſed, muſt be heard. How abſurd then is the attempt to ſeek in theory what we have already in practice?"

The Foxites replied in the following ſtrain. "All governments muſt according to the beſt politicians and moſt experienced ſtateſmen be occaſionally reduced to their firſt principles; ſince every human inſtitution muſt, like its author, be periſhable, and rendered durable only by conſtant repairs. The Britiſh government, for we diſtinguiſh it from the conſtitution, is in ſo corrupt and mouldering a ſtate, that no briefs will be equal to its reparation; but the whole ſtructure muſt be demoliſhed and rebuilt. For what Herculeam labour can purge the Augean ſtable of the Houſe of Commons, where by your journals two members ſat for Stockbridge by notorious bribery and corruption for more than half a parliament, and two for Grimſby without any election at all? Repreſentation is the baſis of our conſtitution; and yet the peers, who are perſonally repreſented, and the rich landholders who ſpeedily expect to be peers, return a vaſt majority of the members; ſo that upon the whole the iſland is not ſo well repreſented as the kingdom of Sweden before its revolution, and the Venetian ſtate at

this moment, where a thouſand families held or hold in each the reins of government. When this is the ſtate of repreſentation, is it not mockery and inſult to tell the people that their purſes are never opened but by their own conſent? In fact the ariſtocracy puts its hand into their pockets, and though very ſparing of its own property in the commutation-act and taxes on windows ſhows no mercy to the poorer orders of the community.

Rutland returns as many members as Yorkſhire, and Cornwall as many as Yorkſhire, Rutland and Middleſex in conjunction, and almoſt as many as the whole kingdom of Scotland; deſolate Corniſh boroughs, where there is no property but a ſheep, no inhabitant but a ſolitary ſhepherd or huſbandman, have voices in the impoſition of taxes, while Mancheſter, Birmingham, and other eminent places are without a vote. Hence, though the male adults exceed three millions, eleven thouſand voters return by mandate one hundred and fifty ſeven members, a majority of the lower houſe; and thus no place in the army, navy, or church, in the civil or military department, is beſtowed on merit, but monopolized by parliamentary intereſt. What can be more injurious to every ſervice? To a contrary practice no leſs than to the ſpirit infuſed by the principles of liberty muſt be aſcribed the ſucceſſes of France. The ſoft voluptuous and effeminate officers brought up in the lap of eaſe and affluence are replaced by hardy and adventurous warriors trained in the ſchool of adverſity and want. Such men always vigilant, always active, muſt often ſurpriſe and confound ariſtocratical ſenſualiſts, and lay the ſons of indulgence proſtrate at their feet. Thus Curius, thus Cincinnatus

cinnatus conquered; and thus generals taken from the ranks in France will triumph over kings and the minions of kings with all their boasted tacitcks. How long then is the destructive system to be continued in this kingdom, which ought, like the Romans, who borrowed their military habit and armour from the Samnites, to learn wisdom from its enemies? If it be peace, we are desired not to disturb the publick tranquillity, and, if it be war, not to increase the troubles nor to add fewel to flame. Thus, though Pitt, our principal antagonist, proposed the same measure twice in war and once in peace, the proper moment of reform for him will never come, while power remains in his hands. But, though he has abandoned the publick cause, and thus incurred indelible infamy, it does not follow that all virtue has forsaken the land, and that other men will not continue steady patriots; for in the worst of times a few of that class have never failed to hold up their heads, and to prop the tottering constitution. But how can the constitution be propped, when such a practical grievance exists as the ruinous expence of elections and the consequent petitions? Is it no practical grievance that in defiance of king William's act, burgage-tenures have been allowed to creep out of the act, and by splitting qualifications in English boroughs and in Scotch counties to foist into the House of Commons not representatives of the people but of the peerage? Is it no practical grievance that a nobleman's steward should go down with ten or twelve pieces of parchment in his hand, containing each a qualification for a vote, and having collected round a table the same number of his lords tenants or servanrs, should distribute among them these parchments, and after proposing a candidate and resuming the

parchments, ſhould declare his maſter's friend duly elected for the borough? Is it no practical grievance that the elections for the Scotch counties are often decided by ſuch parchments; and that the members are elected in other boroughs by ſelf-elected magiſtrates totally independent of the burghers? Let us hear no more then of the non-exiſtence of practical grievances; for theſe are grievances of ſuch magnitude that they muſt infallibly breed diſcontents; and of this the numerous petitions on your table are inconteſtable evidence. Will you add to theſe diſcontents by ſullen oppoſition or contemptuous neglect? Will you roundly tell the people that they are to have no redreſs, except from their own virtue and energy? remember that government is founded on opinion, and that, when you have once loſt the good opinion of the people, you can not long remain governours. Let us not be told that the times are dangerous. The greater the danger is, the ſooner you ought to apply the proper remedy for every danger, a reform in parliament, the panacea that will cure every evil. When alarming commotions prevailed in Ireland, how were they calmed? By repreſentation. By repreſentation the diſturbances, that once afflicted Wales and the counties Palatine of Durham and Cheſter, were quieted; and by an adequate repreſentation the heart-burnings and animoſities, which now agitate the land, will be removed. Univerſal repreſentation has through the events in France fallen into ſuch diſcredit, that we have nothing to fear on that head among men, who have ſo generally and ſo unequivocally expreſſed their attachment to the conſtitution. When that conſtitution is thoroughly cleared of the impurities contracted through time, the genuine voice of the people

people will be heard; they will not ſuffer the parliament to miſlead and hurry them into impolitick wars with America, with Spain, with Ruſſia and with France, who by delaying, like you, a reform too long created thoſe convulſions, which ſhe now deplores. Warned by her misfortunes awake from your lethargy and by a ſpeedy renovation of the conſtitution prevent the poſſibility of ſimilar diſaſters."

Theſe arguments proved ineffectual. Fourteen members only voted for appointing a committee to make a report upon the petitions. But, whether it is that ſome men really poſſeſs the ſecond ſight, or that prophets, either foretell only what is, or what they are reſolved ſhall be, in a courſe of completion, the event on this occaſion demonſtrated that the predictions of the minority were not the ſuggeſtions of a lying ſpirit. Their preſcience of plots and conſpiracies, however, was attributed by the philoſophick and incredulous not to divine inſpiration but to an intimate connection with the conſpirators; and this ſuſpicion was ſtrengthened by the violence with which they reprobated their trial and conviction, and by the ſympathy which they expreſſed for their ſufferings.

As we have already obſerved, the revolutionary ſocieties in the Britiſh iſles began a direct correſpondence with the French Convention ſoon after the impriſonment of the king, the abolition of royalty and the maſſacre in September 1792; but did not, till Dumourier's conqueſt of the Netherlands, venture upon any definite and ſpecifick plan of mutual union and co-operation. Thinking the National Convention now arrived at ſuch a degree of form and conſiſtency as to be capable of giving effectual aſſiſtance to a Britiſh demo-

cracy the different ſocieties united in tranſmitting to the National Convention a declaration expreſſive of their levelling principles and containing, as they alledged, the ſentiments of a majority of the Britiſh nations.

The war declared with equal precipitation and injuſtice by the French Convention againſt the king and government of this country interrupted the open communication between the French and Britiſh Republicans, but uot the ſecret meaſures previouſly adopted for effecting a revolution. Delegates from ſocieties in the three kingdoms met at Edinburgh in 1793 and aſſuming the form and authotity of a legiſlative aſſembly dated their reſolutions in the firſt year of the Britiſh Convention one and indiviſible. In imitation of the French Convention the members becoming all at once citizens adopted its phraſes and modes of proceeding, its committees of organization, of inſtruction, of finance and of ſecrecy, made honourable mention of ſervices, decreed the authors the honours of the ſitting, inſtituted primary and provincial aſſemblies and departments, and towards the end of November paſſed a ſecret reſolution of reſiſting in due time the Britiſh legiſlature.

When by the activity of the Scotch magiſtrates this Cocvention was diſperſed, the project of an Engliſh Convention and the fabrication of arms to ſupport its meaſures took place, chiefly in Sheffield and Edinburgh, where pikes, battleaxes and caltrops were forged. The ſocieties being ſubdivided into ſections of thirty, twenty and ten men living in the ſame neighbourhood for the ſake of being more eaſily aſſembled, were ſecretly taught the uſe of arms at nocturnal meetings; none being admitted without a printed ticket inſcribed with the words "Liberty to thoſe who dare to be free."

free." In aid of all these schemes emissaries properly furnished and instructed endeavoured by money, by promises and by inflammatory publications to seduce the soldiery, particularly the Scotch Fencible regiments into disobedience and mutiny. These arrangements being made and a sufficient quantity of weapons distributed among the Friends of the people in Edinburgh and in other places, it was proposed to secure the persons of the principal magistrates and officers of the law, to seize the banks, the publick offices, the guards and prisons, and, after enticing the soldiery from the castle by kindling a fire in the middle of the city, to intercept them on their return by means of armed parties properly stationed for that purpose. The friends of liberty and equality in Glasgow, Paisley, Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen were at the same moment to exercise the sacred right of insurrection, and a proclamation was to be immediately issued forbidding on pain of death noblemen and gentlemen to stir from their own houses and announcing the convocation of a National Convention. Expresses instantaneously dispatched to England and Ireland were to communicate this great event and to rouse the Republicans of every description to immediate action.

In Ireland steps had been taken to assist a French invasion by debauching the minds of the populace and inveigling the soldiery; but in England no overt acts of treason had been committed, or at least no acts, which juries could be induced to declare treasonable. Of what lawyers style constructive treason many persons, that on this occasion came before a court of justice, were certainly guilty; but, as the acts charged in the indictments did not seem to aim directly at the sovereign's life, to which treason in its most obvious acceptation

ation points, petty juries diſcovering no immediate intention of this crime in the conduct of the culprits, acquitted thoſe, whom, if accuſed of ſedition, they would have condemned. The eſcape of the republican leaders in England through this miſtake in the mode of proſecution, which proceeded from the errour of the interpeters of the law rather than of the miniſters, was the cauſe of much triumph to the minority, who declaimed with violence againſt the tyranny of government, the partiality of grand juries and the injuſtice of the reports made by committees of both houſes aſſerting the reality of conſpiracies againſt the conſtitution.

But, when it appeared that the ancient doctrine of conſtructive treaſon inculcated by the ſages of the law would not in theſe enlightened times be adopted by twelve men on their oaths, indictments for ſedition inſtead of treaſon took place, the remaining culprits were convicted and puniſhed, and thoſe who had hair breadth's-eſcapes were deemed only acquitted felons. In Ireland and Scotland a few ſuffered for treaſon and ſeveral were baniſhed for fourteen years to Botany-Bay for ſedition. Stanhope, Lauderdale, Grey, Sheridan and Fox condemned the ſentences awarded in the North as illegal cruel and vindictive, ſince the puniſhment in England for ſedition extends no farther than fine, impriſonment or the pillory. But, after a minute and laborious diſcuſſion, the ſtrict adherence of the Scotch judges to the law and long eſtabliſhed practice of their country was indiſputably evinced; and the officious interference of the minority in a queſtion, which they either did not or would not underſtand, only redounded to their diſgrace, as upon a diviſion in the Lower Houſe they could only reckon in their fa-

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vour about thirty voices and in the Upper only one, that of Stanhope, the mover of the queſtion.

When the acrimonious diſputes, which the factious ſpirit now prevailing had excited, were a little mollified, the ſtate of the Eaſt-India Company and the renewal of its charter, that had now expired, claimed the attention of the legiſlature. Dundas, preſident and organ of the Board of Controul, delivered in ſubſtance the following ſpeech on this occaſion. "The Company in its preſent ſtate employs eighty one thouſand tons of ſhipping and ſeven thouſand prime ſeamen, imports foreign commodities eſtimated at ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, exports Britiſh goods to the amount of a million ſterling, pays a million in revenue to government; and, if to the value of the imports through their capital you add the imports in conſeqnence of fortunes remitted home by individuals, you will have an aggregate of a million and a half; ſo that, upon the whole, the trade in every ſhape adds ſeven millions to the circulation of the country. Will it be prudent to riſk ſo great a preſent good reſulting from a monopoly for a greater that might poſſibly accrue from an unlimited trade? The Company is the inſtrument through which the ſovereignty and adminiſtration of India are exerciſed under the controul of the legiſlature, which has found the preſent ſyſtem, oppoſite as it may be to political theory, abundantly juſtified by the experience of nine years. The trade, the agriculture, the population and revenue of the country have rapidly increaſed; and it has flouriſhed in peace and in war; ſo that either for government or commerce you have the ſanction of experience for renewing the charter.

Indeed

Indeed under any circumſtances a new experiment would in the firſt inſtance be attended with many diſadvantages. Though the property and revenue of the territoral poſſeſſions unqueſtionably belong to the crown, the claims of the company, if diſcontinued, will be many and various. The value of their factories, forts. and ſtores, and the expence of making new and defending old acquiſitions muſt be aſcertained either at prime-coſt or at the current price in India. Suppoſe it practicable to adjuſt all theſe accounts, will not much precious time be loſt? Will not the trade be greatly interrupted and the final arrangement of our affairs delayed? Now, that we are without a rival in the Eaſt, is the moment for conſolidating our power and rendering our empire firm and permanent. Competitors may again ariſe, and it would be unwiſe to poſtpone till to morrow what may be done to day. All government being founded on opinion, and the Indoos being of all men the moſt attached to inveterate habits, would it not be madneſs by unhinging the preſent ſyſtem to ſhake their confidence in the Company and to riſk the ſtability of treaties with the native princes? Clive, as great in his political arrangements as in his military atchievements, followed the policy of the other Indian powers by accepting the territories as a grant from the Great Mogul, a mere nominal ſovereign; and thus ſecured the prejudices of the people in favour of the Company.

Beſides, were the Company's monopoly annihilated, would not the weight of patronage thus thrown into the executive ſcale overſet the balance of the conſtitution? At preſent the whole ſyſtem is a chain of controul. The ſervants civil and military are checked by the directors, and the directors by the proprietors, and both by the Board

of

of Controul, as the board itſelf is by the legiſlature. Hence watchfulneſs and circumſpection pervade the whole machine. The legiſlature ſeldom interferes with the executive adminiſtration but in extraordinary caſes; but here no malverſation, no peccadillo can eſcape the jealouſy and vigilance of ſo many prying and oppoſite intereſts. The company alone has certainly proved itſelf unequal to the taſk of government, but modified and controuled, as it now is, ſeems from experience to be the beſt engine for that purpoſe. When the court of judicature was inſtituted, many able reports tranſmitted home by the company's ſervants were referred by the miniſter of that day to the moſt ingenious and intelligent men within his reach; but no two could agree about a plan of government for the newly acquired territories. What is the inference deducible from this fact? What he wiſely drew—that we muſt abide by practical experience, and abandon vain ſpeculation.

The Board of Controul, however, as now conſtituted, is too liable to rapid changes; and the commiſſioners, who require much time to become acquainted with ſubjects ſo new, ſo intricate, and ſo extenſive, muſt be more permanent, and not mere birds of paſſage looking to another land of promiſe. Beſides the preſident, it is propoſed that two commiſſioners, not privy-counſellors, and having a ſalary of five-thouſand pounds among the three, ſhould be appointed; and to counterbalance this addition to the influence of the crown, that the appointment of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland ſhould be transferred to the Iriſh government. The conſtitution of the ſupreme council ſhould, in my opinion, remain unaltered; as the miniſter, if he has the direct nomination, may by intereſt and ſolicitation be induced to appoint men

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not eligible even in his own opinion. Having now only the right of recommendation through the crown, he muſt be very cautious, circumſpect, and inquiſitive, with regard to the perſons that he recommends to twenty-four men's approbation.

From hiſtory it is evident that the luxuries of the Eaſt will always be conveyed through ſome channel to the Europeans, and that in no country is the conſumption of them ſo great as in Britain. Before the eſtabliſhment of any great empire in the Weſt, the Phenicians, and then their deſcendants, the Carthaginians, managed this lucrative branch of buſineſs through the channel of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. During the exiſtence of the Greek, Roman, and Saracen empires, the commodities of India reached us by the ſame conveyance; and even in the dark and barbarous ages they forced their way through Tartary by the Oxus and the Caſpian. The trade being thus proved by experience indiſpenſable, ought, as a ſource of commercial and naval greatneſs, to meet with encouragement not only for our own accommodation, but alſo for the ſupply of the continental markets, for it has never been voluntarily reſigned by any nation. Upon the diſcovery of a rout by the Cape of Good-Hope, the Portugueze reluctantly yielded to the Dutch, who with envy ſaw the Engliſh, French, and other Europeans, participate the Eaſtern riches. When, after a violent ſtruggle between the French and Engliſh for ſuperiority in India, the latter finally triumphed and acquired extenſive territories, the trade aſſumed a new form, and became gradually a monopoly in the Company's hands. Other nations, indeed, retained a ſhare of the trade to China till the Commutation-act paſſed; but ſince that period their ſhipping has been reduced from fourteen to

two

two veſſels. What a leſſon to adventurers not to riſk a capital employed in a profitable trade upon a doubtful ſpeculation!

If the public means to realiſe, as it ought, its juſt ſhare of the revenues, how can it be conveyed home but through the medium of trade? Experience has already evinced that the country cannot without diſtreſs be drained of its ſpecie. Were the trade open, would the revenue be ſo ſafely entruſted as a capital to unconnected adventurers, as to a chartered company with immenſe funds under the controul and direction of parliament? Suppoſe the charter annihilated, and the government of twenty millions of people ſeparated from the trade, a direct influx of Europeans and a gradual colonization will enſue. Will not ſuch men, when diſappointed in their golden dreams of wealth, be apt to enter into the ſervice of Tippoo, of the Marattas, or of any other rival power? Will they not, if diſguſted, give us a ſecond edition of the American rebellion? The great object in India is the revenue; for the trade in exports, according to the reports on your table, is rather a loſing concern, and promiſes but little increaſe. The habits and prejudices of the natives, in conjunction with the dearneſs of our manufactures, militate againſt their uſe in India. It is in China alone that an increaſing market opens to our view, and it is our buſineſs to take fortune by the forelock.

Monopolies have been repreſented as odious, and ſo they are when not properly regulated; but a new and diſtant trade can hardly be managed without them. Accordingly the acts, which aboliſhed monopolies granted to individuals, excepted thoſe beſtowed upon companies.

To

To the East-India Company we owe the great and flourishing manufacture of cotton, with a circulation of seven millions a year, while it enjoys upon the whole only a dividend of four hundred thousand pounds. Is there no gratitude, no return due for such advantages? As I have already observed, other nations who attempted an open trade have all failed; and so has our own, once in Cromwell's days, and twice in the days of the wavering and impolitic Stuarts. Why then should we make a fresh experiment? Because, forsooth, the great capital of the company has rendered them inattentive to every object but the territorial revenue, because they import but a trifling quantity of raw materials for the use of the manufacturers, and because they prevent their servants in India from remitting their fortunes home through the channel of trade, and thus enable foreigners to establish a clandestine and injurious trade with a British capital.

In answer to these charges it is observable that government, under the sanction of the legislature, has taken cognizance of the revenue, and obliged the company to attend to its commercial concerns. In consequence, raw materials to the amount of eight hundred thousand pounds are exported; which quantity, if not so great as might be wished, is certainly a great deal. That the fortunes of individuals encourages clandestine trade is the fault of the legislature and not of the company, who is restrained by a statute from accepting bills to a greater amount than three hundred thousand pounds in one year. But all these objections either are or will be soon removed, now that the subject is better understood, and that it appears that foreigners, by means of private fortunes, enjoy nearly the same advantages as the company

does

does in remitting the ſurplus of the revenue as a capital for trade without any intereſt. I propoſe therefore that the Company ſhall be obliged to provide ſhipping at a moderate rate of freight for all Britiſh adventurers and to bring home the fortunes of individuals in raw materials or in any other mode ſettled by the parties. By this plan the publick and private intereſt will be conſulted; without endangering the Company's trade or riſking actual for imaginary good the road will be left open to hardy ſpeculators for experiments to add to our exports and imports, to render London the grand emporium for the diſtribution of Indian commodities to the reſt of Europe, and to pour the riches of the Ganges into the Thames."

After ſome unimportant diſcuſſions, in which Francis declared that the Indoos conſidered the Company as an old woman and had no attachment to the name, the Charter was renewed upon theſe principles for twenty-one years, notwithſtanding the addition which it made to the influence of the crown and to the vaſt patronage already poſſeſſed.

Now let us turn our eyes abroad to the Netherlands, where we ſhall behold a ſtrange varietyof fortune.

Cobourg's firſt manifeſto, in which he had engaged to co-operate with Dumourier in the reſtoration of the French monarchy, and to retain any fortreſſes that might fall into his hands only till the concluſion of the war, having proved ineffectual in conſequence of the total failure of that general's project, a congreſs of the allied miniſters and generals was held at Antwerp to arrange the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign. There it was determined that the fortreſſes on the frontiers of France ſhould be inveſted by the combined armies, and that the maritime powers ſhould beſiege the whole extent of the enemy's coaſt; while the royaliſts in

the heart of the republick ſhould fight their own battles. Cobourg therefore iſſued a ſecond manifeſto revoking the firſt, and breathing the principles of direct hoſtility and offenſive war. By its preceding diſaſters, the French army had been ſo deranged and diſperſed, that the allies found no difficulty in blockading Condé, a ſtrong and inacceſſible fort, that was known to be but ſcantily ſupplied with proviſions, and in extending their line from the head-quarters at Kievrain on the right to St. Amand, and on the left to Bavai, thus threatening Valenciennes and watching Maubeuge.

Dampierre, who ſucceeded Dumourier in the command, attempted from his camp at Famars, on the firſt of May, to relieve Condé with ſtores and proviſions, by attacking all the poſts of Cobourg at once; but though ſuperiour in numbers he was foiled in every direction. Colloredo in the center repulſed and purſued a force double his own into its fortified camp. The ſame fate attended the aſſailants at Bavai, at Onaing, and Raiſines, where they ſuſtained a loſs of two thouſand men, and of much cannon and ammunition. But ſtill confiding in his numbers, and the daily reinforcements arriving from the interiour Dampierre marched on the ſecond, with three formidable columns, againſt the Pruſſian lines at St. Amand, and maintained a long, ſevere, and bloody conteſt, till ſuccours from the Auſtrians under Clairfait obliged him to make a precipitate retreat, after leaving two thouſand men on the field of battle. Eager, however, at any riſk to ſuccour Condé, he ſtill threatened the Pruſſians, who were therefore joined by the Britiſh troops under York.

Early on the eighth, the enemies alarmed the poſts of the allies along the whole line, but con-

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fined the real attack to the Pruſſians, whoſe general Knobelsdorf ordered the Coldſtream battalion of the Britiſh guards to penetrate, in the midſt of a general fire along the front, the wood of St. Amand, where Dampierre had conſtructed ſeveral ſtrong batteries, and poſted at leaſt ten thouſand men, drawn from the garriſon of Liſle. This gallant body of men, regardleſs of number, ruſhed after one diſcharge of muſketry upon their antagoniſts, whoſe battery had been kept in check, by the field-pieces attached to the brigade; but, as they were ready to pierce the enemies with their fixed bayonets, a gun wheeled from the battery opened with grape-ſhot upon their flank, and would have ſoon demoliſhed the whole line, had not their commander, Pennington, with uncommon preſence of mind, ordered the drums to beat "to arms," as a deception to the French, and at the ſame time given private directions for a retreat. Here the wounded ſoldiers diſcovered the ſame ſpirit, which the three brigades had diſplayed on the parade in St. James's park, when thoſe, who were diſpoſed to act as volunteers on the continent under York, being commanded to ſtep out of the ranks, all moved forward as one man. Deſpiſing the pain of wounds, they loaded and fired on their knees, when lamed in the legs; and one in particular continued firing in this poſture, as long as he could draw a trigger, and ſinging, "god ſave the king," till he ſunk down exhauſted by the loſs of blood iſſuing from three wounds in his body. On this occaſion a ſhot from one of the Britiſh long ſix pounders, which were admirably managed, is ſaid to have ſhattered Dampierre's thigh; and with him ended all the offenſive operations of the French in this quarter; for upon diſcovering from their uniform, that the Britiſh troops had joined the Pruſſians, they retired within

their lines, having had four thouſand killed and wounded in the various attacks.

The expected reinforcements of horſe and foot from Britain and Hanover had now augmented York's army to ten thouſand, and the battering train from Vienna was near at hand. Cobourg therefore having no proſpect of additional troops ordered the grand army to be in readineſs on the 22d of May to march at a moment's warning. At midnight the whole camp was in motion, the fires being ſtill kept burning and the pickets and ſentinels crying "all is well" more vociferouſly than uſual to deceive the enemy. This Auſtrian practice, which is condemned by many generals, who think a ſentinel ought to be all eye and to have no tongue, the event of the approaching ſurpriſe of the French ſhows to be, like ſilence, productive of good or evil according to circumſtances, and to the genius of the commander. Having previouſly ordered the prince of Orange, who with the Dutch troops, protected Weſt Flanders, to attack Mouchin, and Clairfait to ſtorm the camp at Mount Anzin, Cobourg divided the forces under his own immediate command into four columns directed by York, Ferrais, Colloredo and Otto. An accidental fog, while it retarded their march, enabled them to approach unobſerved, till the penetrating rays of the ſun diſſipated this ſhroud and preſented to the delighted eye from the heights the moſt ſplendid and magnificent ſight, which can be exhibited by mortal man, moving lines of infantry and cavalry extending beyond the reach of the beholder and reflecting in undulated ſtreams the gliſtening rays of the ſun and preceded by rows of battering artillery, that opened their thundering mouths and made the hills and vallies reecho their peals. The ſcene ſo big with expectation held the mind

mind in a pleaſing but awful ſuſpenſe; and, if Xerxes wept on reflecting that in fifty years hardly a man of his countleſs hoſt would eſcape the common lot of humanity, well might the ſpectator here ſhed tears at the proſpect of a ſpeedy and violent death or of lingering torments to ſo many thouſands of gallant men in a few hours.

Surprize, however, or the difficulty of bringing their numerous forces into action in a narrow ſpace prevented the French this day from making the experiment. Ferraris's column indeed was early in the day attacked; but the Hanoverian life-guards, who protected his flank, having with great ſlaughter routed the French cavalry that attempted to turn his right, enabled him with the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh under Abercromby to force their entrenchments.

York, as his troops had been in motion almoſt all the preceding night and the whole of the day till evening, having all the time had no refreſhment but a little bread and water, judiciouſly ſuſpended the attack under the cover of an eminence and in the night turned their flank. This manœuvre had the deſired effect. The enemies abandoned all their poſts, and left the renowned camp, which they had fortified with ſo much care, and fondly imagined impregnable, in poſſeſſion of the allies. In the morning they were ſeen from the eminences retreating in all directions, ſome to the fortified towns, and ſome to other faſtneſſes. The loſs of the allies, which did not exceed two hundred and fifty men, ſhows the completeneſs of the ſurpriſe.

Clairfait was equally ſucceſsful, though with greater loſs, at Mount Anzin, and the Dutch made themſelves maſters of Mouchin.

Condé and Valenciennes being thus left to their fate, the latter, which Ferrand defended with eleven thouſand men, was inveſted. At the commencement of the ſiege, which was directed with great ſkill by Ferraris and ſuperintended by York, much depredation attended with great inhumanity prevailed. Fine lace, of which great quantities are manufactured in the villages round Valenciennes, was the chief object of plunder. The Auſtrians ſet the example; and in order to check ſo ſhameful and dangerous a practice, a huſſar, who had ſtripped a poor woman, juſt delivered of a child, of her cloaths and even of her bed, was hewn down by his officer with a ſabre and his body allowed to lie rotting on the dunghill before her door. This ſummary act of juſtice checked the growing evil; but did not prevent the contagion from infecting the Britiſh, of whom a ſerjeant belonging to the firſt regiment of guards was drowned in returning acroſs the Ronelle with too large a proportion of the precious commodity wrapped round his body.

Mount Anzin taken by Clairfait overlooks the fortreſs; but extenſive mines forbad an approach in that direction. Ground was therefore broken in a ſoft and clayey ſoil oppoſite to a hornwork; and after the three parrallels had been in the uſual mode conſtructed with great diſpatch, and particularly by the Britiſh guards, who from their habits of working in the coal-barges on the Thames were enabled in a given time to do more work than an equal number of any other ſoldiers, bags of ſand called gabions ſeven feet in height were moved forward by ſappers armed with iron helmets and cuiraſſes to the ſpot, where the countermines were to be excavated. Here theſe men, of whom one had been at the ſiege of Bellegarde and

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Iſmael, filled ſmaller gabions for a parapet; and the works, when ſtored with ſpherical maſſes of iron called globes of compreſſion containing each fifty five hundred weight of powder, were blown up to diſlodge by their exploſion the mines of the place. The laſt report of the countermines being heard, three parties of Britons, Auſtrians and Hanoverians intermingled ſprung forward like tigers on their prey with loud huzzas; but, notwithſtanding their impetuoſity, they cleared the ditch of the covered way only in time to prevent a ſoldier with a lighted match in his hand from blowing up the whole party with the mines to which the action of the globes of compreſſion had not extended. After this deluded wretch had diſcovered upon promiſe of quarter the different ſubterraneous paſſages in the mines, a barbarous Auſtrian pierced him with his ſword. So callous had long continued ſcenes of ſlaughter among Turks and Republicans rendered the hearts of ſome German ſoldiers. A battalion of the ſame troops having ſwum acroſs the ditch into an inſulated work, from which there was no eſcape, diſpatched the whole detachment found there with the bayonet; and indeed no quarter was any where given. An inlet under ground being diſcovered, the hornwork came without reſiſtance into the hands of the aſſailants, who before daybreak made a lodgement defended by gabions and the bodies of ſlain enemies, and conſtructed a redoubt mounted with cannon to batter the counterguard between the hornwork and the body of the place.

The third ſummons now ſent to the governor produced an armiſtice and in twenty four hours a capitulation; though his anſwer to the firſt was that the defence ſhould be worthy of the attack and to the ſecond that Cuſtine would make a reply. Of

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eleven thouſand men only ſix thouſand ſix hundred marched out, and being improvidently allowed to retire on their parole into the inland diſtricts either violated their oaths or ſerved the republick with effect in the weſt or ſouth. The garriſon of Condé had previouſly ſurrendered priſoners of war through famine, and the heavy thirty two pounders on its ramparts were employed on the third parallel for the reduction of Valenciennes. The devaſtation occaſioned by this ſiege was dreadful. The ſuburbs were deſtroyed by the beſieged and the cornfields trodden under foot by the beſiegers; the churches and ſquares, as places of the greateſt reſort, were intentionally demoliſhed by the bombardment; ſmoke and flame aſcended on every ſide in the city as from furnaces; and the caſemates frequently yielded to the weight of bombs and buried the miſerable refugees in the ruins. Thus periſhed a whole convent of nuns. The foul air in theſe muſty vaults bred an epidemick fever, which carried off the inhabitants by hundreds. Not a houſe ſtood undamaged, and full one third of all the buildings lay in aſhes.

The allied arms were at this time equally ſucceſsful on the Rhine; for Mentz in ſpite of Cuſtine's vigorous efforts for its relief, ſurrendered to the king of Pruſſia a few days before the capture of Valenciennes. Unfortunately the ſame terms were granted to both garriſons, and obſerved by the French with the ſame honour. Indeed nothing but Gallick faith was now to be expected even from the French officers. Rude and untutored they aggravated inſtead of alleviating with the humanity of their predeceſſors the horrours of war. A private of the guards having granted quarter to a captain, whom he ſurpriſed in the trenches at Lincelles, in the act of removing the colours

colours of his regiment, aimed a treacherous blow at his preſerver, from whom he had juſt received his ſurrendered ſword, and cut off two of his fingers. The ſufferer, however, had the conſolation of ſeeing the barbarian, as he repeated his blow, immediately pierced by the bayonet of a comrade, who had juſt cleared the parapet. Many ſimilar examples might here be produced, were not the continued recital too diſguſting to ſenſibility.

Some time was injudiciouſly loſt in idle parade after the reduction of Valenciennes, elſe a plan for intercepting the retreat of the republicans from the famous camp of Cæſar near Cambray might have poſſibly ſucceeded. When that ſcheme failed, the allies, inſtead of inveſting Liſle, as all Europe expected and the Auſtrians wiſhed, detached York with ten thouſand Auſtrians, the Britiſh, Heſſian, and Hanoverian troops from the grand army, which formed the ſiege of Queſnoy; and he directed his march for Weſt Flanders, in order to reſtore Dunkirk to the Britiſh empire. The great depredations, to which the Britiſh trade was expoſed from the privateers of that town, were undoubtedly the principal motives that ſwayed the Britiſh miniſter to inſiſt on this expedition. The principle was laudable and the enterpriſe noble: but the means of execution were not adequate to the boldneſs of the deſign. Troops were not in readineſs, as they ought, and as every prudent man expected, to be tranſported as ſuccours to any amount, If the miniſter dreaded the ſpirit of diſaffection excited by the minority among the populace, ſo as to have no confidence in the militia, the attempt ſhould never have been made. After embarking in the enterpriſe, he ſhould have ſelected volunteers from the militia; they would certainly have been forward to ſuccour their

their countrymen in ſuch a critical moment and ſo eſſential a ſervice. He might ſafely have truſted to parliament for an indemnity, and deſpiſed the clamours of faction.

In York's progreſs to the place of his deſtination, the Dutch, who were ſtationed at Menin, and hard preſſed by the republicans, applied to him for ſuccour. The brigade of guards, who led the van, and had juſt ſet the crackling wood under their kettles, reached in an hour the ſcene of action, though diſtant ſix miles, and in approaching the town, and looking for their allies were ſaluted with a briſk fire of grape-ſhot, as they advanced through a field of full-grown beans. Lake, who was at their head, and eaſily comprehended what had happened, judging that a retreat from ſo near an enemy would be more fatal than a bold attack, formed a reſolution worthy of the troops which he commanded. By his direction eleven hundred men ruſhing on with impetuoſity and after one diſcharge of muſketry ſpringing into the redoubts, diſlodged five thouſand with fixed bayonets, from their batteries and entrenchments, and purſued them with ſlaughter, through the village of Lincelles. No action during the whole war performed by infantry was half ſo brilliant; it can only be paralleled by the atchievements of the Britiſh cavalry in the enſuing campaign. The French officers aſhamed of yielding ſo ſtrong a poſition to ſuch inferior numbers, endeavoured to recommence the engagement, but a ſix-pounder opening with grape-ſhot on their flank, checked their ardour. The republicans returned to the charge with as much backwardneſs as the Britons diſplayed in relinquiſhing the purſuit. The creſtfallen Dutch upon receiving orders to reſume their poſt ſlunk from the ſight of the

Engliſh;

Engliſh; but Waldeck, their commander at Menin, after embracing the firſt officer that he met, and extolling the gallantry of the guards, exclaimed "your glory is our ſhame."

After proper arrangements had been made for the defence of the frontiers in the neighbourhood of Liſle, York marched through Ypres with twenty two thouſand men for Dunkirk, and after forcing the French camp at Gyvelde, and ſtorming their entrenchments before the town, encamped on the ground, where the approaches muſt be made, leaving Freytag with a covering army of twelve thouſand Hanoverians and Auſtrians at Hond Schoot, to overawe the garriſon of Bergue and the camp at Mount Caſſel. The lowneſs of the ſituation and inundations made the ſpot, on which the beſiegers lay, ſo ſwampy that a dyſentery and fever ſoon appeared, and in this dilemma the little freſh water, which they procured by digging deep pits, became in a few moments brackiſh and unpalatable. Yet ſtill neither the flotilla of gunboats from England nor the heavy battering ordnance had arrived; ſo that the trenches were defended only by field-pieces and muſketry. When the iron twenty four pounders at laſt appeared, they came ſo ſlowly one by one along the canal of Furnes, that a ſpeedy progreſs was impoſſible. This unexpected and unpardonable delay, which was attributed to the inactivity of Chatham and to the improvidence of Richmond, would have proved very deſtructive to the troops, had not the balls, and eſpecially the bombs, ſunk immediately into a ſandy ſwamp without effect, the fuſes being immediately extinguiſhed by the cloſing moiſture. During theſe tardy operations in which two weeks were conſumed, the republicans under Houchard had

had put in requiſition every ſpecies of vehicle, and collected from all their garriſons in the north, and even from the armies of the Sambre and Meuſe, ſuch an enormous maſs of ſoldiery, that the covering army under Freytag was attacked, and after various repulſes of the enemy, at laſt overpowered by numbers. In the retreat during the night prince Adolphus and Freytag, who were both ſlightly wounded, remained by miſtaking their route for a few moments in the hands of the enemies, but ſoon rejoined their friends through the efforts of Walmoden. The heavy cannonade, which continued the whole day on the fifth of September, ſet the whole camp of the beſiegers in motion, and York on receiving the unwelcome tidings from a meſſenger, ordered the guards to march to Freytag's relief. But the garriſon informed of Houchard's ſucceſs, ſallied out of the town, at two in the afternoon, and rendered a countermarch indiſpenſable. The fire of muſketry continued without intermiſſion till it was nearly dark, when the aſſailants fled, and were purſued with ſuch ſpirit, that, if the allies had not been recalled, they muſt have entered the town with the fugitives, as they reached the creſt of the glacis intermingled. Here it was that the want of the long-expected gunboats was ſeverely felt, as the ſhowers of balls from French gun-boats ſwept off numbers of the allies expoſed in their retreat on the ſtrand to their inceſſant fire. Here fell by a cannon-ball Moncrief, the pride of the Britiſh engineers and artilleriſts, as he made every exertion with the field-pieces of the troops to keep the gun-boats in awe.

On the ſeventh Houchard advancing, made a ſecond attack; but was repulſed in his turn by Walmoden, who now commanded in the place of the

the wounded Freytag: but Houchard being joined by the laſt detachment of the maſs, on the eighth entirely defeated, and in ſome meaſure took or diſperſed the covering army; for the loſs in killed, wounded, and miſſing in the three actions, amounted to 8400 men. This alarming intelligence obliged York to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation. The military cheſt having been put on board a frigate, and the heavy artillery and an immenſe quantity of ammunition abandoned, the army decamped at midnight, and through the impediments of overſet carts and baggage-waggons, had at day-break advanced but eleven miles. The ſlowneſs of this progreſs ſhows that it would have been imprudent to adopt the advice of Congreve, the commander of the artillery, who offered, if the retreat ſhould be delayed for twenty four hours, to remove the ordnance and ſtores. The Convention entertained a different opinion, for at their inſtance the revolutionary tribunal beheaded Houchard for not having, as matters ſtood, driven York and his army into the ſea. So completely had they forgot the black prince and the battles of Crecy and Agincourt, and Lincelles.

The Republicans having made ſuch prodigious effortsimagined that the frontiers of the allies in the Netherlands might eaſily be inundated by their numberleſs hords. Accordingly every poſt from Newport to Maubeuge was attacked; but the veterans of the coaleſced powers, though diminiſhed, were not yet altogether exhauſted by their victories nor by their defeat at Dunkirk, nor by the cowardice of the Dutch, who quitted their ſtations in a panick. At Thorout, Ypres, Menin, Ciſoign and numberleſs other places, where the French attempted to make predatory incurſions, they were repulſed,

and

and confined to their own territories. Sir Charles Grey's ſeaſonable intervention with the troops deſtined for the Weſt-Indies ſaved Newport; and Cobourg after taking Queſnoy and defeating the enemy in various actions ſecured winter-quarters for his army, though he was forced by the incumbent weight of numbers to deſiſt from his ſcheme upon Maubeuge. In a word the campaign in Belgium after York's retreat from Dunkirk degenerated into a war of poſts and furniſhes nothing worthy of the hiſtorian's pen, except the gallantry of particular detachments, which the brevity of this work and their frequency forbid us to record.

On the Rhine the duke of Brunſwick having been attacked at Pirmaſeens by a manœuvre during the engagement ſurrounded three thouſand Republicans and obliged them to lay down their arms. Kalkreuth having cut to pieces the regiment of Sanſculotes, and then puſhing forward to Bitche ſurpriſed a French camp and burnt the tents and baggage. Wurmſer in the ſame quarter forced after a conteſt of fourteen hours the ſtrong lines of Weiſſenburg killing or taking four thouſand men; and ſtill advancing reduced Haguenau and Fort Louis, and forced the enemy to take ſhelter under the cannon of Straſburg. In all theſe operations much blood was ſhed, and many thouſands were made captives.

But here the tide of ſucceſs turned, and in its reflux overwhelmed even the Pruſſians. The Republicans had towards the end of November aſſembled in ſuch multitudinous hords that, as they could always outflank their antagoniſts or advance an army towards their rear, and ſtill keep ſeveral reſerves behind the lines directly facing the Germans, the latter were forced, except in peculiar ſitua-

ſituations, to retreat without a ſerious conteſt. The plan for gaining poſſeſſion of Straſburg by the aſſiſtance of the diſaffected citizens having failed, Wurmſer was in this manner compelled to retire towards Haguenau, and the duke of Brunſwick to Lautern, where he repulſed the Republicans with great loſs in a poſt impregnable but in front. This advantage, however, proved of little avail; for the French armies of the Rhine and Moſelle under Pichegru and Hoche, the latter once a poſtilion and the former a ſerjeant of artillery, having in conjunction attacked Wurmſer at Haguenau were after repeated repulſes and aſſaults enabled by their immenſe ſuperiority to carry all the lines and redoubts. Two other engagements in ſimilar ſituations and equally bloody to the victorious French obliged the imperial veteran to croſs the Rhine. The Pruſſians now alone could not cover the army that beſieged Landau. Hohenlohe therefore raiſed the ſiege; and Frederick William's forces filed off for their winter quarters in Mentz and its neigbourhood.

From the complaints prevailing among the commercial towns in Britain, ſince the commencement of the preſent war, it is eaſy to judge of the diſcontents, which the ſame event muſt have occaſioned in France. In the Britiſh iſles a partial ſtagnation of trade, or rather a diverſion of it into new channels, produced in all manufacturing towns low murmurs, and in ſome loud clamours. If this was the caſe in a country, where commerce flouriſhed beyond the example of any former period, what muſt have been the outcries in a kingdom, where no trade but the ever loſing trade of privateering any longer exiſted?

Lyons,

Lyons, the richeſt city in France after Paris, and ſupported by the manufacture of ſilk, ſoon perceived the ruin of its greatneſs in the extinction of royalty and nobility, the two great conſumers of its manufactures, and was therefore upon the death of Louis ready for inſurrection. Marſeilles foreſeeing the annihilation of its trade to the Levant in the approach of a Britiſh ſquadron to the Mediterranean, endeavoured to conſult its own ſafety, by joining the Lyoneſe; and the Toulonеſe for ſimilar reaſons concurred in the ſame meaſure. Nor was Bourdeaux, that knew the plans adopted by Britain for the reduction of the French iſlands in the Weſt Indies, on which its wealth depended, an enemy to the Confederacy.

The Britiſh cabinet being no ſtrangers to theſe circumſtances diſpatched a fleet early in the ſpring to the Mediterranean, where the French after long inſulting every coaſt, and every court had at laſt attempted an invaſion of Sardinia. But in a deſcent made in the vicinity of Cagliari, the capital, with five thouſand men, they were obliged to retire with the loſs of five hundred volunteers, and of ſome ſhips, that red hot-balls had ſet on fire. When Lord Hood with twenty ſhips of the line appeared off the French coaſt, the three-coloured flag was diſplayed only in the harbour of Toulon. Thus aſſaulted on every ſide, deprived of the Auſtrian Netherlands, defeated at Famars, and threatened with the loſs of the ſtrong fortreſſes on their frontiers the Pariſian republicans, whoſe minds had been ſo much elevated by former ſucceſſes, were now filled with rage and vexation, and, as generally happens in unexpected reverſes of fortune, gave vent to their paſſions in mutual accuſation and vengeance.

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In every government the executive power, which on account of its emoluments is the envied object of every aſpiring mind, is readily ſuſpected by the populace, and eaſily decried by the expectants of office. But while ſucceſs attended the arms of the Convention, no opportunity occurred for practiſing this manœuvre againſt its leaders. Theſe leaders were certain literary men, whom political publications had at this turbulent period raiſed to the diſtinction of legiſlators, and who employed as ſubordinate miniſters a few individuals, that had acted as clerks under the regal government. Of theſe Briſſot, Lauderdale's friend, is the beſt known, and from him they were by their adverſaries denominated the Briſſotin faction. At the head of the oppoſite faction ſtood Robeſpierre and Marat, the former a ſtern, unrelenting, and ferocious tyrant, and the latter a furious incendiary not unjuſtly ſuſpected of inſanity. In ſpite of the galleries, which were filled with the emiſſaries of the Jacobins, the Briſſotins predominated in the Convention; but the Robeſpierians being the moſt likely to indulge the Pariſian populace with their favourite amuſements, blood and plunder, gained a complete aſcendency in the city. The Jacobins ſenſible of this ſuperiority and impatient to exerciſe upon the Convention the power, which they had exerted over the legiſlative aſſembly, brought the populace into action, ſince the Robeſpierians had been repeatedly outvoted by their opponents in the Convention, where ſwords had been drawn and tumult after tumult had occurred. Previouſly to theſe diſgraceful ſcenes, the Convention had ordered the publick accuſer to try the ſeditious Marat

before the Revolutionary Tribunal, a court inſtituted for the trial of all crimes affecting the ſtate; but he had been acquitted through the terrors of the populace. Upon his liberation he became more audacious; and the Briſſotins, conſcious of their weakneſs in Paris, propoſed the convocation of a new Convention. But this plan being overruled as too dangerous at ſuch a critical juncture, a commiſſion of twelve was appointed for inſpecting the reſolutions of the commonalty of Paris, which was accuſed of a deſign to diſſolve or to garble the Convention.

So feeble a meaſure in ſo perilous a ſituation exaſperated without intimidating the Jacobins, who began to talk at the meetings of the ſections of freſh maſſacres and of Septembriſing. The battalions intended for cruſhing the inſurrection of the Royaliſts in the Weſt returned; ſome ſections declared themſelves in a ſtate of inſurrection; the alarm bell ſounded, the barriers were ſhut, and the guards ordered to ſtop the members of the Convention; thouſands upon thouſands of armed *Sanſculotes* crowded towards the national hall, and the ſquares ſeemed like the waves of the ſea agitated by contending winds; a hundred cannons, pointed at the different avenues ſurrounded the legiſlature, and grates were employed in preparing red-hot balls. The reſult of all this formidable apparatus was the abolition of the committee of twelve, the reſtoration of the commonalty to all its ſuperſeded functions, and a decree for the arreſt of thirty-ſeven obnoxious deputies. Henriot, the commander of the Pariſian guards, having drawn his ſword, ranged his cavalry, pointed his guns, and ordered his troop to fire, if the preſident, who endeavoured to preſs through the crowd and eſcape,

eſcape, did not return with the Convention at his heels and agree to the Pariſian requiſitions.

Thus Robeſpiere, ſeconded by the Jacobins, became dictator of France; for Marat, who alone could be his rival, fell a victim to the indignation of a young heroine, provoked by his endleſs villanies and atrocities to this act of tyrannicide. For, as the enthuſiaſm of liberty procured to Dumourier the aſſiſtance and warm comfort of two female warriors, ſo the ſpirit of loyalty prompted Charlotte Cordé to rid her country of a monſter. Under the pretence of communicating important intelligence concerning the conſpiracy at Caen, her native city, ſhe gained admittance; and as he, in talking of Barbaroux, a deputy who had fled thither, pronounced him a traitor, ſhe fired at the word ſtabbed him in the breaſt, and walked calmly off. When arreſted and threatened with vengeance ſhe replied by a contemptuous ſmile, and ſuffered with the firmneſs of a Portia.

The principal charges urged by the Jacobins againſt the Briſſotins were delay in eſtabliſhing a new conſtitution, and want of vigour in recruiting the armies. The new leaders therefore immediately produced a conſtitution; but, as it laſted hardly a twelvemonth, it is for that and for other reaſons unworthy of notice; deſpotiſm and terror, which are inconſiſtent with any conſtitution, having ſoon become the order of the day. The preceding rulers imagined that no want of vigour could be juſtly imputed to them, as they had, by levying ſix hundred thouſand men for eleven armies, exceeded the exertions of Louis the XIVth, in all his glory, by two hundred thouſand. But their ſucceſſors, who never computed the expence of armaments, or meaſured the ſtrength of the republick by its finances, but by the ſwarms

of locuſts which it could pour out upon the green fields of its neighbours, ordered a freſh levy of four hundred thouſand men, of which fifty thouſand were to be cavalry, raiſing in this manner the whole force to one million twenty two thouſand. Nor was this merely an army upon paper; for various ſtrong meaſures, ſuch as revolutionary armies, revolutionary committees, domiciliary viſits, the ſeizure of all ſilver and gold diſcoverable in the republick, the coinage of all plate ſacred or profane, the fuſion of church-bells into cannon, the requiſition of all property indiſcriminately for the uſe of the ſtate, and a decree ordering the people to riſe in a maſs, were adopted to render it effective.

Enormous as the armies thus raiſed were, they did not ſeem unneceſſary to meet the various exigencies of the ſervices; as, in addition to antecedent preſſures, the deputies, who had eſcaped the Robeſpierian proſcription, inflamed the diſcontents of the maritime and commercial cities, and kindled an open rebellion. The peaſants of Poitou and Brittany influenced by religious motives, and inſtigated by the prieſts, had been long in motion, and under the denomination of the royal and Catholick army had frequently defeated the republicans. Now the infection aided by the ſchiſm in the convention had ſpread to Normandy, and effected an immediate exploſion in Marſeilles, Lyons, and Toulon. The Marſeilleſe always haſty and impatient, like their Greek anceſtors, publiſhed a manifeſto expreſſive of their reſolution to ſave the republick or to periſh under its ruins, as its integrity was violated by the impriſonment or exile of its mandatories. Lyons ſlower in its declarations, but more deliberate and therefore more powerful in the execution of its plans, temporiſed

poriſed till all hopes of an union of force vaniſhed and till it was too late to recede. Toulon ſubmitted to the Engliſh fleet upon condition that it ſhould revert to the French monarchy under the conſtitution eſtabliſhed in 1789, of which the reſtoration was ſtipulated. But the ſucceſs of the whole ſyſtem was marred by the precipitation of the Marſeilleſe, who being compoſed of nobles and rich merchants, and theſe few in number, were ſoon overpowered by the hardy and daring adventurers, whom the ſweets of paſt depredations impelled to freſh plunder and confiſcation. The Lyoneſe proved more obſtinate, but being neither duly provided with arms, nor properly trained, and ſtill leſs ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life, they were after a ſiege of two months obliged to capitulate. Many lives were loſt on both ſides in various actions; a great part of the city was reduced to aſhes by an inceſſant bombardment, and the victors ſatiated their rage by the moſt wanton barbarities. The miſerable victims, after a ſummary condemnation by a revolutionary tribunal, were drowned by hundreds in the Rhone, or ſhot by thouſands in the ſquares. Even Lyons, as an accurſed ſound, was changed to the name of Ville Affranchie. The French, if they imitated the Romans in nothing elſe, certainly imitated them in making a civil more bloody and more diſgraceful to humanity than a foreign war.

The inſurrection in Normandy produced no memorable event, and terminated rather like a riotous tumult than a civil war. As a ſwarm of bees ſettles, when beſprinkled with a little ſhower of duſt, ſo Wimpfen, the redoubted defender of Thionville, ſaw his legion of Normans compoſed by a few ſoothing words without waiting for a ſhower of bullets. Indeed in all the civil com-

motions hitherto mentioned, the populace, a claſs every where moſt numerous, having no intereſt in perſeverance, and being ſwayed neither by their paſſions nor prejudices, were eaſily perſuaded to abandon the wealthy, who are in all places the objects of envy and plunder to the poor. In Vendee, where the body of the people are actuated in their oppoſition to the republic by religion, a motive paramount to every conſideration in minds thoroughly convinced of a future ſtate, the republic, after the ſacrifice of 600,000 lives, can hardly be ſaid to have triumphed.

The proſcribed deputies, who eſcaped the hands of the predominant faction, ſought refuge among the revolted departments, and afforded their enemies a pretext for ſtigmatizing them all as the authors of a civil war, though in fact Paris was, by aſſuming a dictatorial authority over the Convention, and therefore over all the departments, the primordial cauſe of all the commotions. In the progreſs of the war moſt of theſe refugees were apprehended, but their trials did not take place till, upon the extinction of the party, retaliation became impoſſible. Then not a man was ſpared; for Robeſpiere had not a heart for melting pity. Tyranny ſtalked forth in all her terrors, and hewed down under the trenchant axe of the guillotine republicans and royaliſts, aſtronomers and philoſophers, Deiſts and Atheiſts, apoſtates and bigots, without diſtinction. Thus fell Briſſot and the infamous Orleans, Bailli and Condorcet, Rabaut and Dupont, Fauchet and Gregoire, with an endleſs catalogue of obſcurer names. Mirabeau's body was declared unworthy of the Pantheon and removed. Nay upſtart generals ſuffered indiſcriminately with veteran marſhals. Houchard and Luckner were dragged to the ſcaffold, and

and Cuſtine ſhared the ſame fate; for, when the republican arms proved upon any occaſion unſucceſsful, no blame attached to the Convention or to fortune, or to French cowardice. A cry of treachery in the generals of the armies, and of corruption in the commandants of the fortreſſes immediately commenced, and they periſhed to appeaſe the popular rage; ſince the republicans, when properly commanded, muſt ever be invincible. Hence the flight of Dumourier upon the loſs of the Netherlands; the decapitation of Cuſtine on the capture of Valenciennes, and the charges againſt the commandants of Mentz, and of other ſtrong places; for, though many ſuffered, no evidence of guilt can be traced.

Wherever non-juring prieſts could be found, they ſuffered without inquiry, without diſtinction, and without pity. One picture drawn by a ſpectator will ſuffice for all. A hundred and twenty of theſe proſcribed men, who had been promiſed their liberty in two days by Manuel, were ſurprized at the ſight of labourers employed in digging large pits. Hearing at the end of a few days the report of guns and the ſhouts of men, they ſaw at laſt an enſign of the national guards, with ſome commiſſioners of the ſection and a troop of Marſeilleſe ruſh into the garden in which they were diſperſed. As they crowded under the wall of a church, which they would not enter leſt it ſhould be polluted with blood, the chief of the aſſaſſins ſeeing one of them ſhot, and thinking ſo quick a death too eaſy, cried out, "no ſhooting." Upon the immediate advance of pikes, axes, and poniards, the prieſts encircled the archbiſhop of Arles, whoſe name was called. The venerable and grey-haired prelate, after kneeling and receiving abſolution, declared that, if his blood would

appeaſe the fury of the murderers, it was his duty to ſave the lives of a multitude at the expence of his own. Moving forward accordingly with his arms croſſed upon his breaſt and with his eyes directed towards heaven he ſaid "I am he whom you demand." His noble and dignified aſpect awed the bloody ruffians into inactivity for ten minutes. At laſt upbraiding their own weakneſs they advanced; but ſhrunk back again abaſhed from his look. At length a miſcreant ſtruck off his cap with a pike; and reſpect being thus violated and their fury gradually kindled, a ſabre from behind laid open his ſcull. His right hand, which he raiſed towards the wound as far as his eye, was then cut off and fell to the ground. The unfortunate victim crying out "O my God" lifted up the left, and receiving from another ſabre a gaſh in the face ſunk on the earth in a ſitting poſture, when a fourth ſabre laid him proſtrate and lifeleſs. Thus fell one of the moſt amiable and benevolent of Frenchmen, whoſe only crime was the relief, which he afforded from his private fortune to the neceſſitous clergy of his dioceſe. The remainder of the hundred and twenty being forced into the church came out two by two after being abſolved by the biſhops of Xaintes and Beauvais at the altar, and for not ſwearing to maintain a conſtitution, which their murderers had deſtroyed, were ſtabbed without mercy and added to the heaps of dead bodies lying before their eyes.

When, beſides this ſummary maſſacre the guillotine had been drenched with the blood of many inferiour victims and the inſatiable fury of the Pariſian mob ſeemed upon the ſurrender of Mentz and Valenciennes to require more precious lives, the Jacobin leaders to ſoothe their vexation and to divert their violence from the Convention began

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at the requeſt of petitioners under their own direction the trial of the queen. After arraigning Pitt and the Britiſh governmet at the bar of all nations and even before the Engliſh people as the enemies of outraged humanity by employing for hire, murder, poiſon, fire and every crime to make tyranny triumph and to annihilate the rights of man, they decreed with the ſame ſpirit of canine madneſs that the tombs and mauſoleums of the French kings ſhould be all deſtroyed, that individuals of the Capetine family under the ſword of the law ſhould, if not condemned, be after trial baniſhed from the territories of the Republick, that the expenſe of the two children of Louis Capet ſhould be reduced to what is neceſſary for the maintenance of two perſons, and that the widow Marie Antoinette ſhould be inſtantly removed to the Conciergerie, a priſon appropriated in general excluſively to felons.

The queen being at midnight informed of the Convention's decree by two municipal officers aſked "muſt I then riſe," and being anſwered in the affirmative begged of them to withdraw, till ſhe dreſſed. Upon their return ſhe was ſearched and ſtripped by theſe genuine officers of juſtice of twenty five borrowed louis and of her pocket book. After much altercation and a thouſand entreaties to be permitted to retain the pocket-book or to have an inventory of its contents taken ſhe recogniſed in the face of one of theſe myrmidons a man employed the preceding year in carrying off the marchioneſs of Lamball, and ſaid, "Sir, the ſeparation, which you anounced to me a twelvemonth ago, was very painful, but I find this not leſs melancholy. Will you allow me to take with me a change of bed linen? I would wiſh not to be left in foul linen, as happened to me laſt year

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in the convent of the Feuillans," Being allowed an interview with madam Elizabeth and her daughter ſhe preſerved in the trying ſcene the moſt unſhaken fortitude, and ſaid to the latter "my dear daughter, you know your religion; from it you ought to ſeek conſolation in every diſtreſs." Elizabeth almoſt deprived of her ſenſes entered the room with tears in her eyes and deſpair in her face and locking the queen faſt in her arms ſobbing ſaid "we muſt then part for ever." Sorrow ſwelled up their hearts ſo high they could not utter more." The queen deſiring to ſee her ſon was told that "her ſon was innocent and he ſhould not be hurt." Then dreſſed in white lawn ſtriped with black and encircled by a black girdle ſhe took the parcel of linen under her arm, walked down the ſtairs of the temple, and when offered the hand of the officer to ſtep into the hackney-coach that waited for her in the court, gently puſhed back his hand, ſaying "that ſhe wanted no aſſiſtance." In proceeding to the priſon ſhe was conducted through a narrow and dark paſſage truely infernal; for, inſtead of one, two maſtiffs by whom ſhe thought ſhe was to be devoured, threw her by their Cerberean barking into convulſions, which, after ſhe had been carried in the arms of the officers to priſon, laſted without hopes for an hour and with intervals of reſpite till the morning. The cell, in which ſhe was immured, is half under ground, and only eight feet ſquare. Her couch conſiſted of a hard ſtraw-bed and very thin coverings, her diet being ſoup and boiled meat. Hence it is no wonder that the perſonal graces deſerted her countenance and that ſhe was the picture of diſtreſs and declining life. Having been confined ten weeks in this loathſome dungeon, while her perſecutors ſearched for evidence againſt

againſt her, ſhe appeared at laſt before the revolutionary tribunal, and was charged with diſſipating the publick revenue, with ſending to her brother Joſeph two hundred millions as a relief in his war againſt the Turks, with holding a correſpondence with foreign powers and inviting them to attack France, with cauſing a famine and kindling up a civil war in the realm and with an inceſtuous commerce with her own ſon, a child only eight years old.

To the laſt charge the queen replied "I appeal to common ſenſe, and ſtill more to the heart of every mother, whether ſuch a crime is poſſible." As Simon, formerly a ſhoe-maker, was now her ſon's inſtructor, he might have procured infamous women to perſonate the queen and Elizabeth in the night, and thus laid the foundation of the tale, which the child was ſaid to have told. But, as the child was never produced in court, it is more probable that the whole ſtory is a fabrication. Indeed all the evidence in every one of the charges was mere hearſay; not a ſingle poſitive fact contained in the indictment was proved, according to her own obſervation at quitting the bar, when ſhe affirmed that, as the wife of Louis, ſhe held herſelf bound to conform to his will. Two orders to Septeuil in her hand writing for the payment of ſixty or eighty thouſand livres were ſaid to be in a certain office, but did not appear, becauſe the characters would have proved their falſity much more ſtrongly than the affidavit made by that gentleman before the Lord Mayor of London. That France by the queen's perſuaſion furniſhed the Emperor Joſeph with two hundred millions is too abſurd to obtain credit for a moment, when it is conſidered that the expenditure of France at that time exceeded the revenue by nine millions ſterling,

ling, and that the whole evidence is the hearſay of a goſſiping menial to count Coigny, who being no miniſter had no acceſs to the ſecrets of the cabinet, and that Joſeph had not half ſo much occaſion for pecuniary aſſiſtance as France. No letter, no expreſſion, no witneſs could be produced to ſubſtantiate the charge; which made her the firebrand of the civil war. That ſhe could not be convicted of writing or of ſpeaking in favour of the inſurgents is not ſurpriſing; as ſhe remained the whole time a priſoner deſtitute of pen, ink and paper and of all converſation, except with the municipal officers, whom ſhe might juſtly ſuſpect of treachery. But it is ſurpriſing that every article was not fully proved againſt her by clouds of witneſſes, when one depoſed that Louis confined her a whole fortnight to her own room for concealing under her garments two piſtols for the expreſs purpoſe of aſſaſſinating the duke of Orleans, and another ſwore that ſhe bribed three cut-throats to diſpatch himſelf, a diſbanded corporal. As falſe evidence might be ſo eaſily procured, the total deficiency of every ſemblance of proof throughout the whole trial is a difficulty, which can be ſolved only by ſuppoſing that the Convention thought the appearance of juſtice beneath its notice, its ſole object being ſatisfaction to the vindictive ſpirit of Frenchmen. The jury which ſeemed to have been a packed body of Jacobins interfered ſeveral times to the queen's diſadvantage by talking of maſſacres and *liberticide* factions, and by endeavouring, when any teſtimony was in her favour, to convict the deponent of a lie by a direct contradiction. The preſident too inſtead of ſumming up the evidence on both ſides with impartiality, like a conſcientious judge, acted the part of a virulent accuſer, reminding the jurors "that the maſſacres at Nancy

Nancy and in the Field of Mars, the ſlaughter on the frontiers, in Vendee, at Marſeilles, at Lyons and Toulon proceeded from the infernal machinations of this modern Medicis; that ſhe was the moving principle of thoſe cruelties and barbarities, which deprived ſo many fathers, mothers, wives and infants of every thing that was dear in life, and of which the deprivation rendered life inſupportable, and that all the evils, which now afflicted their country, were concluſive evidence for the condemnation of this rebel againſt the ſovereignty of the people."

After this addreſs and much more in the ſame ſtrain from ſuch a judge to ſuch a jury the reader needs not be told that the queen was immediately declared guilty of all the charges, and condemned to confiſcation of goods and to the loſs of her head at the Place of the Revolution.

Upon hearing the ſentence read ſhe did not diſcover the leaſt emotion or alteration of countenance, but preſerved the ſame calmneſs and equanimity, which had appeared in her behaviour during the whole trial. Having long anticipated her fate ſhe met it with reſignation, but with ſpirit. At the commencement of her examination ſhe plied the bars of the chair, againſt which ſhe ſtood, with her fingers, as if ſhe were playing on the forte piano, and though not in the leaſt aſſiſted by the two barriſters, whom the court had aſſigned her as counſel, nor previouſly acquainted with the witneſſes nor interrogatories, confounded her enemies by her quickneſs, penetration and preſence of mind. The native ſimplicity and firm tone of her anſwers could not but impreſs every unprejudiced beholder with a lively conviction of the injuſtice, which was done her. Having left the hall without deigning to utter a word to the court or

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the people ſhe was reconducted to the priſon and lodged in the hole of condemned felons. Towards twelve next day ſhe was dragged from her cell dreſſed in a white deſhabille and wearing a very ſmall white cap on her head, which was ſhorn of its honours behind. With her hands tied at her back and her face turned from the horſe, like a common and infamous malefactor, ſhe moved backwards on the ſledge having on her right the grim executioner and on her left a ſhabby conſtitutional prieſt, with whom ſhe was thought to exchange ſome words. Calm and reſigned ſhe appeared inſenſible to the ſhouts of the innumerable rabble exclaiming "long live the republick, down with tyranny" as well as to the formidable array of thirty thouſand horſe and foot fronted by long tiers of artillery, through which ſhe paſſed to the ſcaffold. Having with ſome haſte and ſeeming impatience mounted the fatal ſteps ſhe directed her eyes with much emotion to the garden of the Tuilleries, the ſcene of her former greatneſs, and in a few moments was made a headleſs trunk by the newly invented inſtrument of dearh. The executioner inſtantly caught up the head ſtreaming with blood and exhibiting locks as white as ſnow; ſo much had age been precipitated by misfortune aud cruelty.

Thus periſhed in the thirty eighth year of her age Maria Antonietta, queen of France and the offspring of the Cæſars, guilty undoubtedly of indiſcretion, like other mortals, but of no crime. The levity and inexperience of youth expoſed her in a licentious court and an abandoned capital to the viperous tooth of ſlander, but the ordeal of adverſity retrieved her character; as nothing but a real attachment to her huſband and a nice ſenſe of decorum incapable of diſhonour could have

have prevented her flight from an unprincipled and ungrateful nation unworthy of ſuch majeſty, ſuch goodneſs, ſuch dazzling beauty and ſeductive graces.

The next ſubject, that employed the labours of the Convention, was the alteration of the Calendar, as a preparatory ſtep to the extinction of Chriſtianity; for by the abolition of tithes, which the clergy are apt to conſider as its moſt eſſential part, it had as yet been but partially undermined. The year retained its diviſion into twelve months, but with barbarous names half Latin, half Greek; and to complete the year five ſupplementary days were added to the twelve months conſiſting each of thirty days. After the five ſupplementary days an intercalary day is every fourth year to be introduced and to be called the day of the Revolution, which muſt be celebrated by civic games in honour of that event. The whole ſpace of four years is named an Olympiad and the laſt the Olympick year.

The principal object of this machinery was to pave the way for the diviſion of each month into three decads and to fix the day of reſt on the tenth inſtead of the ſeventh, that all reverence for the inſtitutions contained in the ſacred volume might gradually decay. This change offered no great violence to religious opinion in France; for the ſeventh had long been its day for amuſements, plays, cards and dances. Yet ſtill the freethinkers, who now ruled this volatile and inconſtant people, thought that leſs would be loſt to the ſum of national labour in the year, if it was the general perſuaſion that the ſabbath originated in prieſtcraft and avarice, and that to preſerve the fruits of the earth from periſhing is on any day a holy duty. Accordingly after this prelude the conſtituted authorities

thorities of Paris came in the courſe of a week with the biſhop and clergy covered with the caps of liberty to the Convention to finiſh the entertainment by ſeeing them renounce the character of prieſts and their appointments as paſtors. Theſe apoſtates from error and converts to reaſon, as they were called, declared "that the neceſſity of complying with the prejudices of the people in order to teach them the moral virtues and ſocial duties had alone cauſed their acceptance of the ſacerdotal functions; that now abjuring the trade of ſuperſtition they were reſolved inſtead of Chriſtians to become men, to own no temple but the ſanctuary of the law, no divinity but liberty, no object of worſhip but their country, no goſpel but the conſtitution."

Theſe and numberleſs other declarations of a ſimilar complexion ſent from various parts were diſpatched to all the departments and municipalities to perfect the more ſpeedily the work of the revolution, and the day of this event was mentioned in the calendar as The Day of Reaſon. The Sanculotes of the various departments, when informed of theſe proceedings, crowded to the churches and private houſes and collected cart-loads of ſilver and gold. of which they ſent part to the Convention and kept part for their own uſe. Silver ſhrines adorned with jewels dedicated to the bleſſed virgin, coloſſal figures of ſilver martyrs, precious crucifixes and croſſes, golden ſuns and golden crowns ſurmounted with the cap of liberty were poured, as voluntary donations from the eccleſiaſticks, into the lap of the republick. Where the revolutionary ſpirit was not active, the commiſſioners of the Convention ſtripped the churches of the wealth which, they ſaid, promoted the luxury of the prieſts and the deluſion of the people. The idols

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of ſtone, ſaid Couthon, were broken and thoſe of wood burnt, and the people were taught to believe that the moſt precious altar, that can be raiſed to the divinity, is the heart of a virtuous Republican. We could have brought you, ſaid he, to the Convention, three waggons loaded with brevets of quackery, formerly called letters of prieſthood, but we thought it preferable to make them the materials of an act of faith. I could have preſented you many millions ariſing from the plate of the churches; but I took charge only of ſome croſſes of St. Louis, a holy mute of the Pope's, and a ſmall relique that wrought great miracles. This holy relique ſaid to contain part of Jeſus Chriſt's blood made the lame walk, the deaf hear, the blind ſee, barren women pregnant under the cuſtody of a young athletick prieſt, and withered any profane hand by which it was touched. This precious piece of mummery I ordered to be put into my hand, which it neither withered nor cured of the palſy, with which I have been long afflicted. This invaluable blood, which enriched a whole community, was found, when analyſed by a ſkilful chymiſt, to be nothing but the gum of turpentine diluted with ſpirits of wine. This victory in the department of Puydedome over fanaticiſm needs not aſtoniſh you, ſince the biſhop of Paris before the reſignation of his functions has, like another Mahomet or Unitarian hereſiarch, hewed down the effigy of the mother of God and violated every ſainted relique with his own ſacerdotal hands, as inſtruments of ſuperſtition and idolatry. At Abbeville and other places the churches have been ſhut and thoſe black animals called prieſts, if caught celebrating feſtivals on Sundays, or ſaying prayers, veſpers or maſſes have been arreſted and thruſt into dungeons; and the biſhop of Moulins

inſtead of a croſs and mitre has officiated with a pike and cap of liberty, after having in order to comfort, not frighten the dying, inſcribed over the gate of the burying ground "death is but an eternal ſleep."

Robeſpiere foreſaw that this ſacrilege, of which he eagerly graſped the fruits, would offend the conſcience of the multitude, who, though deſtitute of morals, the beſt part of religion, had ſuperſtition enough to be habitually fond of ſeeing a prieſt ſwallow a God of wafer and of his own creation, and therefore with the fury of convulſions in his face, with the ſcowl of conſcious guilt in his eyes; and arrogance in the tone of his voice delivered from the Conventional roſtrum the following harangue, which we give as a ſpecimen of his abuſive and rancorous eloquence.

"It becomes the National Convention to anſwer the manifeſtoes of the tyrants leagued againſt France. To deſpiſe them indeed is natural; but it is uſeful to confound and juſt to puniſh them. What a ſtrange phenomenon is a manifeſto from deſpotiſm againſt liberty? How dare they to appeal to men as arbiters between them and us? How is it poſſible that they ſhould not fear leſt the ſubject of the quarrel ſhould awaken the remembrance of their vices and accelerate their perdition?

"But of what do they accuſe us? Of their own crimes. They charge us with rebellion. Slaves revolted againſt the ſovereignty of the people, can you poſſibly be ignorant that nothing but victory can juſtify this imputation? Behold the ſcaffold of the laſt of our tyrants; behold the whole French nation in arms to puniſh his equals. This is our anſwer.

"Kings

"Kings accuſe the French people of immorality. Liſten, ye nations, attentively liſten to the leſſons of theſe reſpectable inſtructors of mankind. The morals of kings, good God! and the virtues of courtiers! Celebrate, ye nations, the good nature of Tiberius and the candour of Louis XVI; admire the prudence of Claudius and the hypocriſy of George; praiſe the temperance and juſtice of William and Leopold; exalt the chaſtity of Meſſalina, and the conjugal fidelity and modeſty of Catharine; extol the invincible averſion of all former, preſent and future deſpots from uſurpation and tyranny, their tender ſolicitude for oppreſſed innocence, and their religious reſpect for the rights of man.

"They accuſe us of irreligion; they alledge that we have declared war againſt God himſelf. How edifying is the piety of tyrants! Who is the God of whom they talk? Do they know any God but pride, debauchery and every ſpecies of vices? They call themſelves the images of God, perhaps to make all the world deſert his altars. They aſſert that their authority is his work. No; God created tigers, and kings are the maſter-pieces of human corruption. They talk of God but to occupy his place, and yet refer to him the prayers of the poor and the groans of the wretched; and are themſelves the gods of the rich, but the oppreſſors and aſſaſſins of the people. To revere God then and to puniſh kings is the ſame thing. What people ever offered ſo pure a worſhip to the Supreme Being as the French? Under his auſpices we have proclaimed the eternal principles of all human ſociety. The death-warrant of tyrants ſlumbered forgotten in the enervated and timorous minds of men; but we have put it into execu-

tion. The world was the excluſive property of two or three races of tyrants, as the deſolate wilds of Africa are the domains of tigers and ſerpents; but we have reſtored it to men. The laws of eternal juſtice were out of contempt ſtyled the laws of good ſort of people: we have given them a real and beneficial exiſtence. Morals were confined to the writings of philoſophers; by them we have ennobled the government of nations; if you are not able to avail yourſelves of the claims which we have conquered for you, at leaſt do not violate our rights, nor calumniate our courage. The French are not infected with the madneſs of rendering other nations free and happy againſt their own will. All the tyrants might have nodded and died on their blood-cemented thrones, had they choſen to reſpect the independence of the French people. We only wiſh to enlighten you with reſpect to their impudent calumnies.

"Your maſters tell you that the French have renounced all ſorts of religion, and for the adoration of God, have ſubſtituted that of certain individuals, repreſenting us as a mad and idolatrous race. They lie. The French people and their repreſentatives reſpect all ſorts of religious worſhip, and proſcribe none; they revere the virtues of the martyrs of humanity without idolatry; they abhor intolerance and perſecution, whatever cloak they may aſſume; they equally condemn the wild extravagancies of philoſophy, the follies of ſuperſtition, and the crimes of fanaticiſm.

"Your tyrants impute to us ſome irregularities inſeparable from the ſtormy periods of a great revolution. They lay at our doors the reſults of their own intrigues, and the dark deeds of their own emiſſaries. Whatever is great and ſublime in our revolution, is the work of the French people;

ple; whatever bears a different character belongs to our enemies. All great and magnanimous men ſide with the republic; all treacherous and corrupted beings embrace the cauſe of your tyrants. Do we reproach the ſun for ſome few ſhady ſpots which obſcure his brilliant orb? Can auguſt liberty then loſe her divine charms, becauſe the emiſſaries of deſpotiſm ſtrive to defile her? Your misfortunes and ours are the crimes of the common enemies of humanity. Can this be a reaſon with you to hate us? No; but it is an urgent reaſon to puniſh them. Yes, you ſhall puniſh thoſe wretches, thoſe modern Tarquiniuses, who, in defaming the founders of the revolution, have in effect dared to ſay, that the ſenate and people of Rome were bands of robbers. The miniſters of Poiſenna, no doubt, treated Scævola as an aſſaſſin; and according to the manifeſto of Xerxes, Ariſtides robbed the treaſury of Greece. Octavius, Antonius and Lepidus with blood-ſtained hands ordered all the Romans to believe that they alone were eminently mild, juſt and virtuous. In the eyes of Tiberius and Sejanus, Brutus and Caſſius were nothing but ſanguinary villains and impoſtors. Can you and the Convention expect more juſtice from Leopold and George? Britons too, who boaſt of liberty, inſult you with their reproaches. Inſolent and vile people, who crouch under the hand of oppreſſion, who have repreſentatives, whoſe talents are as marketable as the wool of their ſheep, and the ſteel of their manufactures; they have the impudence to talk of morality. But, generous Frenchmen, we ſwear that you ſhall be revenged. Auſtria ſhall periſh ſooner than France. London ſhall be free before Paris ſhall return to ſlavery. Let traitors tremble; let the laſt of the cowardly emiſſaries diſappear;

let patriotiſm triumph and innocence raiſe up her head. Fight; your cauſe is holy, and your courage invincible. Your repreſentatiues know how to die; they can do more, they know how to conquer."

Theſe threats, which were highly applauded by the Convention and galleries, did not evaporate in ſounding words. Upon the reduction of Lyons forty thouſand men inveſted Toulon, which is ſurrounded by ſeveral commanding heights, ſo that the Allies, who did not at any time exceed twelve thouſand, were obliged to occupy forts, redoubts, and intermediate poſts, embracing a circuit of fifteen miles. With ſo ſmall a force it was obvious to experienced officers that the ſituation was not tenable, as the natives were divided in ſentiment, and did not heartily co-operate. The allied commanders, however, were ſanguine in their hopes of defence, and accordingly made every exertion that could be expected from ſkill and intrepidity. At the approach of Carteaux from the ſide of Marſeilles, Captain Elphinſton of the navy, attacked his troops with the utmoſt gallantry, and routed them with the loſs of their artillery, ammunition and baggage.

Lord Mulgrave having become temporary commander diſplayed much addreſs and courage, and defeated the enemy in two actions. General O'Hara, who was his ſucceſſor, having been forced to follow his troops in an impetuous and raſh purſuit of the enemies, in ſpite of contrary orders, and taken priſoner, General David Dundas became commandant of Toulon. Daily re-inforcements in the mean time ſwelled the beſieging army to ſuch a degree, that the beſieged, which received no acceſſion of ſtrength, was in the night forced, where the Spaniards and Neapolitans were poſted,

and

and the Britiſh overpowered by numbers, could not, after the moſt vigorous efforts, regain what their fugitive allies had loſt. The height of Pharon too had been ſcaled, where it was thought inacceſſible; and as it commanded the whole town and harbour, and already annoyed them with ſhells, the evacuation of the place became indiſpenſable. The loſs in men was trifling; but the relinquiſhment of a harbour ſo eſſential to France, as a naval power in the Mediterranean, proved a mortifying blow to Britain.

Meaſures, however, were taken by the naval commanders to render the place of little utility for the preſent to the enemy. A body of ſailors under the direction of the gallant Sir Sidney Smith, though incommoded by batteries on the ſurrounding forts and eminences, oppoſed by the crews of ſome ſhips, and alarmed by the republicans in the town, and the galley-ſlaves in the harbour, depoſited combuſtibles, and laid trains with ſo much activity and perſeverance, that when the ſignal for execution was given, the ſhips in the arſenal, the maſts, cordage, hemp, and other ſtores in their appropriate buildings were inſtantly in a blaze, and exhibited a grand and awful ſpectacle. The illumination rendered every object diſtinctly viſible, and expoſed the incendiaries to every battery and gun. The Spaniards, who had undertaken to burn the ſhips in the baſon, were ſo much intimidated, that they abandoned the enterprize as impracticable, and the officer who had been ordered to ſcuttle and ſink the powder veſſels in the ſame place, blew them up with a dreadful exploſion, fatal to two of Sir Sidney Smith's gun-boats. Unterrified by all theſe untoward accidents, the party made an attempt to complete the ſervice, by effecting what the Spaniards had left undone.

But the favourable moment had been loſt. Both in conjunction could not now withſtand the vollies of muſquetry on ſhore, and the broadſides from the men of war in the baſon, and therefore retired with inconſiderable loſs to the place of embarkation, where the land forces and thouſands of the meritorious Touloneſe had been previouſly taken on board. According to the publiſhed liſts fifteen ſhips of the line, with many frigates, and much ſmall craft were on this occaſion deſtroyed. Three ſhips of the line accompanied the Engliſh fleet, and all the allies carried off ſome frigates and ſmaller veſſels. The French navy never received ſo mortal a blow. But the loſs would have been ſtill greater, had not four ſhips of the third rate, full of French ſailors, been injudiciouſly diſpatched to Breſt, in hopes of effecting a ſimilar revolt in that quarter. Indeed, when the defection in the ſouthern provinces had been cruſhed by the capture of Marſeilles and Lyons, and the defence of Toulon therefore rendered impoſſible, all the ſhips ought to have been removed to the outer road, and ſecured from danger.

With a view of repairing this great over-ſight, the Britiſh troops landed in Corſica, which inſtigated by Paoli, and ſupported by ſome Britiſh men of war, had all, except Baſtia, Calvi, and Fiorenzo, ſhaken off the French yoke, and joined the Allies. Corſica, an iſland 150 miles in length, and in ſome places 50 broad, being at no great diſtance from the ſouthern coaſt of France, ſeems excellently calculated, when poſſeſſed by Britain, for ſecuring her commerce to the Levant, which has lately become ſo intereſting an object. On its north-weſt ſide oppoſite to France and Spain are the capacious and ſecure gulf of Fiorenzo, the large and excellent harbour of Calvi, and the commodious

modious port of Ajaccio; and on the ſouth-eaſt Porto Vecchio, a ſpacious haven, where a fleet of firſt-rates may ride in ſafety, and the harbours of Baſtia, Macinajo and Bonifacio, adapted to veſſels of inferior ſize. The face of the country is in general rugged and mountainous, though not deſtitute of pleaſant vallies and fertile plains, if properly cultivated. The innavigable rivers, of which many come pouring down from the ſnow-clad mountains, abound in trouts and eels; the ſhores ſwarm with excellent fiſh of every deſcription, and the Jews monopolize a fiſhery for corals on its coaſt. Where the hills are not covered with vine-yards and olive-groves, they wave with foreſts of pines and oaks fit for naval purpoſes. Cheſnut-trees of an immenſe ſize ſhower down their fruit upon the traveller, and afford no bad ſubſtitute for bread. Mulberry-trees are not here as in Italy and France, ſubject to blights and thunder-ſtorms, and will therefore yield to the induſtrious more and better ſilk. Lemons, oranges, figs, almonds, pomegranates, perfume the air, or invite the taſte; and the arbutus with its glowing berries, ſpreading as far as the eye can ſee, and intermingled with laurels and large box-trees, enriches the variegated ſcene. The flowers produced by ſome of theſe trees and by myrtles, wild thyme, and other fragrant herbs, profuſely ſcattered over the hills, furniſh innumerable ſwarms of bees with vaſt quantities of honey and wax, and form a conſiderable article for exportation. Notwithſtanding all this luxuriance of nature, the iſland is infamous among foreigners for its unwholeſome air; becauſe they viſit only places on the ſea-coaſt, infeſted by ſtagnated pools and undrained marſhes.

Cattle of every ſpecies are, as in all uncultivated countries, of a diminutive ſize. Sheep, which are

almoſt

almoſt all black, and goats browſe in vaſt flocks upon the wild hills, and by the excellence of their fleſh atone for the bad quality of the Corſican beef. The foreſts ſwarm with deer and wild boars, of which the purſuit is the favourite diverſion of the natives. On the tops of the higheſt mountains is found a very wild animal in ſhape reſembling a ſtag, but with the horns of a ram, on which, when chaſed from rock to rock, and unable to proceed farther, he poiſes himſelf ſo mathematically in his ſpring downwards, that he eſcapes from their large and ferocious dogs unhurt.

The ſportſman finds plenty of hares, partridges and other game; and there is no ſcarcity of water-fowl in the rivers and lakes. Like Ireland, Corſica breeds no venomous animal, nor any ravenous four-footed beaſt, except the fox, which is very deſtructive; but eagles and vultures commit inceſſant depredations. From the bowels of the earth are dug lead, copper, and ſilver. A hundred pounds of ore from the mine near Fiorenzo, yields five pounds ſterling of ſilver; and the mines of iron are famous for the excellence of the metal, which the Corſicans manufacture into gun-barrels little inferior to the Spaniſh. Granate, as hard as the oriental, porphyry, jaſper, pentagonal chryſtals very tranſparent, allum, ſalt-petre, and various minerals are among the Corſican productions; but the moſt valuable of its treaſures is an iron race of men, who, though rude, fickle, and vindictive, the conſequence of a lawleſs and undiſciplined ſtate of ſociety, in which a war of centuries, with foreign oppreſſors, has rendered every man judge and jury in his own cauſe, retain the virtues of ſavage life, courage and hoſpitality, in their higheſt perfection. A long ſeries of ſtruggles againſt their petty tyrants, the Genoeſe, has thinned

thinned the population of the iſland to ſuch a degree, that no traces remain of the thirty-five ſtates mentioned by Pliny, and their numbers hardly amount to 300,000 men. Of theſe, the males leaving all drudgery to the females, think nothing worth their care, but war and the chaſe. After a victory they diſdain to return, like the Romans, to the plough, to prepare by a laborious and frugal life, the means of future triumphs.

Such was the ſituation, ſuch the produce, and ſuch the population of Corſica, or of the Phocean Cyrnus, when ſhe ſollicited the protection of the Britiſh arms; and from the detail it appears that excluſively of the harbours, the advantages likely to accrue from the poſſeſſion, are rather proſpective than preſent.

Steps, however, were immediately taken for the reduction of the refractory garriſons. By the ſtrenuous and indefatigable exertions of the Engliſh ſeamen, mortars, howitzers, and heavy guns were raiſed with tackle and other ingenious contrivances, above the level of the elevated batteries erected at Fiorenzo; and the garriſon ſeeing its guns diſmounted, retired to Baſtia after a feeble and ineffectual reſiſtance. Baſtia too in a ſhort time was obliged to capitulate, and Calvi reluctantly ſubmitted to the ſame fate.

Unfortunately the ſame policy prevailed here as at the ſieges of Mentz and Valenciennes. The beſieged were not made priſoners of war, but allowed to retire into the inland parts of France, where they contributed by their ſkill and experience to the organization and diſcipline of the new French levies. The republicans on the contrary, granted no ſuch indulgence to the allied veterans, but guarded them as lions impriſoned in a cage.

After

After the expulſion of the French, who had treacherouſly ſeized the iſland, as a property ceded by the Genoeſe uſurpers, the Corſicans by the advice of Paoli unanimouſly beſtowed the ſovereignty upon his Britannick majeſty, reſerving to themſelves the right of making laws by means of their repreſentatives with the king's conſent, through his viceroy, as in Ireland. A free conſtitution ſimilar to the Britiſh was accordingly framed and adopted with the greateſt cordiality by the natives. But the French ſenſible that they had ſtill many partizans in the iſland, and that their reputation and trade in theſe ſeas depended much on its recovery, fitted out in the following year a fleet ſuperior to the Britiſh, with ten or twelve thouſand regulars on board, but were after much ſlaughter, and the loſs of two capital ſhips, obliged to take ſhelter under ſome batteries, and then ſkulk into Toulon, whence they have never ſince ventured to look out, but in detached ſquadrons, or ſingle ſhips, when the wind has been favourable to their manœuvres and adverſe to their antagoniſts.

1794. Having in the preceding part of this hiſtory given a conciſe narrative of facts, and exhibited a compreſſed ſtatement as well of the origin, cauſes and objects of the preſent war as of the oppoſite arguments of the contending parties, we ſhall for the future have but little occaſion to dwell minutely on parliamentary debates, which were generally a tedious repetition of the ſame matter and would, like digeſted food, be rather unſavoury to the reader. The king's ſpeech to the parliament, which met on the 21ſt of January, contained nothing memorable. The minority, however, according to cuſtom, took this opportunity of deploring the calamities of war and of recom-

recommending a ſpeedy peace, contending "that the ſafety of our allies, the firſt object of our armaments, was attained; that interference in the internal government of France was unjuſt; that the reſtoration of a monarchical government in that country was chimerical and impracticable; that the exiſting government of every ſtate was always adequate to the concluſion of treaties; and that the French republick ought therefore to be acknowledged; that the propagation of Jacobin principles, whether good or bad, was not to be checked by arms but by arguments, and that the continuance of the war would through the weight of taxes and the increaſe of miſery effect the overthrow of our conſtitution ſooner than all the zeal of all Jacobiniſm."

The miniſtry replied, "are you prepared to reſign every inch of French territory that you occupy, and to forego every proſpect of indemnification for the loſs of ſo much blood and treaſure? If you are not, talk not of peace to the Convention, which has by a decree made this act of renunciation an indiſpenſable preliminary to every treaty. Who governs that country? Conſult Briſſot, and he will tell you that it is any ſanguinary monſter, who in the revolutionary inſurrection of the mob is the moſt ferocious and unprincipled. Is it with ſuch a tumultary government that ſhifts with the momentary expedition of ſcenes in a pantomime that you would ſettle a firm and honourable peace? Who will guarantee its exiſtence for a month, or the adherence of the next monſter to the engagements of his predeceſſor? nay, who will place any reliance on a ſingle individual, when it is notorious that Gallick faith has already been twice violated in the courſe of the treaties propoſed by the Convention's agents, Chauvelin and Dumourier?

mourier? yet on ſuch unſubſtantial ground, and with ſuch a hopeleſs proſpect you adviſe the breach of treaties and the deſertion of our allies. Does not ſuſpicion attach to ſuch counſellors, and make it natural to aſk whether they are not French rather than Engliſh, that would thus tarniſh the national honour? Britain did not interfere in the concerns of France, till France ſet the example; and in war retaliation is juſtified by neceſſity. The novel ſpectacle of belligerent Quakers in Penſylvania, ſhows that even Quakers are often obliged to return a blow; and a ſociety actuated ſolely by their pacifick principles, could not long remain independent. Why then ſhould we repine at the inevitable lot of humanity? wars and taxes, being great evils, neceſſarily breed popular diſcontents. What then? this attendant evil muſt likewiſe be endured with patience; ſince there are yet behind greater evils, the forfeiture of honour and the loſs of liberty, which would be the final reſult of puſillanimity and want of perſeverance and fortitude. That arguments permanently check the progreſs of erroneous opinions better than arms cannot be denied. But is it not to temporary laws enforced by penalties that we owe the ſtability of our civil and religious inſtitutions? and can any ſyſtem long maintain its ground without occaſional coercion? every plan of government muſt be guarded by fear, if not by hope; it may ſubſiſt without rewards, but not without puniſhments. The Turkiſh and other Aſiatick polities owe their duration to this cauſe. Why ſhould not the ſame engine be employed in eſtabliſhing the reign of truth that has enſured the perpetuity of errour?"

Upon

Upon a diviſion, the minority in the upper houſe againſt an addreſs favourable to adminiſtration amounted to 12, and in the lower to 59.

Notſhithſtanding this feeble oppoſition in parliament many dealers in pamphlets and news-papers favoured by the malevolence natural to vulgarity and ignorance, frequently made the worſe appear the better cauſe, by the ſuppreſſion of evidence, by the mutilation of facts, and the diſtortion of arguments, frenchified a certain proportion of the multitude, and by misrepreſentations of every kind, prevented the maſs of the nation from falling with the whole of its incumbent weight upon the inſidious foes who had been flattered with the hopes of repeating in Britain the fraternal embrace which they had given to all that were noble, wealthy and virtuous in their own kingdom and in contiguous countries. But all Engliſh patriots had the ſatisfaction of finding the naval and military departments uncontaminated and diſplaying more than their uſual ſpirit. Of this aſſertion the detail already given of the conduct of the ſoldiery upon the continent is an irrefragable proof; and wherever the ſeamen came into contact with the enemy they always evinced their former ſuperiority.

The French cruiſers, indeed, committed great depredations, as the Convention attempted at ſea only a piratical war; but were conſtantly taken, when forced to action. The loſſes ſuſtained by merchants expoſed the miniſters to much cenſure, but, when upon inveſtigation it appeared that no ſhips were captured that had ſailed and kept company with their convoy, they ſtood fully exculpated, and the blame fell, as it ought, either upon the temerity or roguery of the captains.

Two

Two hundred and thirty ſix ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy, whoſe trade, mutilated and almoſt annihilated as it was, had ſuffered nearly an equal loſs in number and a much greater in quality. The Britiſh convoys were allowed to be weak; but the large fleets employed in the Mediterranean, in the Weſt Indies, and in the Channel, did not admit ſtronger, the ſmallneſs of the naval eſtabliſhment in time of peace having made it as yet impoſſible to provide completely for every ſervice.

As the miniſters were found invulnerable in this quarter, a blow was aimed at them in another direction. His majeſty by meſſage had informed both houſes that a body of Heſſians had been landed, but not quartered, in the Iſle of Wight, and had been thanked for the communication, which was an implied approbation of the meaſure. Similar ſteps had been frequently taken ſince the revolution, without any other ſanction from parliament. But the minority called loudly for a bill of indemnity, as the introduction of foreign troops into the Britiſh dominions without the conſent of parliament was a flagrant violation of the conſtitution, which required this conſent, even to the maintenance of a native army. But as here no poſitive law was contravened, no precedent violated, no courſe of practice traverſed, the parliament's acquieſcence in its vote of thanks to the crown paſſed, as upon former occaſions, for a ſufficient indemnity, and the ſovereign's prerogative ſtill remains circumſcribed only by the miniſter's diſcretion and reſponſibility.

The treaty with the king of Sardinia was cenſured as an improvident waſte of treaſure upon a prince for defending his own territories without reciprocal ſtipulations, as he was to receive 200,000 pounds,

pounds, and to have all his poſſeſſions guaranteed without making any ſpecifick return. A few thouſand additional ſeamen and ſhips would have been attended with more ſubſtantial advantage than any aſſiſtance derivable from ſuch an alliance.

The miniſtry replied that theſe arguments ſounded ridiculous from men, who raiſed ſuch an outcry againſt the failure at Dunkirk, at Toulon and in the Weſt Indies, which proceeded entirely from want of troops; that the preſſure on the French from the ſide of Italy certainly weakened and exhauſted them, which was the great object of the confederacy; that a fleet without an army could make but a feeble impreſſion; that for the ſum granted to Sardinia its king agreed to employ againſt the common enemy five thouſand more combatants than formerly, and. that, as the preſervation of the balance of power in Europe attracted the chief attention of our councils in the preſent war, the ſubſidy paid for a ſimilar purpoſe to Pruſſia in 1757, was a precedent ſufficient to juſtify their conduct.

But what ſupplied the ouſted party with the moſt grateful topick of declamation was a freſh treaty concluded with the king of Pruſſia. That wily monarch finding the diſmemberment of France a more difficult taſk than the partition of Poland, and unwilling in ſuch levelling times to diſguſt his ſubjects with taxes, levied ſolely to gratify his ambition, had towards the cloſe of the preceding campaign demanded from ſome of the German circles forage and proviſions for his army, alledging that, as he fought for the common cauſe, and not for private intereſt, this was an allowance to which he had a juſt title. This requiſition having proved ineffectual, he temporiſed till the

approach of the proper ſeaſon for commencing military operations. Then, after inveigling the allies to join in a quarrel, which he had firſt begun, he declared himſelf unable without a ſubſidy, to proſecute the war, and actually fixed a limited time for the ſeparation of all his army, except his contingent, from the confederates. At ſuch a critical moment how was Britain, the ſoul of the confederacy, to act? Engaged as ſhe was in the conteſt, and compelled by honour and by intereſt to bring it to a deſirable concluſion, could ſhe procure at a cheaper rate, and with a greater proſpect of ſucceſs the co-operation of a reſpectable army of veterans? the ſubſidy, of which Britain paid 1200,000l. and Holland 300,0000l. rendered the expence thirteen pounds per man, while undiſciplined Hanoverians and Heſſians coſt as much, and undiſciplined Britons two pounds more, excluſively of the expence of tranſportation to the continent, and of detriment to our manufactures and agriculture. Mercenaries, it muſt be acknowledged, could not be expected to act with the vigour and fidelity of native troops. But under their own monarch, who had engaged in the cauſe as a principal, and who might therefore be reaſonably thought actuated by military glory and a ſenſe of honour, they were entitled to the good opinion of the publick, till their ancient character was forfeited. In fact there was no alternative. The preſſure and exigency of the times were ſuch that no banners could be ſecured but the Pruſſian eagles; and however repulſive Frederick's conduct might be, the Britiſh cabinet was forced to acquieſce, and to hear with patience, that prince's duplicity, avarice, rapacity and meanneſs arraigned, as they were, with all the malice

and

and rancour of diſcarded courtiers and diſappointed ſtateſmen.

To the ſurpriſe of the world one meaſure of preventive policy adopted by the miniſtry, paſſed without much animadverſion from the minority. The National Convention being diſtreſſed for reſources to proſecute the war, iſſued a decree confiſcating all property within their territories, belonging to the ſubjects of hoſtile ſtates, and obliging natives to accept aſſignats at par, for bills on their correſpondents in countries of the preceding deſcription; thus by a double robbery ſtripping foreigners of all, and natives of ſix-ſevenths of their effects, ſince aſſignats then fetched only a ſeventh of their nominal value. To counteract this inſidious ſtratagem, and to ſecure even to Frenchmen their juſt rights, the Britiſh legiſlature rendered it high treaſon to pay money during the war, to perſons reſident in France, and ſubjected the refuſal of payment after the return of peace, to the penalties of a premunire. A ſecret committee was appointed for aſcertaining the amount of the property in queſtion, and for giving effect to a plan, equally conſpicuous for its moderation and for its juſtice.

An act to empower his Majeſty to ſeize and detain in cuſtody perſons ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, did not meet with the ſame indulgence. Though the ſecret committees ſelected by both Houſes to inveſtigate the matter, had unanimouſly reported that a conſpiracy for the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution exiſted, though the meaſure was ſanctioned by nine precedents ſince the revolution, in much leſs perilous times, and with great advantage to the publick; and though the miniſtry is in all caſes reſponſible to parliament for the exerciſe of this diſcretionary power, the proceeding was re-

probated as an attempt to introduce arbitrary government, and to annihilate the liberties of Engliſhmen. "What new matter had the reports brought to light? They only contained ſtale ſelections from pamphlets and news-papers, publications that had been openly and induſtriouſly circulated throughout all the Britiſh dominions, and that profeſſed to aim at the ſame object, the reform of parliament. If the authors had entertained any ſiniſter intentions, they would have acted with more caution and reſerve. Guilt is ſuſpicious and ſhuns the eye of day. Nothing but innocence, that ſunſhine of the breaſt, could have induced the calumniated ſocieties to court with ſuch eagerneſs the notice of the publick. Satisfied with the juſtice of their cauſe, they thought that to be approved it needed only to be known, and therefore appealed without any diſguiſe to the deciſion of the publick voice. Convinced that old conſtitutions, like old edifices, need conſtant repairs, they circulated a brief through the realm, calling upon the charity of well diſpoſed Chriſtians for relief; and for this philanthropic ſcheme they are branded by miniſters as traitors. What times! what morals! —Our actions are no longer free. The next ſtep will be to ſhut our mouths, and to ſilence the preſs." ——Theſe lamentations paſſed, like the idle wind, unreſpected; for it was viſible to half an eye, that annual parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage, for which all the reforming ſocieties contended, as indiſpenſable requiſites, muſt draw all power into the vortex of paupers, and that as property will always gravitate towards power, as its natural focus, the preſent political ſyſtem would at once be deranged, and become a chaos floating in blood. The bill therefore being oppoſed only by a few members, was carried by a great majority in both Houſes.

A plan

A plan intended for external exertion, and internal defence, drew equal cenſure from the violent animoſity of oppoſition. The French elevated by the ſucceſs that crowned the arms of the vaſt maſſes of men, which they had brought into the field towards the end of the laſt campaign, had the preſumption to think ſeriouſly of invading Britain. Emiſſaries were employed in various parts of the Britiſh iſles to enſure the co-operation of the malcontents, of the Defenders in Ireland, and of the affiliated ſocieties in England and Scotland. From Jackſon's trial in Dublin, it appears that attempts were made to inveigle the ſoldiery; that oaths were adminiſtered, and ſchemes formed to join the French on their arrival. This correſpondence between the French and Engliſh Jacobins did not eſcape the vigilance of the King's council; and therefore a letter was addreſſed to the lieutenants of the different counties, by the ſecretary of ſtate, recommending the formation of bodies of volunteers, both horſe and foot, as an addition to the militia. The miniſters could not entertain any real apprehenſions of an invaſion, but truſting more to volunteers than to the regulars or militia, for ſuppreſſing riots and checking the audacity of the levelling ſocieties, they adopted this mode of feeling the pulſe of the wealthy, before a parliamentary ſanction was required.

The minority directly ſounded the alarm, by accuſing the government of levying troops, and raiſing money without the conſent of the legiſlature. But a meſſage from his Majeſty to both Houſes, announcing that in conſequence of ſerious preparations in France, for an invaſion of his dominions, he had with the advice of his privy council, taken ſteps to augment his forces, according to the uſual practice in ſuch caſes, and requeſting their

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concurrence; like duſt thrown upon two ſwarms of contending bees, ſilenced all the buſy hum and buſtle of contending orators, and procured to the meaſure the legiſlative fiat.

A ſimilar clamour aroſe againſt the employment of French emigrants in Britiſh pay, for the reſtoration of order in France. It was urged that Catholics could never coaleſce with Proteſtants; that the views of Frenchmen did not coincide with thoſe of Britons; that armed emigrants in England would be dangerous, and that out of it they would be all butchered, when taken by their countrymen, who gave no quarter to perſons of their deſcription, and that therefore the plan, as inhuman, ought to be abandoned, and a different proviſion made for theſe unfortunate men.

In reply it was contended that the emigrants concurred with Britons in wiſhing to exterminate the levelling principles adopted in France; that, if hundreds of thouſands inſtead of ten thouſand could be procured, they ought to be immediately enliſted and poured upon the hords of their oppreſſors; that if the republicans actually put their barbarous threats in execution, the emigrants muſt retaliate in order to check the inhuman practice; that it was no new thing for Proteſtants and Catholics to fight for the ſame cauſe; that the majority of the armies now employed againſt France were Catholics, and, that however tender we ought to be of French lives, we ought to be ſtill more tender of Engliſh lives, upon which our greatneſs depended.

The Britiſh army with its various augmentations by independent companies, fencible regiments, bodies of volunteers, and additional artilleriſts, conſtituted a total of 140,000. Eighty-five thouſand ſeamen and marines, of whom ſeventy-five thouſand

thouſand had been actually muſtered, were voted; and the number might eaſily be raiſed to 100,000. The foreign troops in Britiſh pay amounted to more than 30,000; and the whole force, when entirely completed, would exceed 280,000 men, excluſive of 30,000 Pruſſians, and of the Indian army, which at a peace-eſtabliſhment does not fall ſhort of 70,000. Such in the ſecond year of the war had been the mighty efforts of Great Britain, againſt the gigantick exertions of her republican rival.

Yet notwithſtanding theſe vaſt armaments, ſhe adopted no extraordinary, nor ruinous mode of taxation to defray the expences; ſo immenſe were her reſources. The whole ſum raiſed amounted to upwards of 33 millions ſterling, of which 21,140,000l. were deſtined for the naval, military, and civil departments, and the reſt for the payment of the nation's debts and annuitants. Of this vaſt aggregate 5,525,000l. were appropriated to the navy, 7,540,000l. to the domeſtic and foreign armies, 1,345,000l. to the ordnance, 206,000l. to miſcellaneous ſervices; 474,000l. ſupplied the deficiency of various grants, and 350,000l. the deficiency of the taxes on land and malt; 5,500,000l. circulated in Exchequer bills; 200,000l. were added to the annual million granted for the extinction of the national debt; and 11,124,400l. of the 13,940,000l. which the permanent taxes produced, paid the annual intereſt of the national debt. The ways and means were taxes on land and malt, eſtimated at 2,750,000l. the permanent taxes at 13,940,000l. a loan of 11 millions, and exchequer bills to the amount of 3,500,000l. 800,000l. of exchequer bills being left unappropriated for contingent expences. The intereſt on 11 millions came to 650,000l. the intereſt on 4,200,000l.

4,200,000l. of navy debt, for the purpoſe of avoiding diſcount to 248,181l. and the renunciation of the tax on gloves, mittens and burials to 10,600l. the whole conſtituting the groſs ſum of 908,781l.

To anſwer this demand an additional duty was laid on bricks and tiles, amounting by eſtimate to 70,000l. on Britiſh ſpirits to 107,000l. on foreign ſpirits to 136,000l. on ſlate and ſtone carried coaſtways for building to 30,000l. on crown-glaſs and plate-glaſs to 52,000l. on paper to 63,000l. on the indentures of clerks to attornies to 25,000l. To theſe ſums were added the tax on Scotch ſpirits in 1793, and the ſurplus of taxes impoſed in 1791 and ſtill unappropriated, making together 428,000l. The aggregate of theſe articles is 911,000l. and proves that the taxes levied in Britain this year, exceeded 17 millions ſterling. If to this vaſt ſum we add the revenues of Ireland, and of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, 2,000,000l. and 8,245,560l. we ſhall have a total ſuperior to the whole income of France before the revolution, by 9 millions. Thus, notwithſtanding the difficulties of the war, every part of the Britiſh empire was in a ſtate of progreſſive improvement, particularly India, where the net revenue exceeded two millions and a half, applicable to the purchaſe of inveſtments, and other purpoſes; where the value of the Company's aſſets had increaſed in one year above a million, and its debts decreaſed above another million. In China too and at home the Indian commerce had in a twelvemonth made an advance of more than a million and a half; and upon the whole after the payment of half a million to government, and of other charges, the Company's affairs had by the reduction of debt, and the increaſe of aſſets, been improved above a million and a half.

Nor

Nor was the flattering proſpect confined only to the extent of theſe articles. Cornwallis, a man of ſound judgment and practical wiſdom, who by his undaunted courage and military proweſs in America and India, had, like the heroes of Lincelles, revived the memory of Creſſy and Agincourt, had by his regulations given ſtability to landed property, and thus enticed the moneyed intereſt to purchaſe eſtates, and to encourage agriculture, population and commerce. In purſuance of the ſame idea, the collection of the revenue, and the deciſion of ſuits relative to it, and to other matters, had been aſſigned to different officers; ſo that equal juſtice was adminiſtered to the rich and poor, and an influx of wealthy individuals from the neighbouring provinces into the Britiſh territories took place. The Nizam and the Mahrattas, and indeed all the Indian ſtates were ſtrongly attached to the Britiſh intereſt, by the honourable conduct of Cornwallis, in rejecting, (till the Allies received all their demands), Tippoo's offer to ſatisfy directly, upon the reſtoration of his ſons, every Engliſh claim; and the acceſſion of territory on the coaſt of Malabar, and on the frontiers of the Carnatic promiſed in commerce, agriculture, and ſecurity, advantages, of which the produce was incalculable.

Having detailed the preparations of Britain for the campaign, let us now take a review of the conſequences. From her ſituation this iſland is incapable with her own forces of great exertions on the Continent, and may therefore to ſome appear blameable for not directing her whole power againſt the enemy's foreign poſſeſſions. But without Britiſh troops could ſhe have ſecured Holland from the graſp of Dumourier? Without Britiſh troops among the Allies, could ſhe have been thought

thought ſufficiently ſanguine in the cauſe, to bring ſo mighty a confederacy into action againſt the common foe? No ſooner was a military ſyſtem for defenſive and offenſive operations arranged, than ſhe availed herſelf of her ſuperiority as a naval power, and attacked the tranſmarine dominions of France.

The forts and factories belonging to the enemy in the Eaſt Indies were ſeized immediately, after her perfidious violation of the peace, and all but private effects confiſcated for the uſe of the captors. In the Weſt Indies the iſland of Tobago ſeeing her principal fortreſs ſurprized, and gallantly ſtormed, by a body of men under Myers, returned once more to the protection of the Britiſh arms. Martinico oppreſſed and harraſſed by civil diſſentions invited the Engliſh troops to land and to reſtore tranquillity: but the party who projected this plan, after endangering their friends, fell victims to their own weakneſs and inexperience; for thoſe who could not eſcape, though the principal men in the iſland, were according to the revolutionary ſyſtem, all cruelly butchered.

The diſcontent and diſcord in the French colonies originated in a conventional decree, announcing liberty and equality to the ſlaves; for upon the commencement of the war with Britain, the republicans foreſaw that without a new plan, their foreign poſſeſſions would be loſt, and they could think of nothing preferable to the exploſive principle of equality, which in Europe had wrought ſuch wonders. Hence aroſe the invitation from Martinico, and the abortive deſcent of the Engliſh under Bruce. Notwithſtanding the pernicious tendency of this decree, the French Caribbean iſles, through the exertion of the planters, who took up arms, and lived under martial law, kept the

the ſlaves in awe, and enjoyed a conſiderable degree of tranquillity.

But in many parts of Hiſpaniola the whites were overpowered; and murder, rapine, rape, and conflagration reigned without controul. The town of the Cape was reduced to aſhes, and the whites, that eſcaped fire and ſword, embarked in what ſhips they could ſeize for America, or took refuge in Jamaica, from which the planters on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, from Cape Tiburon and Cape Nicola Mole implored aſſiſtance. The reſult was, that the Britiſh troops obtained in a few months, poſſeſſion of this tract, by capitulation or by ſtorm, and by the acquiſition procured an immenſe revenue to the nation, in the duties levied on imported ſugar, rum, coffee, indigo and cotton, of which the new conqueſts yield prodigious quantities.

Though the attempt on Martinico in the year 1793 had failed, the plan of reducing the French iſles was not abandoned. Sir Charles Grey, a general of tried merit, ſailed for the Weſt Indies, with a gallant army of 5000 men, protected by a fleet under the command of Sir John Jervis, an admiral often diſtinguiſhed by his ſkill and courage. Sir Charles having, in order to diſtract the attention of the enemies, and to divide their troops, landed his forces in three different places; general Dundas with his diviſion, advanced on the 6th of February, under a heavy fire of muſketry, to the attack of Morne Le Brun, and after carrying it with fixed bayonets, inſtantly detached colonel Craddock with a battalion of grenadiers, and ſome companies of light infantry, under Major Evatt, to ſtorm fort Trinity, which upon the flight of its terrified defendants they ſeized, with its cannon and ſtores, preſerving at the ſame time the greateſt part of the

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town from the flames, which the fugitives, who had quitted Fort Bellegarde, ſcattered in their retreat. Thus the aſſailants proceeded from ravine to ravine, from precipice to precipice, and from battery to battery, often attacked but oftener attacking, till on the 11th they gained the ſtrong poſt of Lemaitre, leaving at Colon the 65th regiment, which gallantly maintained its ground againſt three repeated attempts in the night by a ſuperior force.

The diviſion under the general himſelf had equal difficulties to encounter. Lieutenant-colonel Cloſe detached by general Whyte, with a battalion of light infantry, ſtormed a battery on a commanding height, at Solomon Bourges, and made the ſurviving defendants, who had no means of eſcape, priſoners; and while the adjutant-general colonel Dundas, with the 70th regiment, defeated a party that attempted to cut off Whyte's communication with the head-quarters, aſcended in company with 200 ſeamen, armed with pikes and piſtols, Mount Maturine, and diſlodging the enemy, expoſed to the fire of artillery, Pigeon-iſland, which guards the harbour of Port-royal from all approaches by ſea. Batteries being erected in the night, opened on the 11th, and in two hours ſilencing the enemy's guns, forced the iſland to ſurrender at diſcretion.

During theſe active ſervices, the third column, under the colonels Sir Charles Gordon and Myers, having landed to leeward, manœuvred with admirable ſkill, and by turning batteries, croſſing ravines, and climbing precipices, obliged the French to abandon all their poſts, without any ſerious conflict, and to retire to the main body of their army.

Matters being properly arranged, Grey moved to Bruneau, and Major-general Dundas, by his direction,

direction, advanced to the attack of St. Pierre. In his progreſs a detachment under colonel Campbell, being hard preſſed by 600 aſſailants, repulſed them, with the aſſiſtance of 63 men, commanded by captain Ramſay, who by extraordinary exertions had gained the ſummit of a hill, from which they fired on their flank. Here, as he was at the head of his ſoldiers, charging with fixed bayonet, fell Campbell, much regretted by the whole army, as an excellent officer and valuable man. Not intimidated by this repulſe, the French rallied, and ſupported by freſh reinforcements, made a ſecond, but unſucceſsful attempt in the courſe of the day, to impede Dundas's advance. In the night all the out-poſts were abandoned, and on the morning of the 17th Dundas proceeded, but found the town occupied by the detachments under the colonels Symes and Myers, who had been ordered by Grey to take it by ſurpriſe from the North, while the enemy was engaged with Dundas, whoſe ſpirit, ſkill, and intrepidity on this occaſion could not be excelled.

Fort Bourbon, where Rochambeau, the generaliſſimo, commanded, was now to be inveſted; but this ſervice could not be attempted, till Bellegarde, the great and popular leader of the Mulattoes and Negroes, who occupied the heights of Souriere, with a conſiderable body of men, ſhould be diſlodged. Before a reſolution of ſtorming this poſt with the bayonet took place, a fortunate event occurred.

Bellegarde, with part of his troops having deſcended from the heights, attacked in a daring and ſpirited manner the left wing of Grey's army, towards the landing place. The General's penetration did not let the favourable moment ſlip. While general Preſcott led a reinforcement to charge and repulſe

repulſe the aſſailants, the colonels Buckeridge, Coote and Blundell with the third battalion of grenadiers and with the firſt and ſecond battalions of light infantry poured with ſuch ſpirit and impetuoſity into his enfeebled camp as to render all reſiſtance vain and impracticable. In conſequence of this unexpected blow Bellegarde finding his ſituation on the outſide of the forts perilous ſurrendered with a body of his followers, and procured leave for himſelf and Pelocque, his ſecond, to retire to America under a promiſe of never carrying arms againſt the Britiſh troops. His adherents being priſoners of war remained on board of the fleet.

The officers and ſeamen of the fleet having with unwearied exertions dragged the heavy guns and mortars for ſeveral miles up precipices and crags, of which the appearance ſeemed to render ſuch a ſervice impoſſible, the guns of the firſt parallel played on Fort Bourbon, while the battery at the eaſt entrance of the careenage with the gun-boats thundered againſt Fort Louis. In the mean time lieutenant Bowen, who had for ſome time the direction of the night-guard and gunboats, perceiving a favourable moment puſhed into the careenage with the row-boats, boarded the Bienvenu, French frigate, and brought off the captain and twenty men on board under a ſmart fire of grape ſhot and muſketry from the rampart and parapet of the fort.

The ſucceſs of this gallant enterpriſe accompanied by other promiſing circumſtances determined the general and admiral in concert to attempt the fort and town of Port Royal by aſſault. For this purpoſe Jervis directed forty ſcaling ladders to be made of bamboo and ſmall ſtretched cordage from twenty to thirty-ſix feet long, and ordered

ordered the Aſia of ſixty-four and the Zebra of ſixteen to be in readineſs to enter the Careenage, that they might batter the fort and cover the flat boats, barges and pinnaces under the command of commodore Thomſon ſupported by the captains Nugent and Riou, while the grenadiers and light infantry from the camp at Souriere advanced with field-pieces along the ſide of the hill under Fort Bourbon towards the bridge over the canal at the back of Fort Royal. This combination ſucceeded in every part, except the entrance of the Aſia, which failed for want of preciſion in the pilot. Faulknor, captain of the Zebra, obſerving the ſhip baffled in her attempts reſolved in the midſt of a ſhower of grape-ſhot, which he, his officers and ſhip's company had borne for a length of time with a firmneſs not to be deſcribed, to undertake the ſervice alone, and he executed it with matchleſs intrepidity and ſkill. Running the Zebra cloſe to the wall of the fort and leaping overboard at the head of his ſloop's company he aſſaulted and took this important poſt, before the boats could gain the ſhore, though the oars were plied with all that vigour which characteriſes Engliſh ſeamen in the face of an enemy. Every officer and private in the army and navy was a ſpectator of this incomparable atchievement, and, as none could be more conſpicuous, ſo none deſerves a more diſtinguiſhed place in the page of hiſtory.

The grenadiers and light infantry under the colonels Stewart, Cloſe, Buckeridge and Coote made in the mean time good uſe of their field-pieces and muſkets, and ſoon after the ſurrender of the fort croſſed the bridge over the canal and took poſſeſſion of the town, while a ſtrong detachment from the naval battalions approached the beach in front. Thus preſſed on every ſide and cooped

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up in Fort Bourbon, of which almoſt all the guns had been on the preceding day ſilenced by the batteries of Grey's ſecond parallel, Rochambeau was forced to capitulate, and to agree that his troops ſhould deliver up their arms and not ſerve, till exchanged.

No ſooner had this conqueſt been atchieved and a proper arrangement for its ſecurity made than an adequate armament proceeded to the reduction of St. Lucia, a neighbouring iſland, which, though ſtrong by nature and art, offered but little reſiſtance. That gallant officer colonel Coote, having ſurpriſed and taken two batteries, which opened a paſſage to Morne Fortunée, the enemy's principal hope, Grey with joy ſaw this fine country become a freſh acceſſion to the Britiſh empire without the loſs of a man.

After this ſucceſs the admiral with the ſame rapidity conveyed what troops could be ſpared to Guadaloupe, where lord Garlies ſtationed his ſhip at the diſtance of half a muſket ſhot from the French batteries and forcing the enemies from their guns landed a diviſion of the troops without any damage, except a ſlight contuſion received by himſelf. Immediately upon the debarkation of the other diviſions prince Edward, major general Dundas, and colonel Symes proceeded by Gray's orders with their reſpective troops ſupported by Nugent and Faulknor's marines to three different but combined attacks, and with fixed bayonets without a muſket-ſhot ſtormed the aſſaulted forts at oppoſite points, putting moſt of the defendants to the ſword. That part of the iſland called Grand Terre was the fruit of the victory, which coſt but few lives to the aſſailants. The wheel of Fortune rolled on with the ſame impetuous career to the reduction of Baſſeterre,

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the other half of the iſland, where ſeveral ſtrong poſts being maſtered by addreſs and generalſhip paved the way for the final blow which was to crown the Britiſh triumphs. The enemies had concentered the forces, which had retired from other poſts, behind batteries at Anet, a ſituation ſelected by them for their laſt ſtand. Here they were ſurpriſed in the night by colonel Coote, and without any loſs on his ſide all killed, wounded or taken. No action could be more brilliant or complete; and its conſequence was the ſubmiſſion of the iſland, and of its dependencies; Marie Galante, Deſirada, and the Saints, of which the laſt had by the admiral's orders been previouſly occupied by a detachment under captain Rogers of the navy. Guadaloupe upon its invaſion by Grey reckoned more firelocks primed for its defenſe than the whole Engliſh army upon its departure from Portſmouth.

Thus by a continued ſeries of efforts ſeldom equalled but never exceeded did this intrepid body of men in ſpite of an unhealthy climate under a vertical ſun, of ſuperiour numbers, of natural obſtacles and artificial impediments multiplied for ages, ſubdue the French Windward iſlands in a ſingle and ſhort campaign, adding conſiderably to their own fortunes by captures and prodigiouſly to the national reſources by cuſtoms.

It is a common and often a true obſervation that it is more eaſy to make than to retain conqueſts; and never was its truth more clearly evinced than upon the preſent occaſion. The burning bilious fever incident to Europeans in hot climates and called from the tinge, which it gives in its laſt ſtages to the complexion, the yellow fever, is at all times to be dreaded by troops newly arrived from northern regions. What then muſt be its

ravages in war, when the blood is violently agitated by exceſſive exertions under a tropical ſun and the body ſuddenly chilled by he heavy dews of the night? The diſeaſe too is often exaſperated by the abuſe of new and crude ſpirituous liquor, which inſtead of retarding accelerates the progreſs of an evil, that in peaceable times and in the common courſe of things is found to conſume two thirds of an European regiment in three years. Unfortunately for the Britiſh army the calamity was not confined to the ordinary limits of devaſtation, but had its malignity aggravated by a peſtilential infection imported in a Guineaman from Africa and communicated not only to the Weſt-India Iſlands but alſo to America, where even the rigour of a ſnow-clad ſoil and the keeneſs of a frozen atmoſphere did not ſtop its deſolating career till the ſecond winter.

It was in this critical ſituation of the army, and when the general, after detaching two thouſand men as a reinforcement to St. Domingo, was preparing to reviſit England, that two thouſand Republicans from Breſt eſcaped the vigilance of the Engliſh cruiſers, and landing in Guadaloupe immediately ſtormed and overpowered the weak and ſickly Engliſh garriſon in Grande-Terre. This diſaſter, however, is principally attributed to the cowardice of the armed coloniſts, who abandoned their poſt and opened a paſſage for the enemy into the fort. Grey by collecting reinforcements from the other iſlands, endeavoured to retrieve this loſs; but the epidemick diſtemper, the waſte of ſo active a campaign, and the wants of ſo many iſlands, had ſo thinned the ranks of every regiment, that this was no eaſy taſk. A reſpectable force being at length collected and landed, Grey drove the enemy, after a ſtout reſiſtance, from ſome commanding heights

heights that lay between him and the fort; but the purſuers were the ſame day attacked more than once by a reinforced multitude of all colours, whites, blacks and mulattoes clad in uniforms, and obliged to have recourſe to the bayonet, before the fugitives could be taught by a great ſlaughter to remain ſheltered behind their fortifications.

As the ſeaſon for military operations had by the commencement of the rains now ceaſed, the general made a concluding effort to expel the French by a nocturnal attack. Brigadier-General Symes with one diviſion marched in ſilence through deep ravines to ſtorm the town and the fortified heights which commanded it, while Grey with the other diviſion waited only for his ſucceſs to aſſault the fort. But either through the darkneſs of the night or the ignorance of the guides the troops were led in front of the poſts which they had orders to paſs; ſo that the intended ſurpriſe became impoſſible. The light infantry however preſſed on under major Roſs, and forcing the out-poſts entered the town under a heavy fire from the batteries on the elevated redoubt and cleared the ſtreets with their bayonets. This redoubt acceſſible to two only in front had during the noiſe of the approach been ſo ſtrengthened that to attempt it now would be madneſs. The only effectual ſervice therefore that could be attempted was the deſtruction of the ſtores and proviſions recently landed. But even this attempt failed through a fatality as unforeſeen as unavoidable. The troops who had uniformly ſucceeded by a ſtrict adherence to the general's orders of never firing in attacks by night, and who on this occaſion had not yet drawn a ſingle trigger, began moſt unaccountably to load and fire on each other. Symes being ſeverely wounded in the right arm and bruiſed by the fall

of his killed horſe ſuſpended the deſtruction of the ſtores and ordered a retreat. In theſe various rencounters five hundred brave officers and privates were killed, wounded and miſſing; and among them in the laſt fell the author's valuable friend, captain Charles Grove, a gallant young officer of great hopes, who had his head ſhot off by a cannon ball, as he was animating his men to the charge. Who, that knew his many amiable qualities and admired his youthful ardour in the cauſe of his country, can refuſe a tear to his memory?

Victor Hugues, the French commiſſioner, in his gaſconading narrative of this event ſwells the Britiſh loſs to one thouſand and ſixty, and attributes his ſucceſs not to the blindneſs of fortune but to the wonderful animation of liberty. Grey after duly providing, as he thought, for the ſecurity of Baſſeterre and for the annoyance of the enemy's quarters retired to Martinico, and had the mortification, before his departure for Europe, of announcing the capture of the army left for its protection and then reduced by mortality to one hundred and twenty five privates fit for duty. Fort Matilda, the only remaining poſt held by the Britiſh in Guadaloupe, was after a long and vigorous defenſe abandoned by general Preſcott, and the whole iſland fell once more into the hands of the Republicans.

Theſe enterpriſing innovators not ſatisfied with this unexpected good fortune employed their partizans to rekindle the ancient animoſity of the Caribs in St. Vincent, to ſow the ſeeds of liberty and equality in the minds of the Mulattoes and Negroes in Martinico, St. Lucia and Grenada, and to introduce anarchy and diſorganiſation into every part of the Weſt Indies. Of all theſe iſlands Martinico alone eſcaped, by a vigorous attack

tack from the regulars and coloniſts, the cruel devaſtations of invaſion and inſurrection. The contagion ſpread to Dominica, which after a long ſtruggle and much loſs of property was at laſt cleared of the banditti. Even Jamaica did not remain uncontaminated; for the Maroons, or aboriginal inhabitants in the mountains, commenced a war of unexampled barbarity, putting priſoners to death with the moſt excruciating tortures, and when reduced to extremities, cutting the throats of their own wives and children. By the policy of Lord Balcarras and the ſkill of General Walpole they were at laſt ſurrounded in the woods and faſtneſſes, and being preſſed by hunger and by bloodhounds imported from Spaniſh America by the aſſembly of the iſland ſurrendered at diſcretion. Their future deſtiny, it is ſuppoſed, will be tranſportation to ſome uninhabited iſland; as their habits ſeem to render a coalition with Europeans impracticable. Humanity to the planters as well as to the Caribs of St. Vincent dictates the adoption of the ſame policy in that iſland.

The diſorders, which convulſed the Weſt-India iſlands after the preceding conqueſts, drew much obloquy and odium upon the conquerors. A proclamation offering protection to all the inhabitants of Martinico, who ſhould ſubmit to the Britiſh arms and ſwear allegiance to the crown on a ſpecified day, and two others never put into execution, but ordering an exact inventory of all property to be made out in a limited time for the purpoſe of contribution or of confiſcation, were repreſented by the Weſt-India merchants as contrary to the law of nations and productive of the preſent diſturbances. But upon inveſtigation it was found that no perſon had availed himſelf of

the firſt proclamation, and therefore none was entitled to its benefit; that all the inhabitants, except two blacks, who deſerted, had reſiſted to the laſt extremity, and that the univerſal principle of the law of nations, as determined by the court of appeals under the auſpices of Camden and other reſpectable judges, was that the private property of individuals is in ſuch a caſe ſubject to confiſcation. The whole ſum of the prize-money amounted only to 183 thouſand pounds, making a captain's ſhare 200l. which pittance hardly one third of the officers were now alive to receive. So little did the Britiſh army copy the example of Deſtaign on his capture of the Grenades in the preceding war. This inquiry and diſcuſſion terminated, as they ought, in the legiſlature's repetition of its vote of thanks to Grey and Jervis, whoſe deciſion and promptitude had alone enabled this ſmall, though gallant body of men, to ſurmount ſo many difficulties by the only practicable mode, the uſe of the bayonet. The miniſters, who were partially involved in cenſure, ſtood entirely exculpated, when it was proved that Grey had diſcretionary power to act according to his own judgement; that ſince the commencement of the war fifty four thouſand men had been detached to the Weſt-Indies, and that the advice of a medical board inſtituted for the purpoſe and compoſed of experienced officers and phyſicians had been in every article adopted for the accommodation of the troops on the voyage, in the field and in garriſon.

In the expedition to the Weſt-Indies the Britiſh forces ſhone conſpicuous for ſuperiority of ſkill and courage on land; and at ſea, their exploits in various parts were ſtill more brilliant. As the enemies avoided general actions and confined themſelves to depreda-

depredations we ſhall with brevity and ſimplicity ſelect a few inſtances of ardent virtue from engagements between ſingle ſhips. Since Raynal has ſought for examples of French intrepidity among the buccaneers of America, why ſhould not our hiſtory record acts of Engliſh valour diſplayed againſt the buccaneers of France?

Captain Pellew in the Nymphe of 36 guns, with a crew of 240 men, took after a cloſe action of near an hour, the Cleopatra of 40 guns and 320 men, loſing 23 of his own ſeamen and killing 60 of the French.

Captain Saumarez in the Creſcent of 36 guns and 230 men, captured after a cloſe engagement of two hours and ten minutes, the Re-union of 36 guns and 320 men, without having a ſingle man killed or wounded, though the French had 120 of both deſcriptions.

Captain Laforey in the Carysfort of 28 guns and 180 men, took in an hour the Caſtor of 32 guns and 200 men, with a loſs on the French ſide of 27 men killed and wounded, and on the Engliſh of only 7.

The honourable Captain Paget in the Romney of 50 guns and 380 men, in an hour obliged the Sybille of 48 guns, and much larger than the Romney with 430 men to ſurrender, though the captain, like the reſt of his countrymen, had taken an oath never to ſtrike his colours. The Romney had 8 ſeamen killed and 30 wounded, and the Sybille 55 killed and 103 wounded.

Lieutenant Watkins in the Blanche of 32 guns and 220 men, took the Pique of 38 and nearly 400 men in as brilliant an action as ever was fought. Having laid the enemy on board and twice laſhed the Pique's bowſprit to her capſtern, the Blanche towed and payed her off before the wind; and,

as her ſternports were not large enough for running out the guns, ſhe blew the upper tranſom beam away and fired into her bows for three hours. In the mean time the marines under Lieutenant Richardſon kept up ſuch a conſtant and well directed fire that not a man could appear upon her forecaſtle till ſhe ſtruck, when the ſecond lieutenant and ten men ſwimming on board took poſſeſſion of her. The Pique, when taken, had 110 wounded on board, and 76 dead upon the decks; numbers dropt into the ſea and were drowned, when her maſts fell, and many were thrown overboard during the action. The Blanche reckoned 29 either killed or wounded, and among the former the incomparable Captain Fauknor, who had gained ſo much glory in the capture of Fort Royal in Martinico.

Captain Newcome in the Orpheus, mounting 32 guns, and containing 220 men, took the Duguaytrouin, of 36 guns and 463 men in a very cloſe action that laſted an hour, having only a midſhipman killed and 9 ſeamen ſlightly wounded, while the enemy's loſs amounted to 21 killed, and 60 wounded.

Captain Trollope in the Glatton of 54 guns and 400 men, deſcrying on the French coaſt a ſquadron conſiſting of one ſhip of 50 guns, two of 36, and 3 of 28, with a fine brig and cutter, did not in ſpite of the enemy's vaſt ſuperiority decline an engagement. The 50 gun ſhip took her ſtation along ſide of him, the next on his weather bow, and the third on his lee-quarter and ſtern, while his yard-arms almoſt touched his antagoniſts. Yet in twenty minutes they ſickened and ſheered off, being hulled and ſtrewed with carnage. Unable to purſue, becauſe his rigging, at which the French, as if ſure of victory, principally

pally aimed, had been miſerably cut, he refitted during the night, and chaſed in hopes of deſtroying them with the aſſiſtance of ſome cruiſers; but they took ſhelter in Fluſhing in a ſhattered condition.

Captain Williams in the Unicorn of 32 guns and 220 men, accompanied by Captain Martin in the Santa Margaritta of 36 guns and 250 men, fell in with the Tribune of 337 men, mounting 44 guns, but pierced for forty eight, and with the Tamiſe of 36 guns and 306 men, attended by the Legere of 24 guns and 180 men. Williams with the greateſt ſpirit, choſe the largeſt for his antagoniſt, and recommended the Tamiſe to Martin, who in twenty minutes of cloſe fight, forced her to ſtrike, with the loſs of 32 killed and 19 wounded, having himſelf only 3 wounded and 2 killed. The Tribune in a running fight of ten hours and a cloſe fight of fifty-five minutes, with the Unicorn, in which ſhe uſed various manœuvres to eſcape, was at laſt quite diſmantled and obliged to yield, having 37 killed and 19 wounded without killing or wounding a ſingle man in her opponent, as the rigging and flight had been her ſole objects.

The honourable Captain Beauclerk in the Dryad of 36 guns and 200 men, took with the loſs of 2 killed and 7 wounded, the Proſerpine belonging to the ſame ſquadron, carrying 42 guns, and manned with 348 men, in forty-five minutes of cloſe fight, killing 30 and wounding 45. The Legere was captured ſoon after by the Apollo frigate, and the whole ſquadron thus ſecured in Britiſh ports.

Theſe are a few inſtances out of many that might be particulariſed of ſhip oppoſed to ſhip; and they clearly evince the ſuperiority of Britiſh

proweſs,

proweſs, and that the French ſenſible of their deficiency endeavour to compenſate it by numbers, and dread a cloſe fight at ſea upon equal terms with the Engliſh, as they do the bayonet on land. When not embolden'd by an overwhelming inequality they maintain a diſtant fight with chain ſhot and langrel, deeming it a rich triumph to eſcape.

In the courſe of this year however a French ſhip of the line with two frigates and two ſloops gained much plunder, but no glory by the capture or deſtruction of Engliſh merchantmen and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. But their other ſquadrons met with nothing but diſhonour like their ſingle ſhips; for when overtaken, they were either captured, or driven on ſhore and deſtroyed. In this line of ſervice Sir John Warren, Sir Richard Strachan, Sir Sydney Smith, and Sir Edward Pellew, purchaſed a reputation that will never die but with the Engliſh language. Theſe adventurous knights of the genuine order of chivalry ſucceſſively took their ſtation off the French coaſt, and allowed no cruiſers, ſingle or united, to quit the enemy's harbours with impunity. Diſregarding batteries on ſhore, they frequently landed and burnt, ſcuttled or towed off whole fleets, with their convoys; ſo that the coaſting trade ceaſed, and land-carriage became the ſole reſource of a country waſhed on ſo many ſides by the ocean.

But the Convention ſwelled with the importance of newly acquired power and eager to gratify the popular preſumption, which they had inſpired by their braggart promiſes, exerted every nerve to eſtabliſh at ſea the ſuperiority which they had gained on land. Diſtreſſed at home for proviſions they expected from America a fleet loaded with an

an immenſe ſupply of corn and flour, of naval ſtores and colonial productions, and dreading its capture diſpatched twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line for its protection. Admiral Howe with twenty ſix ſhips diſcovered on the 28th of May the enemies far diſtant on his weather-bow, advancing in a looſe order, as if unapprifed of the hoſtile fleet's approach. The time required to form the line of battle facilitated the progreſs of Howe, who towards the cloſe of the day diſplayed admiral Paſley's ſignal for attacking the French rear. Paſley with peculiar firmneſs poured a continued fire into the ſternmoſt of the enemy's line, the Revolutionaire of 120 guns, but having a foretopmaſt diſabled, could not equal his antagoniſt in ſailing. By a ſignal from Lord Howe, Hugh Seymour Conway in the Leviathan, with equal ſpirit and courage, took his place for ſome time alongſide of the three-decked ſhip, and then ſtretched farther a-head to encounter the ſecond ſhip from the enemy's rear, leaving the Revolutionaire to the Audacious, who after a long and ſevere conflict made the Frenchman ſtrike, but being much crippled loſt him in the confuſion and darkneſs of the night without being boarded. Drifting with the wind like a wreck on the water, ſhe was in the morning diſcovered by the Audacieux, and towed into Rochefort to be condemned as uſeleſs. The Audacious being much damaged and ſeparated from the fleet returned into port, and thus left the Engliſh with twenty-five and the French with twenty-ſix ſhips.

On the 29th in the morning, Howe obſerving that the van of the Britiſh fleet, which with the wind againſt it, had remained on the ſtarboard tack in a parallel direction to the French, was near enough to make an impreſſion on its rear, ordered the ſhips to tack in ſucceſſion with that intent

intent. At this manœuvre the enemy wore from van to rear, and edging down in line a-head to engage the van of the Britiſh fleet, opened with a diſtant fire on the headmoſt ſhips, as they came ſucceſſively into the wake of their ſeconds. To counteract this movement, the ſignal made by Howe at the firſt tack to break their line was renewed; but, as the ſmoke at intervals diſperſed, the Admiral diſcovered that the Cæſar, the leading ſhip of his van, had not kept ſufficiently to the wind, and that conſequently the intended movement would probably fail of the purpoſed effect. The Queen Charlotte therefore, the Admiral's ſhip, being immediately tacked, and followed firſt by the Bellerophon, and then by the Leviathan, paſſed in action through the enemy's line, between the fifth and ſixth ſhips in the rear, and directly tacked again to renew the action with the advantage of the weather-gage. But, as the principal part of the Britiſh fleet was at this time paſſing to leeward, beyond the ſternmoſt ſhips of the French, and the whole in a diſunited ſtate, the Admiral having the fore-mentioned crippled ſhips only for a ſupport, could not prevent the enemies from wearing again to the Eaſtward, in ſucceſſion, to ſuccour the diſabled ſhips of their rear. He followed, however, after the collection and arrangement of his ſhips, with the wind in his favour, and notwithſtanding a thick fog, which laſted the two ſucceeding days, ſaw them at intervals, at the diſtance of a few miles.

On the memorable firſt of June the fleet being in a ſituation to bring the enemy to a cloſe action, advanced in a firm and compact line for that purpoſe, and, as there was no alternative, was received with the cuſtomary reſolution. But in leſs than an hour, the French Admiral, the Montagne

tagne of 130 guns, crowded all the ſail that ſhe could carry away from the Queen Charlotte of 100 guns, accompanied by all the ſhips in the van capable of following, and leaving to the mercy of the Engliſh ten or twelve that were crippled or diſmaſted. The greater part of the Britiſh ſhips were now ſo much diſabled in their rigging, or ſo widely ſeparated, and under ſuch circumſtances with reſpect to thoſe French ſhips that were ſtill capable of continuing the fire, that two or three even of their diſmaſted ſhips under a ſingle ſpritſail or ſmaller ſail raiſed on the ſtump of the foremaſt could not be detained. Two ſhips of 80 guns, and five of 74 remained; but the Vengeur ſunk, and with her 320 of the crew, before adequate aſſiſtance could be given. All the victorious ſhips arrived ſafe in port with their prizes, and the officers and crews received the grateful thanks and plaudits of the nation. Howe, in particular, was deſervedly extolled to the ſkies for his tactical ſkill, ſteady perſeverance and determined courage, firſt in forcing the enemy after every evaſion to a cloſe action, and then in obtaining ſo ſignal an advantage over a fleet ſuperiour in its number of ſhips and of men, as well as in ſize and weight of metal.

The enemy having according to cuſtom meditated flight from the beginning and therefore aimed chiefly at the rigging, did not render this victory a dear purchaſe; for the killed and wounded in the Britiſh armament amounted only to 904, while the killed and wounded in the ſix captured ſhips alone, came to 1370. The killed in the Montagne and Revolutionaire exceeded by the French account 600, and the wounded could not be fewer. At the rate of 1370 to ſix ſhips, the killed and wounded in the remaining eighteen

French

French men of war muſt have been at leaſt 4110, and the loſs in the ſeven ſhips taken or ſunk, in taken killed or wounded men was 5680. All theſe ſums added make the total loſs in killed, wounded, and captured men 10960. Yet Barrere, mouth-piece to the committee of publick ſafety and liar-general to the Convention mounting the roſtrum, repreſented this defeat as a great victory, declaring that the Engliſh had fled in conſternation from the ſcene of action, purſued into their ports by the ſeven miſſing ſhips of the republick. Had admiral Montague with the detached ſquadron of eight capital ſhips which he commanded, remained at ſea, as he ought, many of the diſabled ſhips and of the fleet from America would have in all probability become his prey.

This preſumption is the more likely, that, after this terrible check to French arrogance in a field, where they could not, according to their uſual cuſtom renew the conteſt upon repeated diſcomfiture with freſh reinforcements, no attempt was made by them at ſea, except in the Mediterranean againſt admiral Hotham, who with fourteen ſhips to fifteen, having 18000 land forces on board, captured two ſhips, one of 80 guns and another of 74, with 2300 troops, and compelled the remainder to ſeek refuge in port. The partial engagement of admiral Cornwallis, with five ſhips againſt thirteeen of the line, and 17 frigates and ſmaller veſſels, deſerves mention only for the daſtardly behaviour of the aſſailants, and for the maſterly retreat and ſteady bravery of the defenders. Nor is there any thing memorable in the victory of Lord Bridport over a French fleet of inferiour force to his own but the alertneſs and promptitude with which he and ſome captains intercepted and took 3 capital ſhips preſſing to the ſhore.

ſhore. Upon the whole victory had been ſo much the order of the day among the Britiſh troops, where they were not greatly outnumbered, that the brilliancy of many gallant deeds was often loſt to the publick eye dazzled by the general blaze.

Great as the exertions of the Convention had been on the watery element, they were greatly exceeded by its efforts on land. Fourteen armies conſiſting, if we may credit their own accounts, of twelve hundred thouſand men, covered the frontiers or over-awed the mal-contents in the heart of France. A diplomatick agent in a neutral country, ſaid Barrere, but he ſaid it before the firſt of June, has declared that the coaleſced powers are willing proviſionally to acknowledge the French republick. "Well; let us proviſionally deſtroy all tyrannical or kingly governments. Do you know what the deſpots are propoſing? they offer you for two years an armiſtice or a ceſſation of hoſtilities, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing among you new Vendees, of recovering their own exhauſted ſtrength, of carrying off your merchandize, of infecting the popular ſocieties by their agents, of exciting new conſpiracies, of perfidiouſly taking from you your arms, and your proviſions, and, after all, of giving you ſome royal ſcoundrel for a maſter. Yet in the midſt of this pacifick language they have the impudence to aſk "who are the French negotiators to whom they are to apply for peace." To whom? to twelve hundred thouſand negotiators that we have now in arms. Why ſhould not France act like ancient Rome? Why ſhould not ſhe ſurround all kings with the famous circle of Popilius? If the Britiſh people wiſh for peace, why do they cling to their deſpotick and infernal government? let them ceaſe to behave like ſlaves, and we will grant

grant them peace. Yes, republicans, ſaid the preſident, you have like genuine patriots brought us a ſample of the ſaltpetre prepared according to the new chymical mode of accelerating its extraction. What is this but to tell us that there ſhall be neither peace nor truce for tyrants, and that the olive ſhall be erected only on their tombs. Courage, modern Spartans, forge the thunderbolt that is to ſtrike their guilty heads. Devour proud Albion, and plunge into the ocean Pitt and his accomplices. It is not enough that they ſhould be expelled from the territory of the republick; it is on the banks of the Thames that the glorious emblem of our liberty muſt be planted; it is in the ſtreets of London that the hymn of Marſeilles muſt be ſung. Theſe inſolent men propoſe to you a truce for two years, and are willing to recogniſe the republick proviſionally. What ſingular generoſity to a nation of twenty five millions of ſouls with 1,200,000 heroes in arms; to a nation, which caſts 1100 cannons a month, makes almoſt a thouſand muſkets a day, and has ten millions of livres to exchange for powder and ſhot! what do I ſay? twenty-four millions of pounds of powder will be neceſſary for the campaign. They are ready with every other requiſite. Depend, citizens, on the incorruptible Mountain, a rock, againſt which your enemies are waſting their ſtrength in vain."

Nor was this an idle boaſt. The revolutionary government eſtabliſhed by the ſtern intrepidity of Robeſpiere had actually ſet this immenſe force in motion. Twenty thouſand committees with a ſalary of five livres a day for each member ſpread over the 84 departments and ſupported by multitudes of huſbandmen and mechanicks, whom want made ſoldiers, had in the midſt of private plunder

plunder and publick oppreſſion, enforced the requiſitions of men, money, and proviſions throughout the whole extent of the republick, and with their own body, which being found dangerous, was at laſt incorporated with the other armies, compoſed a maſs of 800,000 freſh recruits. Theſe new men having mingled with the veterans, whom hard ſervice for years had taught experience, were ſoon diſciplined and became formidable not only by their number and enthuſiaſm, but by their tactical ſkill and ſtrict obedience to orders.

But how were theſe prodigious multitudes fed, cloathed and paid? the higheſt price of every ſaleable article was fixed at what it fetched in 1790, with one third more for the expence of carriage, with five per cent for the wholeſale dealer, and ten per cent. for the retailer. All dealers were under the penalty of confiſcation obliged to inſcribe on the front of their ſhops and warehouſes the quantity and quality of their goods in every diſtrict, and farmers compelled to account for the produce and diſpoſal of their harveſt. A committee of proviſions under the immediate direction of the committee of publick ſafety, to which it muſt daily report its proceedings, and particularly the exerciſe of its right of pre-emption, foreſtalled every where the market, and commanded articles of the firſt neceſſity. Each ſhoemaker in France had orders to make an offering of two pair of ſhoes on the altar of liberty; and a million ſoon made their appearance. A committee of military ſtores was inveſted with authority to put all horſes, mules, and carriages in requiſition; and the roads throughout the republick were directly lined with beaſts of burden conveying ammunition, implements of war and proviſions to the armies. In a beſieged town, or in a diſtrict

ſurrounded by enemies, articles of the firſt neceſſity were declared common, and, to complete the climax of republican virtues, civick privations were recommended. "Why ſhould the food of a month be conſumed in a day? Why ſhould not the modern Spartans imitate the ancient hero, who upon being preſented by the king of Egypt with ſome exquiſite diſhes for himſelf and his officers, ſent them to his ſlaves as traſh diſgraceful to freemen? Frenchmen ſhould deſpiſe delicacies, which are fit only for titled deſpots and their mercenary tools, for George and Pitt and their ſhopkeeping nation."

Theſe violent and unprecedented meaſures however the leaders of the Convention repreſented as momentary exertions juſtifiable only by the neceſſity of the caſe, and promiſed to the people ultimately an indemnification for all their ſacrifices. This indemnification was to ariſe from the ſale of all property ſeized by the nation, which was pledged as a ſecurity for the aſſignats, or paper iſſued by the ſtate for the ſupply of its exigencies. For, when upon the failure of taxation and of credit the expenditure exceeded the revenue by immenſe ſums, no other expedient could be deviſed. For ſome time this ſecurity, which conſiſted of the reſumed property of the clergy, of the domains of the crown, of the confiſcated eſtates of the emigrants, and of all the ſubjects of ſtates at war with the republick, eſtimated in 1790, at 15 milliards or 623 millions ſterling, was thought to be founded on a ſolid baſis, and the aſſignats ſuſtained no great depreciation. But, as the difficulties and wants of the republick increaſed, the aſſignats ſunk in value; and, as the ſecurity did not remain even a conſtant quantity, while emiſſion upon emiſſion rendered the debt a faſt increaſing

creaſing ſeries, it was evident to the leaſt obſervation that the ſecurity would ſoon become nothing. Hence no reaſonable perſon would accept aſſignats for any commodity but by compulſion, except at an enormous diſcount; even the armies refuſed them, becauſe they rendered proviſions ſcarce in the camp, and threatened famine. This alarming evil produced the law of the maximum, the revolutionary government, the 20,000 committees and the revolutionary armies, which accompanied them with trains of artillery to compel obedience to requiſitions, to extort from every individual his gold and ſilver, and to plunder all ſanctuaries of all their plate, leaving, where they thought proper, aſſignats at a fixed value in lieu of the booty.

The ſyſtem of terror ſuggeſted by Robeſpiere and his Jacobins, and enforced with the utmoſt rigour by the poor againſt the rich could not ſupport the credit of the aſſignats, of which ſix milliards or nearly 249 millions ſterling had been iſſued before the firſt of September 1793, and three milliards and a half or about 144 millions ſterling in the year 1794, making in all nine milliards and a half, or 393 millions ſterling. Beſides, eſtates had fallen two thirds in value ſince the year 1790, when the eſtimate was made; ſo that land, which then would fetch thirty years purchaſe, would not in 1793 fetch ten. The evident deduction from this ſtatement, is that the pecuniary reſources of France, as far as they reſted on the preceding baſis, were then more than exhauſted, nine milliards and a half having been expended, and the original fifteen milliards not fetching now at market five milliards.

Here let us leave the French finances for the preſent, and take a view of the belligerent hoſts.

The combined armies on the Rhine and in the Netherlands amounted according to the moſt authentic accounts at the commencement of the campaign only to 356 thouſand, while the republicans in the middle of February without including the men of the ſecond requiſition reckoned 400 thouſand in theſe quarters. Well then might Pichegru, once a ſerjeant of artillery, but now commander of the northern army, ſummon the Duke of York in a Laconick epiſtle "to ſurrender Queſnoi, Condé, and Valenciennes, elſe he would attack and vanquiſh him." Having by the ſame overwhelming ſuperiority of numbers driven the Auſtrians and Pruſſians at the end of the laſt autumn over the Rhine, he could have little doubt of ſucceeding by the ſame arts in the ſpring.

Yet the emperor fond of parade and regardleſs of ſuch fearful odds, waſted time in idle reviews, and in his uſeleſs inauguration as Duke of Brabant. The firſt general engagement, however, was favourable; for after ſeveral rencounters between outpoſts with various ſucceſs Cobourg, whoſe army was not yet greatly inferiour to Pichegru's, moved forward in eight columns, and ſucceeded at every point, killing three thouſand of the enemy and inveſting Landrecies. The hereditary Prince of Orange commanded the ſiege, while Cobourg covered it on one ſide and York on the other. The enemy having made a vigorous but ultimately an unſucceſsful attempt for the relief of the town, the beſiegers exaſperated by reſiſtance ſtormed the exteriour defenſes and immediately opened the trenches. Not yet diſcouraged by theſe repulſes, the French made a freſh attempt on the diviſion of Auſtrians, headed by Bellegarde and Alvinzy, but were routed with great ſlaughter

ter, before the Britiſh under York could join them. Still encouraged by freſh numbers, which daily arrived, theſe hydra-headed monſters endeavoured to throw a reinforcement of 2000 men with proviſions into the garriſon, but were diſappointed with the loſs of 600 men killed on the ſpot.

To retaliate the activity of the enemy, Cobourg directed York to detach General Otto on a reconnoitring party with a ſtrong body of men. Otto finding the French ſtrong and ſtrongly poſted, delayed the attack till the arrival of a reinforcement, when charging them with impetuoſity, he ſoon broke their line, and after killing 1200, drove the reſt into Cambray, with the loſs of their artillery. Here ſome ſquadrons of the fifteenth regiment of Britiſh dragoons gained uncommon honour by their ſpirit and preſence of mind in the moſt trying ſituation, breaking a line of infantry that lay concealed to entrap them behind a body of cavalry, which they had routed with great execution. The unwearied Pichegru availing himſelf of the new battalions that crowded daily to his ſtandards and filled up the gaps in his diſcomfited legions, watched like another Hannibal the opportunity of a vernal fog to detach from Cambray twenty eight thouſand men with ſeventy nine pieces of cannon, and a force ſomewhat inferiour in another direction to fulfill his promiſe to York. But he had the mortification to find that he had to deal neither with a Flaminius nor with a raw conſular army. While the aſſailants were vigorouſly received in front by grape-ſhot and ſome muſketry, ſeveral regiments of Britiſh horſe accompanied by one body of Auſtrian cuiraſſiers turned their right flank, while ſome light troops performed a ſimilar ſervice on their left, and re-

peatedly charged and broke their lines with a ruinous carnage, with the loſs of their general and the loſs of twenty four pieces of cannon. The Duke's left wing was equally ſucceſsful. The ſeventh and eleventh regiments of Britiſh dragoons with two ſquadrons of Auſtrian huſſars fell upon the advanced guard of the republicans with ſo much impetuoſity that they were completely routed, leaving on the field of battle 1200 dead, ten pieces of cannon and eleven tumbrils with ammunition. No action could be more glorious for the Engliſh cavalry; and it ſhows that, where artillery does not forbid an attack, their ſhock is irreſiſtible. The enemy's operations, which on this day extended from Treves to the ſea, included an attempt on the Emperor's army, which repulſed his three columns with conſiderable loſs; and though Menin, a weak place defended by a weak garriſon of Hanoverians, was loſt, this petty advantage did not prevent the fall of Landrecies. The commandant being ſummoned to ſurrender and informed that the armies intended for his relief had, after loſing 52 pieces of cannon, 10,000 men in killed and wounded, and 1500 priſoners, been entirely defeated and driven into Cambray and Guiſe, he replied, that all the garriſon had already ſworn, and would now renew their oath, to be buried under the ramparts or to vanquiſh. In three days, however, they marched out priſoners of war to the number of 8000, having in a bombardment of ſhort duration ſeen the greater part of the buildings fall, and 1000 of their comrades and 2000 of the inhabitants periſh.

Theſe events forced Barrere, Robeſpierre's ſecond in the committee of publick ſafety and temporary gazetteer to the Convention to acknowledge that victory was not the order of the day, and that,

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if Pichegru muſt gather laurels, he could not expect to pluck them from the brows of the Engliſh. At the ſame time he accuſed a faction of anticipating misfortunes, of hypocritical impatience to be informed of bad news under the maſk of zeal for the welfare of the people, of groundleſsly alarming the publick mind, of undervaluing victories and over-rating defeats. "Let not their intentions be miſunderſtood; it is not a love for their country but hatred to the republick that cauſes their alarms and dictates their inſidious ſpeeches."

This language was but the continuation of a ſanguinary quarrel, which the luſt of power had produced in the Convention. Robeſpiere, who had been aſſiſted by Hebert, Danton, and others, in overturning the preceding aſſembly, had by various artifices engroſſed the whole power of the ſtate. To gain the Jacobins he followed the natural bent of his mind by indulging bloody ferocity and inexorable cruelty; to attach the populace he pretended a horrour of atheiſm and a predilection for univerſal toleration and an unlimited freedom of religious opinion and worſhip. The churches were accordingly opened to all ſects indiſcriminately, and decadary feſtivals inſtituted in honour of the Eternal. While all Paris was crowned with flowers and the houſes in every ſtreet exhibited various devices expreſſive of joy, Robeſpiere marched as preſident at the head of the Convention to the Tuileries, and after delivering an edifying harangue on the neceſſity of cultivating morality and religion in a ſtate, ſet fire as high prieſt with his own ſacred hands to a hideous and miſhapen figure denominated atheiſm. Having atchieved this notable exploit he proceeded with his obſequious attendants in the

ſame order to the field of Mars, and climbing a ſtupendous rock erected with great labour and coſt in honour of the deity entertained the gaping multitude with another inſtructive ſermon.

By this pagaentry this new Mahomet and Gallick unitarian meant, like the Jewiſh prophet, to cover with a thin veil of juſtice a tragedy, which by his command had been acted in March. In the ſtruggle for ſuperiority among the leaders, a ſchiſm had taken place in the Jacobin ſociety; and the minority, among whom were Hebert, Danton, Eglantine and others, who had been the moſt ſtrenuous advocates for the abolition of publick worſhip, acquired from the convent, in which they held their deliberations, the name of Cordeliers, and retained among the ſuperſtitious populace but little of their former popularity. This circumſtance rendered their removal more eaſy to Robeſpiere, who dreaded them as the only obſtacles to the continuance of the dictatorſhip, which he already poſſeſſed. Every unguarded expreſſion therefore, which dropt from them in converſation, in the clubs and in the Convention, was noted and treaſured up in the memory. Barrere alarmed the Convention with plots and conſpiracies, and produced manuſcript papers inſtigating the Pariſians to revolt, to aſſaſſinate the deputies, and to demand a chief. When by theſe artifices the tyrant thought the minds of the citizens ſufficiently prepared for the exploſion, he ſet fire to the train, and arreſted the obnoxious members.

This enterpriſe was facilitated by the following circumſtance. The violence of the revolutionary government joined to the ſcarcity of corn and the miſery of the populace, having cauſed not only murmur but reſiſtance in various parts had made a ſtrong

a ſtrong government not only expedient but neceſſary. The committee of publick ſafety therefore headed by Robeſpiere was inveſted with unlimited power to ſeize and deliver up to the revolutionary tribunal, or to impriſon till the return of peace, and then to baniſh for ever from the territories of the republick, all perſons ſuſpected of being its enemies. By this decree he became at once deſpotick and ruled the land with a rod of iron. Eight thouſand victims reduced to one meal a day out of a ſcanty portion of common diſhes ſoon groaned in the priſons of Paris, and their number throughout the whole extent of the republick was incalculable. The baſtiles of France in all the reigns of all its monarchs never contained ſo many innocents as were immured in one day by this relentleſs monſter. A word, a nod, or even a wink from him was ſufficient for an arreſt, an arreſt for an impriſonment, an impriſonment for an accuſation and an accuſation for condemnation, and condemnation for execution; a reprieve, or pardon being terms unknown in his vocabulary. Is it neceſſary to add that all the deputies ſuſpected of rivalſhip periſhed under the axe of the newly invented inſtrument of death? Having been acceſſories to ſo many murders they fell not only unregretted, but with ſhouts of applauſe from the ſavage multitude, who ſeemed to delight in theſe bloody ſpectacles. Danton, who in hopes of ſaving his own perſon joined in decrying his colleagues, ſoon experienced the ſame fate. Knowing his trial to be but a mockery he made it his amuſement during its continuance to diſcharge pellets of paper at the faces of his judges, and ended his life unpitied.

Theſe trials and executions had by daily repetition become now ſo common that they ceaſed

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to draw the attention of the ſovereign rabble, or to divert it from melancholy reflections on the diſaſters of the republick in the theatre of war. The effuſion of nobler blood was therefore thought requiſite, as a propitiatory ſacrifice; for in different governments human victims are immolated in different modes. Accordingly the ſections were in the uſual way introduced upon the ſtage, ſoliciting the Convention to purge the republick from every ſtain of royal blood and to extirpate the family of the tyrant. The unfortunate Lewis's ſiſter, the mild, the innoffenſive and humane Elizabeth, all benevolence and charity, was by the Convention's order dragged as a criminal to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Ever ſince her cruel and painful ſeparation from her neareſt and deareſt connections, whom ſhe ſaw inevitably doomed to an unjuſt death, ſhe had languiſhed in a gloomy priſon, deſtitute of all the enjoyments of this world and deriving her ſole conſolation from the hopes ſuggeſted by her religion in the next. When ſhe appeared before the mercileſs court, the preſident after ſeveral enſnaring but fruſtrated interrogatories, aſked the illuſtrious priſoner whether ſhe had not in converſation fed the young Capet with the hopes of ſeeing royalty once more triumphant and of mounting the throne. Her reply was that in familiar diſcourſe with Capet, whom misfortune had endeared to her ſtill more than conſanguinity, ſhe had not neglected to adminiſter any conſolation which ſhe thought likely to alleviate his affliction at the loſs of his parents. No farther proof of guilt was thought neceſſary, this anſwer being deemed an act of treaſon. Another account is in circulation; but, where the court was oppreſſed by ſuch multitudes of trials and expedition conſulted more than juſtice, the

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ſcale of probability inclines to the ſide of this ſummary proceeding. Shuddering a little at the firſt view of the fatal inſtrument, and ſtill more at the ſtreaming blood of twenty-ſix headleſs trunks that had been mangled before her, ſhe ſubmitted to her fate with the ſame pious reſignation and calm ſerenity which had diſtinguiſhed her whole life.

From this ſpecimen it is eaſy to conceive what mercy was ſhown to other priſoners, whom it would be as difficult to enumerate as to count the waves of the Britiſh Channel in a ſtorm. Marat ſaid that the fabrick of the revolution muſt be cemented with the blood of three hundred thouſand victims, and now he was found to be a prophet. Not only ambition and revenge, but malice, envy and avarice conducted each their thouſands and tens of thouſands to the ſcaffold; and private aſſaſſination as well as public ſlaughter raged over all the face of the republick. Even the armies, to which multitudes reſorted as an aſylum, proved no ſecurity; generals and privates being led to execution for their wealth. The proſcriptions of the Roman dictators and triumvirs were in devaſtation to the French executions what ſkirmiſhes are to battles.

Yet all theſe horrours could not ſatiate this ſanguinary nation's appetite for carnage. The deſtruction of their fleet by an inferiour force under Howe mortified their pride; and their revenge muſt according to cuſtom have a ſacrifice for its gratification. Public indignation pointed at Robeſpiere and his party, who had alone ſteered the political helm; and his competitors ſeizing opportunity by the forelock directed the ſtorm at their devoted heads. But, though the tyranny, oppreſſion and cruelty of the deſpot had rendered him

him and his adherents generally obnoxious and deteſtable, yet, maſter as he was of the conſtituted authorities and of the armed force in Paris, to wreſt them out of his hands required prudence, ſecrecy and vigour. The fall of his late aſſociates made every member in proportion to his eminence tremble for his head, as he might be the next marked out for deſtruction. In ſuch preſſing danger diſpatch was indiſpenſable, ſince he was prompt in his deciſions, and ſtabbed with the poniard where he thought the guillotine would be too ſlow. Yet timidity ſuggeſted the precaution of feeling the national pulſe. Whiſpers of tyranny were circulated; the exiſtence of a dictator was hinted; dark innuendoes ran along the benches and galleries of the Convention; the journals announced the ſpeedy approach of a new proſcription, and even named the victims. Symptoms of oppoſition appeared in the Convention and even in the Jacobin club; Robeſpiere abſented in diſguſt from both and from the committee of public ſafety for two decads; but at laſt condeſcended to deliver two exculpatory harrangues, in which he aſſerted the reality of a conſpiracy to ſubvert the republic and to reſtore monarchy, and accuſed the abettors of atheiſm as the authors. The latter of theſe ſpeeches having been uttered in the Convention provoked replies, and the altercation continued till the parties were ſo heated that they ſcorned all reſerve. Murmurs, clamours and threats ſilenced Robeſpiere and his adherents, and left an open field for his antagoniſts, who improving the victory upon the ſpot procured a decree for arreſting him and all his ſubordinate agents in the Convention, in the Jacobin ſociety and in the civil and military departments.

Robeſpiere

Robeſpiere and the other arreſted deputies being conducted by peace-officers and guards to priſon were rejected by their creature, the jailor, and led in triumph to the Town-houſe, where Henriot, the commandant of the Pariſian guards, having escaped from arreſt had aſſembled his troops, retaining one diviſion, and ſending two others, one againſt the Committee of Public Safety, and the other againſt the Convention. During theſe arrangements the deputies in the Town-hall having ordered the alarm-bells to be rung declared their own body the true Convention, and that in the national hall a junto of traitors. In the midſt of the confuſion and uproar occaſioned by the multitudes, that ruſhed in all directions through the ſtreets at the ſound of the bells, the enemies of Robeſpiere luckily exclaimed "long live the Convention," and the cry immediately reſounded from ſtreet to ſtreet. The national guards, and even the canoneers, the devotees of the deſpot, ſtood appalled at the unanimous ſhout, and ſuſpended their operations, except in one place where they met with a repulſe. The Pariſians renewed at the bar of the Convention their oath to obey only its authority and were led againſt the inſurgents as outlaws and traitors. The revolters in the Town-hall abandoned by thoſe, who a few hours before believed them irreſiſtible, attempted either flight or ſuicide. Robeſpierre the elder diſcharged a piſtol into his own mouth; but the ball only broke his jaw, while a ſoldier pierced him in the ſide with a bayonet. The younger Robeſpiere by a leap from one of the windows broke a leg and an arm. Henriot being thrown out upon the pavement by an accomplice, as he ſolicited aſſiſtance from the rabble, was cruſhed to death, and two others periſhed, the one by his own piſtol

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and the other by his own knife. The apprehended conſpirators, in number twenty-two, having their names identified before the revolutionary tribunal were led without any further ceremony to execution; and among them periſhed Simon, the ſhoemaker, to whom the young Capet was apprentice. Seventy municipal officers and inferiour agents ſoon ſhared the ſame fate. Though humanity ſhudders at ſuch effuſion of blood, yet it is ſome conſolation to ſee guilt only ſuffer. When heaven permitted Brutus and all his aſſociates to fall, has it no thunderbolt in ſtore for the ſurviving murderers of a legal ſovereign and his innocent family and myriads of adherents?

Robeſpierre fell a dupe to ſecurity. Having ſo often triumphed by the aſſiſtance of the Jacobins and being now ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the conſtituted authorities and of the national guards under his inſtrument Henriot he thought his power irreſiſtible. Never ſuſpecting that his enemies would get the ſtart of him in audacity he repaired to the Convention in order to infuſe terrour and by his denunciations to mark out the objects of his vengeance and to give the watchword to his myrmidons, who were on his exit to be ſet in motion and once more to purge the Convention. Thus anticipated and ſurpriſed he is but awkwardly compared to the Engliſh Cromwell who was never overreached nor overcome, and whom he reſembles chiefly in religious hypocriſy. Except in procuring the king's execution for his own ſecurity, no acts of cruelty ſtain the character of the Protector, whom hiſtory celebrates as generous and humane, a good ſon, a kind huſband, an indulgent father and warm friend. None of theſe good quatities is diſcoverable in Robeſpiere, who was enormouſly cruel and bitterly vindictive,

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ſacrificing without remorſe or pity the men on whoſe ſhoulders he had mounted to power, when they differed with him in politicks. In printed eloquence indeed the Frenchman greatly exceeded the Briton; for thoſe harangues, which his diminutive figure and bad utterance rendered unimpreſſive, are frequently diſtinguiſhed by energy, conciſeneſs and bold imagery, while Cromwell's, like a canting preacher's ſermons, ſurpriſe us with their myſterious obſcurity and perplexed abſurdities. That courage, which excites other men to maſſacres at home and to conqueſts abroad Robeſpiere poſſeſſed: but Cromwell, who may be juſtly accuſed of deſpotiſm but not of tyranny was brave and victorious in perſon, not by proxy, the heroic general of an army, not the deſperate captain of robbers.

It muſt, however, be confeſſed that the terrour, with which Robeſpiere inſpired all orders, gave unity and conſiſtence to government and that the impulſe, which his vigorous meaſures had communicated to the political machine, continued its operation after his fall.

Though the Britiſh fleets had daſhed the hopes of the republicans at ſea, no relaxation was obſervable in the exertions of their armies on land; for with forces daily recruited and augmented they hotly preſſed the rear of the allies, who had raſhly attempted to penetrate into France without taking Liſle, the bulwark of the French Netherlands, or blockading it with ſuperiour numbers. This manœuvre compelled the duke of York with twenty-five thouſand men to make a retrogade movement to Tournay for the defence of Weſt Flanders in conjunction with Clairfait, who in ſpite of every effort had been diſpoſſeſſed of Menin and Courtray. To prevent a communication Pichegru, who

who had by his ſucceſſes laſt year on the Rhine againſt the Auſtrians and Pruſſians gained the confidence of the ſoldiery and organiſed the French armies by a proper mixture of the new levies with the veterans, advanced in force againſt York from Liſle, while another vaſt hord croſſing the Sambre obliged the Auſtrians to retreat towards Mons. York ſeeing his out-poſts taken and his front attacked, ſent with the intuitive ſkill of a good general ſixteen ſquadrons of Britiſh cavalry and two of Auſtrian huſſars to charge the main body of the enemy drawn up in a plain fronting the left face of the camp. Theſe gallant troops ſoon broke the French cavalry, cutting entirely to pieces three regiments of carabineers of five hundred men each and putting the reſt to flight, but were received with more than uſual firmneſs by the infantry, who in the front-rank reſting the butts of their firelocks ſteadily on the ground oppoſed the points of their bayonets to the advancing horſes, while the rear lines kept up an inceſſant fire upon their riders. After three ſucceſſive attacks and ſome diſcharges of a few field-pieces among their crowded ranks they fell into diſorder, and a great carnage enſued. Foiled on the right they ſlackened their cannonade in front, and their left retreated from the Hanoverians, who had bravely maintained their ground. Thus we ſee the ſpirit of the Britiſh troops, when acting in a body under a native general, uniformly triumphing over the multitudinous hoſts of France and dividing the palm of glory with the navy.

The Auſtrians under Kaunitz having ſucceeded in repulſing the republicans near Mons and in forcing them to repaſs the Sambre with the loſs of five thouſand men, the Emperor thinking that part of the country ſecure left his brother the archduke

archduke Charles the command of his army at Orchies, and joined York with a conſiderable reinforcement in order by a general attack in concert with Clairfait to expel the enemy from Flanders. For this purpoſe a plan was adopted for effecting a junction with Clairfait and cutting off all communication between the republicans in Liſle and Courtray. In the night the army moved forward divided into three columns, of which one deſiſted from the intended enterpriſe for want of adequate ſtrength, and two could not attain their object through the wearifome length of their march, the Emperor's adviſers having miſ-calculated the neceſſary time; and two, particularly the Britiſh column under York, were left expoſed on all ſides to ſurrounding multitudes. The Duke, indeed, who on this occaſion diſcovered ſagacity as well as ſpirit, having diſlodged the enemies from Lannoy and Roubaix, where they were ſtrongly poſted, thought it imprudent to advance, as he could not after every effort receive any intelligence of the columns on his right and left, and therefore ordered General Abercrombie to continue with the advanced guard at Roubaix, while he took a poſition with the main body on a commanding height behind Lannoy. At this critical juncture an order unfortunately arrived from the Emperor for attacking Mouveaux in order to co-operate with Clairfait. The order was inſtantly obeyed; and Abercrombie with the four battalions of the guards ſupported by the ſeventh and fifteenth regiments of light dragoons ſtormed the entrenchments: the victors took ſeveral pieces of ordnance and the horſe ſabred many of the fugitives. The Duke leaving Abercrombie with the guards at Mouveaux poſted for the night four Auſtrian battalions at Roubaix, and

the ſecond brigade of Britiſh infantry under General Fox on the great road leading from Liſle to his encampment. Early in the morning the Auſtrian column at Turcoign being attacked in great force ſolicited aſſiſtance, and two Auſtrian battalions being ſent for a diverſion joined it inſtead of returning, as they were directed, if hard preſſed. This opening made on his right York was obliged to fill up with the only remaining battalion; and the arrangement was no ſooner made than he ſaw his front attacked by fifteen thouſand men from Liſle and his rear by a large body from Mouveaux that had penetrated through the Auſtrian column at Turcoign. The few remaining with him were ſoon overpowered by numbers, and falling into irremediable confuſion conſulted their ſafety by flight. Carried forcibly along the current the Duke endeavoured firſt to join the guards and then Fox's brigade, but finding numerous battalions of republicans in his way forced a paſſage with a few dragoons to the Auſtrians under Otto, with whom he was compelled to remain the whole day in painful ſuſpenſe. The guards headed by Abercrombie had ſcarcely paſſed the gates of Roubaix, when the batt-horſes alarmed by the inceſſant firing broke in upon their ranks, kicking and plunging with their loads reverſed under their bellies. Thus annoyed they marched with all practicable regularity towards Lannoy; but finding it abandoned by two battalions of Heſſians and occupied by the French they faced about, and ſcrambling acroſs the country reached Otto's diviſion with the loſs of three hundred men and of ſome light field-pieces and howitzers, having been greatly incommoded by the Auſtrian huſſars, who rode over the infantry in every direction. The ſecond brigade

under

under Fox, who here diſplayed the ſpirit and intrepidity of his brother, did not eſcape with equal eaſe. After ſuſtaining with great reſolution a vigorous attack from the principal part of the column from Liſle, they directed their march towards Otto through Leers, as they were cut off from the guards and found Lannoy in the hands of the enemy. Forcing their way repeatedly through their ſurrounding opponents, they charged with ſuch fury that they obtained momentary poſſeſſion and the uſe of ſome French guns, effecting by their gallantry a miraculous eſcape. In theſe various and ſharp conflicts, which laſted with little intermiſſion for two days, the loſs of the Britiſh army amounted nearly to nine hundred men, and by its comparative ſmallneſs proves that even in defeat obſtinate reſiſtance is the beſt policy.

Animated by this unexpected ſucceſs, which he owed to the emperor's ill-adviſed interference, Pichegru purſued his blow, and in a few days poured a hundred thouſand men againſt the right wing of the allies, who had poſted their troops ſo injudiciouſly that their cavalry, in which alone their ſuperiority lay, could not act againſt the republicans; as their wings were protected by impenetrable woods. The French truſting to their artillery, which carried balls of thirty two pounds in weight, continued the cannonade from ſix to twelve and then aided it with muſketry. Still the Auſtrians remained firm and maintained the conteſt from twelve to nine at night, when being exhauſted by fatigue they requeſted relief from the left wing commanded by York. Beſides ſeven Auſtrian battalions the ſecond brigade of Britiſh under Fox marched into action, and charging the enemies at Pontachin with fixed bayonets

turned the fortune of the day, demonſtrating thus repeatedly that the enthuſiaſm of French republicaniſm is not a match for the ſteady valour of Britiſh freedom. On this bloody day 12000 French bit the duſt, while the confederates, who fought under cover, ſuſtained but an inconſiderable loſs.

The emperor, though ſucceſsful in this general engagement, was ſickened by the obſtinate perſeverance of the French, and after calling for aſſiſtance on his Belgick ſubjects, whom inſtead of arming in diſtinct national bands he ought by requiſition to have incorporated, like Pichegru, with his veterans, retired in deſpair, leaving Cobourg to act according to his own diſcretion. The Belgians were ſo far from co-operating that they planted the tree of liberty, and the thirty thouſand Pruſſians ſtipulated by treaty did not appear; for the circumſpective and temporiſing Frederick William balancing probabilities and expecting more profit from the eaſy partition of Poland than from the difficult diſmemberment of France had now begun to meditate a ſeceſſion from the confederacy and to negotiate with the enemy. He therefore reſigned with the leſs regret the benefit of the military talents of Brunſwick, who had retired in diſguſt; ſince his advice of arming the peaſantry and of reſiſting the French, as they attacked, had been rejected. The emperor indeed convinced by dearbought experience that, ſince the quintuple contingent had yet produced only twenty thouſand men, aſſiſtance could by no other artifice be derived from the empire, had acquieſced and actually propoſed the adoption of the meaſure in the diet. But the Pruſſian miniſter knowing the ſelfiſhneſs of the little luxurious deſpots of that country thwarted and overſet

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the ſcheme by repreſenting it as dangerous to ſocial order and the exiſting ſyſtem of government to truſt the maſs of the people with arms in ſuch a ferment of men's minds about liberty and equality. As the experiment had been ſafely made by the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel and by the Duke, it is evident that the pretended alarm did not operate ſo ſtrongly upon the mind of this monarch as the proſpect of diſſolving the Germanick conſtitution and of conſequently depreſſing the Auſtrian family, on whoſe ruins he hoped to riſe by gathering up ſome fragments of the Imperial machine in the general wreck. The disjointed fabrick of the holy Roman Empire did not ſeem leſs ſuſceptible of partition than the diſorganiſed frame of the Poliſh republick. Since France was too compact and firm a body for ſubdiviſion, why ſhould not the attempt be made nearer home, where it might prove more beneficial?

Thus deſerted by the Belgians and betrayed by the Pruſſians the allied armies in the Netherlands were hard preſſed by ſuperior numbers on every ſide, and general Mack gave it as his decided opinion that maritime Flanders could not be ſaved but by inundation. But, as the harveſt, the cattle and the people would thus be ruined, the ſluices were not opened. In the mean time Clairfait diſputing the ground inch by inch was forced after many hard-fought and bloody engagements to abandon Ypres to its fate and to retreat to Ghent, while the hereditary Prince of Orange defeated the republicans on the Sambre and raiſed the ſiege of Charleroi. This gleam of ſucceſs was but momentary; for Jourdan in a few days repaſſing the river in great force completely inveſted the fortreſs. Cobourg marching to its relief

and ſuppoſing the Auſtrians ſtill in the town and ready to ſally forth upon the rear of the beſiegers, attacked them with great vigour; but, when he thought victory already in his poſſeſſion, he found it wreſted out of his hands by the French garriſon, who had replaced the captured Auſtrians. On the ſide of Luxemburg too Beaulieu, who, after defeating a large body of the enemies, had retaken Arlons and advanced to Bouillon, was compelled by forty thouſand invaders to retire to Marche for the protection of Namur. This was the laſt ſerious effort made by Cobourg in defenſe of the Netherlands; for he retired gradually from poſt to poſt, merely retarding as far as he could the progreſs of the enemy.

In a council of war at Tournay he propoſed that the Engliſh ſhould remain behind as a garriſon; but York obſerving the Auſtrians filing off through the town at that very moment and exaſperated by this inſtance of Imperial treachery as well as by the deficiency of Auſtrian reinforcements, which in number and deſtination fell ſhort as much as the Pruſſian ſuccours, refuſed his conſent; and the troops under his command directed their march towards Ghent in order to effect a junction with ten thouſand men coming by Oſtend from England under earl Moira for the preſervation of Holland, which being now the laſt reſource became the ſole object of the Engliſh cabinet.

Upon Moira's arrival at Oſtend he found Ypres taken for want of ammunition, as the commandant pretended, its emigrant defenders ſhot to a man in cold blood, the whole country overſpread with French hords, and the municipality of Ghent inviting the invaders and aſſuring them of a cordial reception. The preſſure of the moment required prompt and bold meaſures. He marched directly for

for Ghent, and the republicans poſtponed for a time their triumphal entry into that city, while Moira, who in this hazardous enterpriſe diſplayed his uſual and well known courage and addreſs, joined York at Malines. Oſtend, the great magazine and arſenal of the Engliſh in the Netherlands being now cut off from all communication with the armies, was abandoned and all Britiſh property ſafely conveyed away in ſhips. In the hurry, however, Nieuport then beſieged by thirty thouſand of the maſs was forgot; and the troops with five hundred emigrants, that were at once maſſacred in captivity by grape-ſhot, and that certainly might have been eaſily ſaved, fell into the hands of the enemies, whom a barbarous decree of the Convention ordering all captured Britons and Hanoverians to be butchered had at this juncture rendered doubly ferocious and ſavage.

Flanders being thus irretrievably loſt, the Britiſh commander in chief propoſed to Cobourg to make a joint attack on the enemy for the preſervation of Brabant, but ſmarting from his late repulſe at Charleroi he declined the propoſal, and left the infatuated Belgians to the hard gripe of the republicans, who immediately acted, as the Auſtrians ought to have done in the courſe of the preceding winter, and put all the young men capable of bearing arms in requiſition. Not ſatisfied with this ſtrong and deciſive meaſure they called in all the coin and exchanged it for aſſignats at par; they ſeized all merchandize and private property without diſcrimination, and made Belgium fraterniſe with France by the conſtant exerciſe of the guillotine under the direction of a revolutionary tribunal. Even an amorous correſpondence with departed Britiſh officers was conſtrued

into treaſon and expoſed the fair and dazzling neck of innocent beauty, when poſſeſſed of wealth, to the deſcending blade of their vile inſtrument of death. But what is the plunder of individuals to their general exactions? Seven millions of livres were impoſed as a tax upon Ghent for its polite invitation, one million and eight hundred thouſand upon two convents, and proportionate ſums upon each mercantile houſe. Where no ſpecie could be found, the goods were ſeized; and all carriages being put in requiſition were ordered under pain of death to be ſent to St. Peter's Abbey, their general repoſitory. Bruges paid four millions, the clergy one, the nobles one, and the citizens living upon their income the other two. Oſtend was compelled to furniſh two millions, though the ſeals of the republick were put upon its rich and numerous warehouſes. Every other town and even village paid in proportion for its deliverance from the heavy yoke of Auſtria and for its reunion to the mild and equitable republick. To enumerate all the depredations and enormities of theſe plunderers would be endleſs. Let this detail ſerve as a ſpecimen of what Brabant, Liege, the Palatinate and all their conqueſts in Holland, Germany, Spain and Italy have ſuffered.

When the allies reſolved to confine their military operations to the defenſe of Holland, they did not make a precipitate retreat, but threw every poſſible obſtruction in the way of the invaders. Though Cadſant ſoon fell into their hands, Sluys made a noble reſiſtance to twenty thouſand men, who imagining that their bombs had cauſed the flames ſeen aſcending in various parts of the town ruſhed forward to paſs the drawbridges, which they ſaw lowered, and to enter the gates which were opened. But all this was a ſtratagem

agem to entice them into the ſnare, and to expoſe their crowded ranks to deſtructive ſhowers of grape ſhot, which preſently brought two thouſand of them to the ground, the draw-bridges being raiſed, the gates ſhut and the flames merely fires kindled for deception. York's army, which with every reinforcement of Britons, Heſſians and Hanoverians amounted only to thirty-three thouſand, retired ſlowly and after many ſkirmiſhes, through Malines, Aloſt, Liere, Breda, Boiſleduc to Grave upon the Maes, having kept eighty thouſand Republicans at bay from the beginning of July to the middle of September. The troops being advantageouſly poſted for diſputing the paſſage of that river maintained their ground, till Clairfait, who guarded the Maes at Oort for the ſecurity of Maeſtricht and Liege, being overpowered left an opening for the enemy and obliged the duke to prepare for gradually croſſing the Waal, a branch of the Rhine running into the Maes. The Stadtholder in the mean time aided by his two brave ſons endeavoured by edicts and promiſes of immenſe rewards and by repreſentations of their danger to rouſe the ſluggiſh Dutch into action: but they remained torpid and inert, two thirds of them being republican malcontents, and all having exchanged the love of their country for the love of money. The Britiſh ſoldiers, indeed, who had according to treaty come to their relief, they abuſed and ſtabbed, when they thought that the crime could be committed with impunity, and left all active ſervice but aſſaſſination to the allies. Inundation they prevented and opened the gates of the towns at the firſt ſummons, being corrupted with gold. Is it ſurpriſing that their defenders, who were ſpectators of theſe abominations, ſhould be guilty of ſome irregularities? Yet in ſpite of ſhameful inactivity

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in their own defenſe and of open treachery in encouraging the advance of the enemy, they would have been ſaved from the ſcourge of republican fraternity, had not the elements fought in favour of the French. When the ſeverity of ſuch a froſt, as had been ſeldom experienced, made the great rivers plains of ſolid ice capable of ſupporting the heavieſt pieces of ordnance, and paved the way for hoſtile inroads, they began to ſtir, and one of their deputies was hanged for attempting to croſs the Waal with a liſt of three thouſand Amſterdamers, who promiſed to uſe every effort for the ſurrender of the city, if the French would come on with rapidity. Heuſden being taken, all hopes of preſerving Holland relinquiſhed, and the Stadtholder with his family compelled to ſeek refuge in England, the States ſent deputies to beg peace, though Pichegru frankly told them that the propoſal came too late, as his orders were to proceed, and to reap the golden harveſt of his labours.

Thus fell Belgium and Holland. The former having long groaned under its eccleſiaſtical rulers and viſionaries and the latter under its burgomaſters, they no more ſhot up like the palm in ſpite of oppreſſion, but bent, like the willow, and ſuffered the ſtorm to paſs over them. Accuſtomed to a cruſhing weight they had loſt the ſpring and elaſticity of their anceſtors, and with the mean ſpirit of Indoos became paſſively the prey of inſolent invaders.

Before the Britiſh troops could make due preparations for paſſing the Yſſel, the Republicans preſſing on attacked their outpoſts between the Waal and the Rhine, but were repulſed in every direction. The pickets after this affair expeditiouſly joined the main body, and all began their march from the heights of Rhenen at midnight, leaving

leaving behind three hundred men too feeble or too grievouſly wounded to be removed from the hoſpital. Indeed the general orders now iſſued for the removal of the ſick proved a death-warrant to many helpleſs and miſerable objects. Conſtantly carried in open waggons, expoſed to the intenſe ſeverity of the weather, to drifting ſnow and heavy falls of ſleet and rain, deſtitute frequently of victuals till the army halted, and then but ſcantily provided, littered in cold churches upon a ſhort allowance of dirty ſtraw without the comfort of a ſingle blanket to repel the keen attacks of the chilling air of the night, they expired by hundreds, and to the reproach of the medical department, which is accuſed of ignorance, neglect and inhumanity.

The diſtreſſes of this retreating army one night in the middle of January preſent a ſhocking picture of a winter's campaign. The troops having a dreary and trackleſs common, 23 miles in length, and deeply covered with ſnow drifted by a ſtrong eaſterly wind in their faces, were ſo exhauſted by fatigue, that ſome battalions halted at the adjacent villages; and as all could not find accommodation, or even ſhelter, ſome proceeded. In the night many loſing the line of march wandered for relief among the hamlets, and many through faintneſs ſunk down oppreſſed with drowſineſs, and never to riſe again. In the morning a ſpectator of this diſmal ſcene could not move a hundred yards, in any direction, without encountering the dead bodies of men, women, children, and horſes. Here ſtood a baggage-cart, with a team of horſes ſunk in the ruts of ſnow, ſtiff perhaps, but not quite dead, with the hoar froſt on their manes; there lay an overturned waggon, with its team frozen in the traces, and without a driver.

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The canvas tilt being repeatedly ſtruck with a ſword, a feeble voice at laſt was heard, and two froſt-nipt legs, unable to ſupport their owner, were with difficulty advanced. Within lay dead two out of three, who for the preſervation of life, had, by creeping cloſe, endeavoured to communicate mutual warmth. The ſurvivor being placed on a horſe was conveyed to the hoſpital, but his froſt-bitten toes dropping off, and the whole maſs of his blood appearing coagulated, made his recovery doubtful. Near another overturned cart lay the huſband and the wife, the huſband, a robuſt and manly ſoldier, the wife a beautiful young woman with an infant about ſeven months old at the breaſt, all three overtaken by the icy hand of death. The mother had expired in the act of ſuckling her child; for with one breaſt expoſed, ſhe lay upon the driſted ſnow with her milk drawn by the babe from the nipple in a ſtream congealed into a white icicle. The infant looked as if its lips had been juſt diſengaged, repoſing its little head upon the mother's boſom, and having its mouth overflowing with milk, frozen as it trickled down its cheeks. Hard by, in one of the panniers of a horſe lying down, but not quite dead, was found breathleſs another infant two years old, belonging to the ſame unfortunate pair, wrapped up in flannel and ſtraw; and not far off, her frozen brother, with a bundle of linen cloths and a few biſcuits. But why ſhould we diſtreſs the reader with the proſecution of a tale, of which we have given enough to harrow up the ſoul, and to make the blood run cold with horror?

In the midſt of ſuch calamities, the Britiſh troops, harraſſed by the French, but never with impunity, proceeded through the Dutch territories, where they invariably met with rudeneſs and brutality.

brutality. Leaving many ſick men at Deventer, Zwoll, and Zutphen, and deſtroying quantities of ſtores and proviſions, they marched in two diviſions, one by a circuitous route through Weſt-Frieſland along the frontiers of Groningen under Lord Cathcart, in order to aſcertain how the minds of the populace were affected towards the family of Orange; and the other, conſtituting the main body under the command of General Abercrombie, ſtraight to Weſtphalia. Cathcart finding Groningen diſtracted by two parties, and the greater inimical to the Stadtholder, croſſed the Eems at Meppen; and Abercrombie, after repulſing the French near Bentheim, paſſed the ſame river at Rheine. The head-quarters were fixed at Oſnaburg, and the troops cantoned in the ſurrounding towns, villages, and hamlets, where the kindneſs and hoſpitality of the poor, but honeſt, German peaſants, formed a ſtriking contraſt to the inhumanity and ſelfiſhneſs of the Dutch boors. In one large barn was ſeen the farmer's whole live ſtock littered with his family. Some, but rare, inſtances of luxury occurred in the interpoſition of a partition forming a kind of ſeparate room at the extremity, for the accommodation of the human ſpecies. In general, men, women, children, pigs, and poultry were ſtowed together, as in ſome parts of the Britiſh dominions; and the people having, like many of the Scotch and Iriſh, never been accuſtomed to any other elegance, ſeemed content.

In the ſpring the infantry embarking at Bremerlehe, returned to their native land, and the cavalry, after co-operating for ſome time with the Hanoverians in the defence of the Electorate, followed their example, having in the intermediate

period

period remained exempt from the hardſhips of active ſervice.

Upon the retreat of the Britiſh army and of the troops in Britiſh pay towards Holland, the armies of the Meuſe and Sambre, under Jourdan, took Namur, defended by Beaulieu, and over-ran all Luxemburg, inveſting even the city. So numerous were the hords of the republicans, that, while, after many repulſes, they overwhelmed the allies with inceſſant attacks, they left behind them detachments ſufficiently ſtrong to beſiege the four captured fortreſſes, Landrecies, Condé, Queſnoy, and Valenciennes, and to ſummon the Dutch barrier-towns, Breda, Bergen-op-zoom, and Bois-le-duc, the former of which they ſpeedily regained by menacing gaſconades, or by plundered gold, and the latter by order of the States-General, whom hopes of lenity ſeduced into theſe ſhameful conceſſions.

While theſe aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes attended the French arms in the Netherlands, their armies on the Rhine and Moſelle were not idle. Though ſurpriſed and defeated in May, with the loſs of many thouſands, by Marſhal Mollendorf, who had ſucceeded Brunſwick, and had not yet been inſtructed by his Sovereign to be ſparing of Pruſſian blood, they retaliated in July. Having been ſtrengthened by two reinforcements of 15,000 men each from the armies of the Alps and the Ardennes, and by enormous augmentations of the third requiſition from Lorraine and Alſace, they attempted to force the Pruſſian lines at Edickhoffen, and at the ſame time prevented by a feigned aſſault the Auſtrians from yielding any aſſiſtance. Being repulſed with great loſs, they renewed the combat next morning at two, and after ſeven ſucceſſive efforts, compelled the Pruſſians, about nine

nine at night, to abandon their poſt, through hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, their ſmall numbers not allowing them time to recruit nature by refreſhment. The republicans inſtantly followed their blow, and by the overwhelming weight of numbers, forced their antagoniſts acroſs the Rhine, ſeizing Duſſeldorf on its right bank and every place but Mentz on its left. What valour, ſkill, and diſcipline could atchieve was not the requiſite here wanted, but an adequate force organiſed upon the French principles and according to the plan propoſed tothe Germanick diet by the Emperor in conſequence of Brunſwick's repreſentations.

But, though this radical defect in the military arrangements of the allies muſt have ultimately procured to the Convention the ſuperiority on the Rhine as well as it had done in the Netherlands, there was another cauſe which accelerated this event; and that was the neceſſity of employing in Poland great armies, which might otherways have acted on the frontiers of Germany.

THE PARTITION OF POLAND.

The ancient hiſtory of the Poles, like the remote events of other aboriginal tribes, is involved in obſcurity and fable; but it appears upon the face of the feudal ſyſtem, which there maintained its ground till our day, that it was a conquered country, the ancient inhabitants having been certainly ſubjugated by the Piaſts, who were till lately the only freemen, and all equal in rights, if not in property, under the name of nobles. The permanence of this ſlavery naturally occaſioned, by intermarriages and other cauſes, a conſtantly increaſing diſproportion of wealth, even among thoſe who upon military principles muſt have originally made

made a very unequal diviſion of the land. Hence aroſe a numerous tribe of princes or mighty barons, whoſe confederacy overawed the ſovereign and rendered the crown elective, extorting freſh conceſſions at every election in favour of freedom, or, what is tantamount, of their own order, till the regal power became only a ſhadow. This diviſion of power, and conſequent oppoſition of intereſts, in conjunction with the luxury and rapacity of ſo many chiefs, without a centre of union or any concert, weakened Poland, like Germany at this hour, to ſuch a degree, that ſhe, who uſed to give laws to the north, became gradually the prey of her neighbours. Sileſia was the firſt member rent from her body by the Emperor of Germany as King of Bohemia. Ducal Pruſſia, Livonia and the Ukraine followed, being ceded to Brandenburg, to Sweden, and to Ruſſia. In addition to theſe misfortunes, a religious and deſtructive war broke out between the Catholicks and Diſſidents, and this flame, which was in oppoſition to Pruſſia fanned by Auſtria and Turky, raged with ſuch violence, that the ſenate ſolicited the Czarina not to withdraw from Poland her troops, now their only hopes, ſince the inſurgent Catholicks had defeated and diſperſed the army of the crown, and after attempting to aſſaſſinate had carried off the king priſoner. Catharine ſeizing the favourable moment diſſipated the forces of the Catholicks, and modelled the conſtitution according to her own intereſt, leaving the king a mere cipher.

In this ſtate affairs remained, till a war broke out between Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte, when the Turks in their incurſions on the Poliſh frontiers introduced the plague as a ſecond ſcourge. Frederick the Great, who longed to conſolidate his

his dominions by the incorporation of Weſtern Pruſſia, a fertile and commercial country, with the Eaſtern, marched an army to the Poliſh territories, under pretence of forming a line to ſtop the progreſs of the infection, and gradually ſeized the whole diſtrict. This ſtep, however, he had not taken, till he had marked out an adequate ſhare of the booty for the emperor Joſeph, whom the Poles were ſo far from ſuſpecting, that they thought him marching to their aſſiſtance, when he ſet his troops in motion. Still the concurrence of the Czarina, who had made Poniatowſki king, and held Poland as a kind of dependent province, was to be obtained. Having enjoyed the whole, ſhe was not likely to be ſatisfied even with a large part; but being engaged in a war with the Porte, and ſecretly informed by the politick Frederick that the only mode of preventing an union of the Turkiſh and Auſtrian arms was a ratification of the partition of Poland, ſhe conſented, and ſigned the treaty. But yet the diet, or Poliſh parliament, continued refractory, and refuſed it's ſanction. This refuſal was but the convulſive pang of an expiring nation. Promiſes, bribes, and menaces, were applied. The marſhal was corrupted, and Warſaw threatened with pillage by the ſurrounding hoſts of the three powers. In fine, thus coerced, the king ſigned, and the diet ſanctioned, the partition; the Ruſſian province, which contains 1,500,000 ſouls, being the largeſt; the Auſtrian the moſt populous, including 2,500,000 inhabitants; and the Pruſſian the moſt commercial, and poſſeſſing nearly a million of the human ſpecies.

To give ſtability to this arrangement, it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a conſtitution conformable to it's principles. Accordingly the crown was

continued elective only for noble Poles, and every ancient abuſe, even the intolerance of the catholicks to the diſſidents, remained almoſt as much as ever without redreſs. Thus, by leaving the ſeeds of diſcord and anarchy to germinate, the allied powers prepared that part of this miſerable country, which was ſtill undivided, for a ſecond harveſt to their rapacity. In purſuance of theſe ideas, the Pruſſian and Auſtrian troops made continual encroachments beyond their appropriate limits, till the Czarina, having concluded a peace with the Ottomans, remonſtrated againſt theſe unfair proceedings. Frederick immediately informed the Empreſs by letter, that, out of his great reſpect for her wiſhes, he would withdraw his forces, if ſhe would ſet him the example. In this manner was the object of prey ſaved for this time, by the mutual jealouſy of the bear, the tiger, and the lion.

Upon the death of Frederick, the Semiramis of the North became leſs ſcrupulous, and, by quartering her troops in various parts of Poland, overawed and controuled it's diet, hoping gradually to reſume her former ſway without any material oppoſition. At this juncture, however, ſhe was involved in a freſh war with Turkey; and the Poliſh diet, by Frederick William's advice, eſtabliſhed a new conſtitution, making the kingdom hereditary in the houſe of Saxony, after the deceaſe of Poniatowſki, who had no iſſue. To give ſtrength and conſiſtency to this arrangement, the king of Pruſſia offered firſt his good offices, and then, in caſe of neceſſity, his armies; recommending at the ſame time an alliance with the Turks, as an additional ſecurity. In conſequence of theſe meaſures, a levy of a hundred thouſand men was voted by the diet, and a large army,

army; particularly of cavalry, actually raiſed. The Ruſſians, after experiencing many indignities, and ſome cruelties, unwillingly evacuated the kingdom. But fate had ordained that this revolution, which happened in 1791, ſhould not be of long duration. The imperial Catherine, having ſuddenly adjuſted her quarrel with the heroic Guſtavus, who was ſoon after aſſaſſinated at a maſquerade through the inſtigation of the diſcontented nobility, and forced by the vigour of her arms the haughty Ottomans to make peace, ſaw herſelf, through the embarraſſments in which the war with France had involved Auſtria and Pruſſia, in a condition once more to dictate her own terms to Poland. After her ambaſſador had read to the diet a long manifeſto enumerating the injuries ſuſtained by her ſubjects from the miſled party, which had violated the free conſtitution of Poland, to which ſhe was a guarantee, and had uſurped the whole government, ſhe declared that her armies were ready to co-operate with the exiled patriots, and other well-diſpoſed Poles, for the reſtoration of the good old ſyſtem. The Pruſſian monarch, being at this alarming criſis ſolicited to fulfil the engagements ſtipulated in the treaty offenſive and defenſive between him and the republic, pretended that, as the date of the treaty was anterior to the eſtabliſhment of the new conſtitution, he did not hold himſelf bound to bring any part, much leſs the whole, of his force, into action. The Poles, though cruelly diſappointed, did not give way to abſolute deſpair. Actuated by the enthuſiaſm of liberty, they haſtily prepared men, money, cloathing, ammunition, and arms; but their preparations were too late. The Ruſſians preſſed with ſuperior numbers, with artillery,

and every other implement of war, upon their newly levied battalions and ſquadrons, who were inexperienced, and but ill-ſupplied with military engines, and forced them, after many hard-fought actions, to retreat from poſt to poſt, till the king, to ſave the uſeleſs effuſion of blood, announced to the diet, that there was no remedy but ſubmiſſion; thus reſigning to the empreſs's ſoothing letter that conſtitution which he had ſworn not to abandon but with his life. The whole ended in a ſecond partition; in which Auſtria, becauſe ſhe had not aſſiſted the common cauſe, but ſtill more, becauſe her conteſt with France incapacitated her for oppoſition, had no ſhare. Pruſſia, for being faithleſs to her ally, was complimented with a portion containing a million of people, and yielding in taxes above a million of Poliſh money. Catherine, to reimburſe her expences in kindly reſtoring the ancient conſtitution, ſeized a diſtrict adequate to her great ſervices; for it's inhabitants exceed three millions, and it's revenues eight millions and a half. To conſole the diet of Grodno for theſe immenſe conceſſions, the remaining territories furniſhed thirteen millions and a half in taxes, and contained three millions and a half of ſouls.

Such flagrant extortion and rapacity could not fail to exaſperate the publick mind, and to rouſe every generous principle into action. Accordingly Koſciuſko, and other patriots, whoſe valour had been moſt diſtinguiſhed in the late conflicts with the Ruſſians, and who had marked the general indignation prevailing among the Poles, formed, after the example of France, the plan of a revolutionary government. The progreſs made during the exiſtence of the late conſtitution towards the emancipation of the burghers and peaſants

peaſants had, they thought, given them a taſte for liberty, and muſt facilitate their ſcheme. At any rate, in their deſperate condition, when the peaſants were exaſperated by the conſtant oppreſſion of free quarters, and the endleſs vexation of unpaid requiſitions, when French money and French counſel were at hand, the project merited trial. Animated by theſe proſpects, the daring Koſciuſko erected the tree of liberty at Cracow, and diſlodging the Ruſſian garriſon, invited by proclamation all genuine patriots to join in the holy duty of inſurrection; and ſo much had the plebeian as well as the equeſtrian order been maddened by repeated acts of Ruſſian inſolence and oppreſſion, that they adopted not only without murmur, but with enthuſiaſm, the revolutionary ſyſtem, and compelled the young men under thirty years of age to repair with the red cap to his ſtandard. Cloth, iron, money, plate, jewels, and church-bells, every uſeful article in the whole diſtrict, was put in requiſition. Madalinſki, another enterpriſing chief, at the head of twelve hundred men, having diſperſed the ſmall detachment of regulars in South Pruſſia, ſeized the cheſts of the collectors; and forcing his way through all impediments, reached Cracow. Koſciuſko, reinforced by theſe, and moſt of the other Poliſh regiments of infantry and cavalry, declared open war againſt Ruſſia and Pruſſia, and taking the field, encountered the Ruſſian army under Deniſow. After a bloody conteſt of five hours, maintained with great ſpirit and obſtinacy on both ſides, the Ruſſian center and right wing were penetrated by the bayonets, pikes, and lances of the Poles; and their rout, in which two thouſand men fell, obliged their left to make a precipitate retreat.

In the mean time the Ruſſian garriſon in Warſaw, having been weakened by detachments of cavalry ſent to the aſſiſtance of Deniſow, was ſuddenly attacked by the citizens, who had ſeized upon the arſenal, and ſecured the artillery and arms. The Poles fired in all directions, in front and rear, from windows and the tops of houſes, upon the ſurrounded Ruſſians, and even ſet fire to buidings to diſlodge them. After a murderous conflict of thirty-ſix hours, twelve hundred out of three thouſand eſcaped, with the ambaſſador, and General Ingelſtrom, to a Pruſſian army in the neighbourhood; where they learned that the victors had plundered all their property, and maſſacred many of their countrymen. As the Ruſſians retaliated, by burning the adjacent villages, the Poles ſtopped their career, by threatening to put to death all their priſoners.

Koſciuſko, who had after his victory returned to Cracow, in order to fortify it, as a place of arms, being invited by the Warſovians, entered the capital in triumph, and impriſoning the king, now ſuſpected and blamed by the Poles as well as by the allies, acted as dictator at the head of a national council. Fired by the example of Cracow and Warſaw, Wilna, the capital of the grand dutchy of Lithuania, expelled the Ruſſian garriſon, and Grodno was evacuated by the terrified enemy. Such was the fervor of the Poles, that Koſciuſko, who had diſplayed the banner of liberty only towards the middle of March, reckoned, in a publiſhed ſtatement of his different armies, the number of a hundred and ſixty-one thouſand; ſixty thouſand being maintained, cloathed, and equipped, by Warſaw alone; and though he was probably guilty of much exaggeration, it proves the wonderful

derful power of the revolutionary ſyſtem, even when imperfectly adopted, as in Poland.

The Pruſſian monarch, who, from the intelligence of ſpies, and from the oppreſſive yoke of the Ruſſians, foreſaw the inſurrection, and reſolved to ſhare in the ſpoils of the cruſhed rebellion, relaxed his operations on the Rhine, and with Engliſh money prepared for an active campaign on the Viſtula. Having taken the command of twenty thouſand men, for the diſturbances in Pruſſia and Sileſia prevented a greater aſſemblage, he effected by forced marches a junction with his allies, before Koſciuſko could execute his plan of attacking them in a ſeparate body, and after a ſevere engagement of five hours remained maſter of the field, and took Cracow by capitulation. The combined armies ſoon inveſted Warſaw, which was protected by four intrenched and communicating camps, from which Koſciuſko iſſued orders to the ſubordinate generals of the armies, diſperſed in various parts, to enter the Ruſſian and Pruſſian territories, and to invite the oppreſſed inhabitants to the ſtandard of liberty. Theſe meaſures were no ſooner propoſed than adopted, and produced inſurrections in South Pruſſia and Courland. The revenues were ſeized, and proviſions and military ſtores intercepted in their way to the beſieging armies, which, thus preſſed, exerted every nerve for the ſpeedy reduction of Warſaw; but after forcing ſeveral intrenchments, with much ſlaughter on both ſides, they were at laſt ſo roughly handled in an attack upon the united regulars and citizens, under Poniatowſki, that, through want, ſickneſs, and reſiſtance, they deſpaired of ſucceſs, and raiſed the ſiege. The Pruſſians, leaving their ſick behind, and harraſſed in their retreat by the

Poles, directed their courſe to South Pruſſia, where the troops lately arrived from Mentz and the Rhine had not been able to maſter the inſurgents; and the Ruſſians, under an equal preſſure, ſought by rapid marches ſafety in a junction with the freſh armies coming from the heart of their vaſt empire.

Though Koſciuſko was, by his lieutenants Madalinſki and Dombrowſki, ſucceſsful in ſpreading the flames of rebellion in Pruſſia, and in giving full employment to the arms of it's monarch, he found his friends in Lithuania gradually ſinking under the weighty columns of Ruſſians conſtantly pouring upon them. Repairing, therefore, with twenty thouſand men to their aſſiſtance, he determined to attack Ferſen, before the arrival of Suwarow, who was approaching with thirty thouſand regulars. For this purpoſe he ſelected ſix thouſand veterans, who in two attacks repulſed the Ruſſians, but were, through the miſconduct or treachery of Poninſki, that with four thouſand men guarded the Viſtula in his rear, thrown into confuſion and routed in a third. The general himſelf, in flying from rank to rank to animate his troops, was wounded and taken, after having three horſes killed under him.

The armies under Suwarow, Ferſen, and Deniſow, being ſoon after this action united, and conſiſting of a hoſt of fifty thouſand, advanced to the attack of Warſaw, which contained a garriſon of twenty-ſix thouſand Poles. As in the preceding ſiege the capture of Praga, a ſuburb ſeparated from Warſaw by the Viſtula, and fortified by thirty-three batteries, mounted with a hundred pieces of cannon, under the direction of proper artilleriſts, and defended by the muſketry and bayonets of ten thouſand men, was the firſt object.

object. Suwarow, not intimidated by this formidable array, ordered his troops, in different columns, and in the dead of night, to advance with ladders and faſcines, and, without drawing a trigger, to ſtorm the works, as they had done at Iſmael, and to give no quarter. So exact was their diſcipline, that all the columns began the onſet at the ſame moment with equal impetuoſity, and prevented the defenders from giving mutual aid. Throwing aſide the cumberſome ladders and faſcines, they climbed over the dead bodies of friends and foes into the batteries, which now fired, in the darkneſs, over their heads, and ſoon fell into the hands of the aſſailants. The Poles on the other ſide of the Viſtula, being alarmed by the uproar of the different columns ſpringing into the intrenchments, and by the thunder of the artillery, or meaning to aid their overwhelmed comrades, endeavoured to ruſh acroſs the river into the city; but being met by a column of Ruſſians, periſhed miſerably by ſlaughter, or by water on the fall of the over-burthened bridge. Beſides twelve thouſand inhabitants, whom the ferocious Ruſſians maſſacred without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality, thirteen thouſand regulars were killed, and two thouſand drowned; ſo that the devaſtation nearly equalled that of Iſmael, in which thirty thouſand Turks fell victims to the manes of captives murdered in cold blood; and thus learned, from retaliation, the ſtandard that regulates the conduct of war, to reſpect the law of nations. During eight hours, for ſo long reſiſtance laſted, the carnage continued, and conſumed above three thouſand women and children, claſping the knees of the enraged ſoldiers, who for two hours more could not be reſtrained from murder and pillage. Upon the

the dawn of day, and after the diſperſion of an autumnal fog, the eyes of the appalled Warſovians beheld a diſmal ſcene; Poles flying, and Ruſſians purſuing, and both ſtumbling over the numerous corpſes that chequered the ſtreets, or ſlipping in the ſtreams of blood that flowed through the kennels; unarmed men, amidſt the cries of children, the wailings of infants, and the ſcreams of mothers, turning in deſpair upon their enemies, and falling in attempts to wreſt from their hands the inſtruments of death. Here lay the grey-haired father, weltering in his gore, on his own threſhold; and there the beardleſs ſon, after ſtruggling in vain to protect the honour of his ſiſter. On the ſteps to one door you might ſee the youthful lover pierced behind, as he haſtened to defend his promiſed bride; and on thoſe to another the blooming maid, as ſhe hurried to procure his aſſiſtance, or to die in his arms. The old, the decrepid, the young, and the beautiful, fell ſcattered in one undiſtinguiſhed carnage; while the ruthleſs victors, who dragged from the plundered houſes gold, and ſilver, and plate, and jewels, and precious garments, turned over with their fixed bayonets the half-dead bodies, in ſearch of farther ſpoil. Such is the picture drawn by a Warſovian ſpectator.

Beſides the loſſes of the Poles in various ſkirmiſhes antecedent to his arrival before Praga, Suwarow had at Krupczyce killed three thouſand and taken five hundred out of 14000; and at Birzec and Kobylka, captured or put to the ſword ſixteen thouſand; ſo that, as the remainder of the troops on the other ſide of the Viſtula, under Dambrowſki, upon being cut off from all communication, had fled for ſhelter towards Gallicia, the townſmen and their few defenders having no hopes,

hopes of relief, could expect to ſave their lives only by a ſurrender. Accordingly they propoſed to open the gates, upon a promiſe of ſecurity to their lives and properties, to which Suwarow generouſly added oblivion of the paſt. Being preſented with the keys, he entered the city in triumph, thanking God that the conqueſt had not coſt ſo much blood as Praga, and declaring that he came as an enemy, not to the republic, but to rebellion. Thus fell the capital, the focus of patriotick ardour, and with it ended all reſiſtance in all parts to the arms of Ruſſia, which now dictated laws to a new province containing three millions of ſouls. King Poniatowſki, who had, during the reign of the revolutionary government, remained a priſoner and a cipher in the hands of his former ſubjects, now only changed his maſters, being ordered by the empreſs to repair under an eſcort to Grodno, where he ſtill continues in his old age, ſhorn of all the beams of royalty, and ſoliciting in vain for leave to lead a hermit's life at Rome.

If Frederick William's deſpair of diſmembering France, and his apprehenſion of Catherine's former encroachments in Poland, had diſpoſed him to ſecede from the confederacy, and to negociate a peace with the Convention, how much more muſt he now have been inclined to follow that plan, when he ſaw his fears realiſed, and the remainder of the conteſted prey under the paws of the Ruſſian bear? Adopting the old miniſter Hertzberg's advice, ſeconded by the preſſing inſtances of his uncle, prince Henry, whom the prejudices of youth had rendered habitually the friend of France and the enemy of Auſtria, he entered ſeriouſly upon the pacifick meaſures, which he had ſo long meditated, and actually

ſigned

ſigned a treaty, ſecuring by a line of demarcation the north of Germany from the calamities of war, upon the condition of abſtaining from all direct or indirect hoſtilities, and inviting the empire collectively, or any of it's ſtates ſeparately, to commence a ſimilar treaty under his mediation.

As this defection from the common cauſe expoſed the Landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel, and the Electorate of Hanover, whoſe inhabitants, if long tormented with war, might adopt the principles of equality, to the incurſions and depredations of the republicans, their ſovereigns judged it adviſeable to benefit by this favourable ſtipulation, and concluded a peace. Indeed it is evident from the nature of the treaty, that this was a conſequence well underſtood by all parties to be the final reſult. When ſo many rotten members of the confederacy's disjointed body thus dropt off, why ſhould we wonder that Tuſcany and Spain ſhould be touched with the contagion? The progreſs of democratical doctrines in his dominions frightened the former, though ruled by the emperor's brother, into a peace; and the latter, from the ſame dread, began to heſitate. The exorbitant demands of France, it is true, made the empire ſtill adhere to it's head; but it's efforts, after voting a quintuple inſtead of a triple contingent, were equally feeble and abortive. Except a ſum of money paid by Ruſſia according to treaty, in lieu of thirty thouſand men, and what aſſiſtance he could derive from Britain and the electorate of Saxony, the emperor was obliged to rely almoſt ſolely on the reſources of his hereditary dominions, in his ſtruggles for the recovery of the Netherlands, and of the empire's terrritories on the left bank of the Rhine. Nor did he think this his only misfortune. The troubles in Poland, and the dangerous prin-

principles which had been circulated, made a large army neceſſary in that quarter: but here what he deemed a curſe proved a bleſſing; for without ſhedding a drop of blood, he obtained Cracow, and five palatinates, as his ſhare of the new conqueſts. The Czarina now ſeeing the Pruſſian armies aſſembled in great force on the frontiers, and ready to contend for their ſhare of the ſpoil, thought it more prudent to make a third partition than to claim the whole; leſt, by leaving a diſcontented neighbour, there ſhould be an aſylum for perturbed ſpirits to excite another revolution, that might infect even her own empire. For the ſame reaſon, and that ſhe might not be obliged, with an exhauſted treaſury, to recommence the war againſt the Turks, ſupported by Sweden and Denmark, ſhe relinquiſhed Warſaw, with it's diſtrict, to the Pruſſian monarch, who, though he ordered his cathedrals to ſoothe the ear of the Divinity with choral hymns, for permitting the Ruſſians to maſſacre his images in Poland, threatened freſh maſſacres, if ſhe perſiſted in refuſing to add this rich and populous territory to an allotment, which he thought too ſcanty.

But, though the navigation of the Viſtula, and in ſome meaſure of the Niemen, thus ſecured to Pruſſia the trade in corn, the overwhelming power of Ruſſia, by the acquiſition of Lithuania, Courland, and other extenſive diſtricts, in conjunction with the entire command of the river Duna, gave her in perpetuity the monopoly of hemp and large maſts.

Thus vaniſhed Poland as an independent ſtate, from among the European powers, through the imperfections of it's conſtitution, and all the noble efforts of it's own patriots, with the generous

nerous contributions of Engliſh philanthropiſts, proved abortive. Never had thoſe theoriſts, who deny a particular interpoſition of providence, more reaſon to be convinced that the moral, as well as the phyſical world, is left to the general laws of nature, and that human affairs do not engage heaven's peculiar care. Liberty cruſhed, and the people maſſacred in Poland; the plague ſweeping off men by thouſands in the Weſt-Indies, and ſtill worſe plagues, hunger and the ſword, devouring them in Belgium and Germany; plots and conſpiracies in Britain, and treaſons in Ireland; Holland a prey internally to faction, and externally to invaſion; the virtuous and induſtrious trader expoſed to rapine, flight, exile, or murder; while the turbulent demagogue and brutal ruffian riot on their wealth, in the midſt of independence and diſtinction; the elements favouring the progreſs of the common enemies of all ſocial order, religion proſtrate, and atheiſm triumphant; theſe, and other hideous forms grouped together, exhibited the picture of the times.

Nor were theſe the only countries which this deſcription ſuited. Spain felt ſimilar convulſions. That kingdom, which was previouſly in a ſtate of preparation, and joined according to treaty by ſix thouſand Portugueſe, entered upon action immediately after the Convention's precipitate declaration of war, and reducing Bellegarde and ſeveral other inferior places, threatened Perpignan on the ſide of Catalonia, or of what the French call the Eaſtern Pyrenees. From Navarre, the feeble Spaniards made no conſiderable impreſſion on the territories of France, though they were principally guarded by armed peaſants. Yet Spain is a country inhabited by ten millions of people, and that ought, if properly conducted, to have poured

two

two hundred thouſand men into Gaſcony and Languedoc, where they might have lived at free quarters upon the republicans, and been enriched with their ſpoils. If France, out of twenty five millions, can ſpare for ſo many years a million of men for plunder, might not Spain have furniſhed ſo ſmall a proportion out of ten? Unfortunately, beſides her armies of nobles and hidalgoes, ſhe has a hoſt of two hundred thouſand nuns, monks, and clergymen to maintain in idleneſs and luxury; and to ſupport her military defenders by ſea and land, is forced to oppreſs her labourers and manufacturers; ſo that, without adopting the propoſed ſyſtem of ſpoil, ſhe can make no effort adequate to her ſize and population. Being a factor rather than proprietor of the American mines, from which, with the labour of miſerable Indian and African ſlaves, ſhe extracts gold and ſilver for Europe; ſhe works, like a bee-hive, for others and not for herſelf. The plan here ſuggeſted, the intereſt of the religious orders and ſuperior claſſes prevented, while the king's proclamation for expelling in eight days from his dominions all Frenchmen, except houſekeepers, increaſed the natural antipathy of Spaniſh gravity and indolence to French levity and induſtry. The indeciſion and diſlike of innovation, ſo inveterately rooted in all old governments, allowed the national ardour of the Spaniards to cool, while the heated enthuſiaſm of the French kindled into a flame. The new levies of the requiſitions, being intermixed with the veterans, were preſently diſciplined, and becoming every day more numerous, ſoon proved formidable to the inexperienced Spaniards, and frequently beat them with an inferior force. The republicans animated by the proſpect of plunder, which ſhould always be placed in the eye of a ſoldier,

ſoldier, and mindful of the ſhameful timidity of the Spaniards at Toulon, learned to deſpiſe them as cowards. The Spaniards themſelves, overpowered by numbers, and taught by repeated defeats, that the name of regular was a mere illuſion, began to doubt the Caſtilian valour, and to ſuſpect that they had miſtaken the character of the Gavachos.

In this diſpoſition of men's minds, it was natural for the Spaniſh general L'Union, who appears to have been a man of a patriotick and military character, to attempt the infuſion of ſome ſpirit into the Spaniſh troops, by the example of foreigners. Accordingly a body of mercenaries from Africa joined his army, and at their head he made a vigorous, and at firſt a ſucceſsful attack upon the republicans, who blockaded Bellegarde, the key to Spain or to France. Several batteries were carried, in the midſt of vollies of muſketry and the thunder of artillery; ſwords, bayonets, and fragments of rocks, all ſorts of weapons, that rage could furniſh, were uſed; but through the miſconduct of ſome native battalions, the enterprize failed, and Bellegarde in a month afterwards ſubmitted for want of proviſions. L'Union not diſmayed by the loſs of two thouſand five hundred men, and unacquainted with the ſurrender of the fortreſs, attempted it's relief; but attacked in flank by the French garriſon, he was ſoon taught to deſiſt and retire with loſs.

Collioure, a ſtrong place, garriſoned by ſeven thouſand men, having been ſhamefully ſurrendered, and the troops made priſoners of war, Dugomier, the French general, being diſtreſſed for proviſions, ſent them into Spain, upon condition that they ſhould not ſerve during the war, till exchanged. L'Union alledging that the French, by loading the Spaniards with the expence

pence of maintaining the troops, had violated the capitulation, refuſed to give it his ſanction, and ordered them to act in his army. The Convention, irritated by what they called a breach of faith, and a violation of the law of nations, but of which they had here ſet the example, immediately iſſued a decree that, if the Spaniſh general ſhould perſiſt in not releaſing an equal number of French priſoners, the armies of the republick ſhould take no more Spaniſh priſoners, but cut them to pieces, as if Engliſh and Hanoverians.

In this temper of mind the republicans, after ſeveral bloody but ſucceſsful actions, advanced to the attack of the Spaniſh camp at Figueras, where L'Union aſſumed the command, having decimated ſome of his cowardly battalions, in order to reſtore diſcipline and obedience by terror. "Imagine," ſay the French commiſſioners, "every obſtacle that nature and art could unite; imagine from thirty to a hundred redoubts, in advantageous poſitions, full of cannon, and forming many lines of defence; imagine forty or fifty thouſand men diſtributed in theſe forts and entrenchments, the labour of ſix months; imagine all theſe redoubts, with their artillery and muſketry, like ſo many volcanoes, vomiting at once fire and iron. Theſe terrible obſtacles the courage of our republicans ſurmounted in leſs than three hours. Our battalions advanced in the midſt of muſketry and grape-ſhot, and carried every battery with the bayonet. No priſoners were taken; all were put to the ſword; for red uniforms, being like the Britiſh, are a republican's abomination. The enemies, after abandoning their camp, attempted to rally, and to make a ſtand on an entrenched height, under the caſtle of

Figueras; but a vigorous purſuit forced them to abandon that poſt, and to continue their flight for ſix or ſeven leagues. The cannon on this eminence being turned againſt the caſtle, which contained two founderies for cannon, terrified the daſtardly garriſon of nine thouſand four hundred men into an immediate ſurrender, though the place was ſupplied with immenſe quantities of proviſions and ammunition, and defended by a hundred and fifty pieces of heavy ordnance on the ramparts. Terror is the order of the day. We promiſe you, colleagues, to enter Roſas, either through the gates, or through a breach."

This promiſe did not prove a vain boaſt. The republicans, whom the elements on this occaſion treated with more ſeverity than the Spaniards, having cut roads through mountains deemed, as they ſay, inacceſſible, dragged up artillery, mortars, and military ſtores, for the reduction of a fort neceſſary for overawing the Spaniſh fleet, and for keeping it at a reſpectful diſtance; and then opened their firſt parallel. Rain, hail, and ſnow, ſoon filled their works, and rendered their labour uſeleſs; and therefore, after waiting twenty-three days in vain for more favourable weather, they opened, under the cover of a little hill, their ſecond parallel, with eighteen twenty-four pounders. In two days the defences being ruined obliged the garriſon to abandon the fortreſs, and to embark on board of the fleet.

The army of the Weſtern Pyrenees, which had been formed in ſilence, being now ſuperior in numbers to the Spaniards, and electrified by the exploits of their countrymen, marched at one in the morning, in three columns, to attack their enemies in front, flank, and rear; and having with the bayonet forced their redoubts and entrenchments,

trenchments, threw them into ſuch a conſternation, that they quitted the fort of St. Barbe without reſiſtance. This was but a prelude to greater ſucceſſes. The republicans purſuing the Spaniards, who ſeem never to have imagined that, with ſuch ſtrong defences, cloſe action would have been neceſſary, obtained poſſeſſion, at the firſt ſummons, of Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian; two bulwarks of Spain, of which one, if properly defended, could not have been taken without coſting the lives of eight thouſand men. But all that the French had now to do, was to ſcrew their bayonets, to ſhoulder their muſkets, and to march up boldly to the entrenchments of their enemies, and they inſtantly fled. "At this important poſt," ſays Barrere, "the Spaniards, under Philip V. would have made a ſtand, and eaſily prevented the ſiege of Sebaſtian, by throwing in ſuccours, and by placing the French army beteen two batteries; but under Charles IV. or Laſt, they have good memories, and cannot forget their late defeats. Faithful to their new tacticks they thought more of retreating than of fighting, though drawn up in battle-array on heights almoſt impregnable. At the ſight of them formidably arranged, the republicans uttered ſhouts of joy, hoping to come to action with the vapouring ſlaves; but no ſooner did our light artillery begin to play, and our cavalry to advance, than they fled from the field, and were no more viſible. The garriſon of St. Sebaſtian, in imitation of ſo noble an example, capitulated after a few cuſtomary ceremonies, and became priſoners of war."

In fact, the Spaniſh populace at preſent ſeems to be a degenerate race, quite unmanned by the oppreſſive nature of their government. Knowing that they are only the working ſlaves of the

gentry, nobility, and clergy, and feeling that they have nothing of their own to defend but poverty and a miſerable exiſtence, they care not who are their maſters. To rouſe even men of ſpirit to feats of valour, you muſt animate them by thoſe intereſting objects, liberty, property, and religion. But what is the liberty and property of a Spaniſh plebeian? A mere non-entity, or at moſt, ideal vanity. And upon him religion can have little or no influence; as it is the engine of his oppreſſion, in the hands of his oppreſſor. The evils naturally ariſing from theſe cauſes were greatly exaſperated by the death of Union, who fell glorioufly at the battle of Figueras; becauſe after him no general of ſufficient weight and character remained to enforce military diſcipline by proper coercion. Yet, though the enemy ſtill advanced from victory to victory, and took Toloſa, the Spaniſh court, truſting to the indignation occaſioned by the plunder and devaſtation of the enemy, who marked his progreſs by pillage, rape, murder, and ſacrilege, ordered a new levy of troops, exacted large ſums from the clergy and the four military orders, and ſtopped the payment of all ſalaries but one to publick placemen and penſioners. Theſe meaſures, however neceſſary at ſuch a perilous criſis, excited much diſcontent, and even murmur and clamour, eſpecially among the clergy, who could bear no abridgement of their enjoyments, and fomented diſturbances among the populace; for, like the Spaniſh Meſſalina, and her upſtart paramour, the Prince of Peace, the eccleſiaſticks ſeem to be in practice, if not in principle, Epicureans, believing only in the pleaſures of this life, and leaving to poſterity the bleſſings of the next.

Alarmed at theſe ſymptoms, the king and his council

council loſt no time in following the king of Pruſſia's example, and in propoſing terms of peace. To this reſolution they were the more readily inclined, as Pampeluna in Navarre, and Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, were threatened by the republicans. As an additional terror to the timid Spaniards, Moncey, the French general in Navarre, having detected ſome ſpies in his camp, would be another Scipio, and ſent them to the Spaniſh quarters, with this letter. "General, you know how the law of nations treats ſpies; but French generoſity diſdains to pollute it's hands with the blood of ſuch wretches. Employ your money better; and let theſe unfortunate men partake of your charity. If you wiſh to know my force, my ſituation, and my intention, I will myſelf gratify your curioſity. I have ſeventy thouſand men, infantry and cavalry. The right wing of my army is defended by St. Sebaſtian, my center is in the valley of Baſtan, and my left extends to St. John. When I have received a column of troops that I expect, I ſhall march and beat you, take Pampeluna, and expel your whole army from Navarre and Biſcay."

This gaſconade, which was in the ſtyle of Pichegru's letter to the Duke of York, produced the intended effect, a precipitate peace; by which all the conqueſts, and all the future proſpects of France, were ſacrificed to preſent eaſe, and to the vain hope of reimburſement from the nominal ceſſion of Hiſpaniola.

The fatal defection of Pruſſia, the tame ſubmiſſion of Spain, the ſudden reduction of Holland, the menacing aſpect of the Swediſh and Daniſh fleets, the tardy interference of Ruſſia, and the rapid tide of French ſucceſs on the continent,

events which had already taken place, or were now in a forward ſtate, made a deep impreſſion on the minds of many Britiſh ſenators, and inclined not only the timid but the reſolute to pacific counſels. Among the latter was Wilberforce, a member of great and merited weight, whoſe opinion on this ſingle occaſion ſwayed ſeveral other reſpectable characters to vote with the oppoſition. At the meeting of parliament, this gentleman, aided by a conſiderable body in the Lower Houſe, and twelve in the Upper, advanced the following arguments in favour of peace. "The king's ſpeech, which recommends double vigour in the proſecution of the war, plainly indicates that peace is deemed impracticable without a counter-revolution in France. Now, if Britain has failed with one of the enemy's cities and principal arſenals in her poſſeſſion, with forty-three inſurrections in the interior, and with the whole force of the confederacy unbroken, how can ſhe expect ſucceſs, when the firſt of theſe means has been wreſted out of her hands, the ſecond cruſhed, and the third diſſolved? Prudence, therefore, dictates pacifick meaſures, were it for no other purpoſe but to prove to all Europe, and eſpecially to Britain, that the enemy is in the wrong; and to produce, what muſt inevitably follow, a ſchiſm in the Convention, and union in the Britiſh parliament, or at leaſt among the people, who, upon ſeeing no alternative but war, will come forward with their hands, hearts, and purſes. Since our troops, whom it is now difficult to recruit even with the enormous bounty of twenty-five guineas a man, have been defective neither in ſkill nor bravery, and ſtand exempted from all blame, what hopes can we found on their increaſed exertions;

tions; eſpecially when it is conſidered that, ſince the battle of Tournay, in which our allies fought, or rather ſtood, from morning till night, and then allowed an Engliſh brigade to repulſe the enemy, the Britiſh and Auſtrian ſoldiers hate one another more cordially than the Britiſh and French? The French armies, amidſt all the diſtreſſes of the populace, are allowed to be well-fed, well-cloathed, well-appointed, and diſciplined. Will they be leſs ſo in another campaign, when the reſources of the conquered territories are added to their own? In all changes and revolutions, the French ſoldiers have remained ſteadily attached to the Convention. Will their adherence be leſs uniform, now that they have been accuſtomed, for ſix years, to obey it's orders; and when the old race has been ſucceeded by a new generation, bred in the principles of equality, and of the rankeſt Jacobiniſm? The abettors of royalty are every day diminiſhing, and the ſupporters of republicaniſm increaſing. The name of king is held in abomination, and royalty thought equivalent to tyranny. A counter-revolution is therefore impoſſible. Yet the difficulties occaſioned by the ſyſtem of terror, has wrought a conſiderable change of ſentiment in France, and compelled the preſent rulers to aſſume the appearance of moderation, if they have not the reality. Is not this an auſpicious omen in favour of peace? Is it not auſpicious that the Britiſh dominions can no more than Sweden, Denmark, and Genoa, and other countries at peace with France, be endangered by the propagation of Jacobin principles, their abettors being but few, and theſe few completely overawed by a competent armed force, and by the declared ſenſe of the country? The re-

peated verdicts of juries have proved to a demonſtration, that the ſtories ſo induſtriouſly circulated concerning the exiſtence of plots, conſpiracies, and treaſons, were groundleſs and ideal; mere fictions, calculated for alarming the uninformed and timid, and for exciting ſuſpicion and odium againſt the aſſertors of liberty, both without and within theſe walls. Are not the miniſters, therefore, highly criminal in exaſperating one half of the nation againſt the other without a cauſe, and in palſying it's efforts, by arming the wealthy againſt the indigent, whom, treated as they have been with indignity, they dare not truſt? Of two evils wiſdom naturally chuſes the leaſt; and the concluſion of peace, however inſecure, ſeems more adviſeable than the continuance of the war with a nation that appears to have recovered it's ſenſes, and in one campaign to have made conqueſts never equalled ſince the days of the Goths and Vandals. The Auſtrian Netherlands, all Holland, all but Mentz on the left, and much on the right bank of the Rhine, part of Piedmont, and part of Navarre and Biſcay reduced, twenty-three ſieges ſucceſsfully conducted, ſix pitched battles deciſively won, two thouſand eight hundred and three towns and cities captured, and ſixty thouſand of the beſt troops in Europe made priſoners: theſe are the exploits of the French in one ſhort year. What have you to oppoſe to this brilliant catalogue? Corſica, that invaluable acquiſition, that precious jewel in the Britiſh diadem; an iſland adorned, according to Neckar and Volney, with a hundred and twenty-four thouſand inhabitants, and coſting to the poſſeſſor ten times more than the amount of it's revenue; a rock perfectly ſavage and uncultivated, with a fickle, reſtleſs, and

and faithleſs race of men, going to the plough armed, coming to the elections with ſwords, piſtols, and ſtilettos, and ſelling their votes at a ſtated price, like merchandize; governed by ten ariſtocratical chiefs, who quarrel and agree alternately, by reciprocal grants of places and penſions, and derange to-day the arrangement of yeſterday, for the expreſs purpoſe of extorting freſh conceſſions. It is not by the atchievement of ſuch conqueſts that France is to be exhauſted, and a counter-revolution effected, but by her own internal diſſenſions, which will rage with more and more violence upon the return of her armies into her own boſom. A change for the better is much more likely to ariſe from this event, than from the failure of her finances. Conſult the hiſtory of Britain for a century paſt, and you will find that her exertions were greateſt when her reſources were ſaid to be leaſt. In the laſt three years of the conteſt with America, the value of American paper was reduced almoſt to nothing; and yet America ended the war with ſucceſs and eclat. The Goths, the Arabs, and the Tartars, could not boaſt even of paper; and yet with their arms, their only coin, they overturned mighty empires, and erected mighty empires on their ruins. The Carthaginians, no doubt, often prognoſticated the ſpeedy downfall of the Romans, for want of reſources, ſince they were obliged to pay ſilver with braſs; but the event did not juſtify their predictions, for it was their fate to bend to the Roman yoke. If the French expreſs greater animoſity againſt Britons, than againſt their other enemies, it is becauſe they fear them moſt; and fear always diſpoſes men to pacifick meaſures. Ceaſe to impoſe a government by force, and you will experience

perience no inſuperable antipathy to peace in Frenchmen; who are now all ſoldiers upon the ſame virtuous principle that all Britons would be ſoldiers, if their country was invaded, and their conſtitution threatened."

"That the iſſue of the war on the continent," ſaid the miniſter and his adherents, "has been diſaſtrous, cannot be palliated nor denied. The treachery or inactivity of our allies, who from attention to Poliſh affairs failed both in the number and deſtination of the promiſed troops, and whoſe faults are laid to our charge, has diſappointed our juſt expectations. Yet the failure is only comparative, our hopes having been only partially fruſtrated. We individually have been eminently ſucceſsful in the Mediterranean, in the Weſt Indies, and in the Atlantick.

"In the firſt of theſe regions we have acquired Corſica, an iſland full of excellent ports in a tempeſtuous ſea; for which, worthleſs as it is, France waged a long, expenſive, doubtful, and bloody war; and which, now that Minorca is loſt, is excellently calculated for ſheltering our men of war, for ſerving as a rendezvous to our merchantſhips, and for giving facility to our commerce on the coaſts of Italy and the Levant. It is not by cultivation and revenue alone that a ſtateſman ſhould eſtimate the value of any poſſeſſion. Minorca, though an expenſive eſtabliſhment, was on this account not relinquiſhed without regret. What is the fertility and territorial revenue of the rock of Gibraltar? Yet, when at the end of an unſucceſsful war the idea of ſurrendering it as a ſacrifice to peace was ſtated, the whole nation ſhuddered with alarm, and reſolved to retain it at any riſk.

"In the ſecond we have obtained poſſeſſion of numerous

numerous iſlands, that will prove an abundant ſource of revenue, and a fruitful nurſery of ſeamen and ſhips. Our ancient coloniſts reckon their property worth forty millions. What then muſt be the value of the French iſlands, when the produce of St. Domingo alone exceeds that of all our old poſſeſſions?

"Our triumphs on the watery element, particularly on the 1ſt of June, it would be idle to recount, as they are imprinted on every man's memory, and exceed all praiſe. The truth is, that the French navy, if not annihilated, is totally crippled, and incapable of conteſt. Why then ſhould we deſpond? We have loſt Toulon; but our fleet, in the Corſican harbour of Fiorenzo, renders it uſeleſs to France; which, though ſomewhat eaſed, is not totally relieved from internal convulſions. Nor is the confederacy diſſolved; for though no aſſiſtance can be expected from Pruſſia and Holland, and little from Spain, yet we may reckon upon a ſtrong diverſion on the ſide of Germany, and of Italy. And, though we ſhould be deſerted by all our allies, an event which, from their evident intereſt in the cauſe, is almoſt impoſſible, how long is it ſince Britain alone has been thought not a match for France? Did we not in the laſt war baffle her, though aided by Spain, by Holland, America, and all the powers of the Eaſt?

"Our misfortune is not want of ſtrength and reſources, but want of union and ſpirit. A party, whoſe ſole object is power, hoping to derive aſſiſtance from another, which aims at a Jacobin republick, decries all alarms as groundleſs, and exults at the eſcape of acquitted felons. According to it, the verdicts of juries have proved the non-exiſtence of all plots and conſpiracies, though

though Horne Tooke, one of the acquitted culprits, in his evidence at a trial ſubſequent to his own, acknowledged their reality. But before whom is this indecent, or rather audacious language held? Before the grand inqueſt of the nation, that, in conjunction with the peerage, with the privy council, and with a grand jury, declared, after due inquiry, and minute inveſtigation, that a treaſonable conſpiracy, for ſubverting the conſtitution, exiſted in the heart of the kingdom. Shall the verdict of a petty jury, even if diametrically oppoſite, be put in competition with ſuch an opinion, ſo given and ſanctioned? Forbid it common ſenſe. The addreſs to the National Convention, extolling the abolition of royalty, and expreſſing a hope that Britain would ſpeedily receive ſimilar congratulations from France, was rank treaſon againſt the conſtitution. The convocation of a Britiſh Convention, whoſe laws alone were allowed to be capable of giving redreſs to the people, amounted, in connection with the preparation of arms, and with the particular application of the doctrine of reſiſtance to exiſting circumſtances, to a preconcerted plan againſt the king and conſtitution. Yet, notwithſtanding all this damning evidence, taken abſtractedly and in general, a guilty individual may eſcape the ſword of the law. Every perſon, accuſtomed to attend courts of juſtice, knows that many culprits are acquitted, not becauſe any real doubts exiſt concerning their guilt, but becauſe their acquittal is required by the ſtrict technical rules of legal evidence. They are far, very far from coming pure as gold from the furnace. Had the men, at whoſe releaſe there is ſo much exultation and triumph, been, inſtead of treaſon, charged with ſedition, the next crime in degree of guilt to

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treaſon, is it credible that they would have been acquitted? They received abſolution from the jury, becauſe the jury, in conſequence of reprobating conſtructive treaſon, could not diſcover in their actions any direct aim at the king's life.

"But the greateſt misfortune of all is, that ſome reſpectable men, diſappointed of the expected ſucceſs, begin to deſpond, and give up the conteſt as hopeleſs, though the enemy's reſources are nearly exhauſted, and our's in a manner untouched. This was not the example ſet by France in the hour of her defeat and humiliation; ſhe did not crouch, with lowly ſupplication, to the inſulting victor. No; ſhe redoubled her efforts, and once more forced inconſtant fortune to ſettle on her banners. Ought Britiſh freemen to diſplay leſs fortitude, when newly emancipated ſlaves acted with ſuch ſpirit and perſeverance, as willingly to forego every convenience of life, and to be ſatisfied with a ſcanty portion even of articles of the firſt neceſſity? In contemplating the ſtrange and unaccountable receſſion of grave ſenators, who voted for the war as neceſſary to check France's ambitious projects of aggrandiſement, and to ſupport our own laws and liberties, one would be apt to imagine that they were not ſerious, and that, in their opinion, there was little at ſtake. But is this the fact? Are we not at iſſue with France for our moſt eſſential intereſts, for our independence, for our honour? Will it be honourable to deſert the confederacy, or that part of it which ſtill adheres to it's engagements? If you abandon it now, who will afterwards rely upon your promiſe, or when can you hope to form another of equal force? You have now an army ſuperior to any ever ſeen in this country. Will you diſband it without a

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ſingle effort to balance your loſſes on the continent by advantages in other parts?

"If France ſhould grant a peace to your mean and puſillanimous entreaties, will it be ſecure and permanent? No; a government that ſhifts with the quickneſs of ſcenes in a pantomine, can never preſerve the accuſtomed relations of ſocial intercourſe. The conflicts of adverſe parties, ſtruggling for ſuperiority, ſtill uphold the ſyſtem of terror; and with moderation in their mouths, the demagogues harbour nothing but tyranny at their hearts. In France, the preſervation of life is involved in the poſſeſſion of power; and therefore, the preſent rulers are more likely to continue the ſyſtem of terror, by turning the arms of the ſoldiery, at the return of peace, againſt all the remains of loyalty and virtue in their country, than to embrace principles of moderation. Their ſoldiers, like the Roman veterans, muſt be indulged with grants of land, as the Pariſians now are with donatives of bread. And where are theſe to be found but in freſh plunder, or in a new war?

"Were the Convention inclined to peace, it would have repealed the decree concerning the unity and indiviſibility of the republick. With it an indiſpenſable preliminary to peace is the relinquiſhment not only of all that you have ſeized of it's ancient poſſeſſions, but alſo of whatever it has been pleaſed to annex to the republick. Convinced, as you muſt be, of the increaſe of your own reſources, and of the decreaſe of the French, are you ready to reſign all the conquered colonies, the cauſes of thoſe reſources, and the means of indemnification, to the miſeries of the Conventional plan of equality; and to add to their other calamities, ſomething more terrifick, than

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all the horrors of that abominable trade, which has peopled thoſe miſerable countries?

"But let us grant, what cannot be eaſily allowed, that your humanity will not be ſhocked, at abandoning the Hiſpaniolans and other coloniſts, who have fled to your protection, to the deſolating ſcourge, and ruinous devaſtation of Jacobiniſm; have you no fears from the diffuſion of the contagion among your own iſlands? This plague is much more dangerous and deſtructive than the yellow fever, which has proved a much greater enemy to Britain, in the Weſt Indies, than all the villanies of the Convention. Why then ſhould we yield to unneceſſary deſpair, or make gratuitous ceſſions, and expoſe the nation by a daſtardly embaſſy, to contempt abroad and to ſhame at home?

"Let us compare the ſituation of the two contending empires, and balance accounts. Since the beginning of the war, France has expended four hundred and eighty millions ſterling, and the price of her conqueſts on the continent does not fall ſhort of three hundred and twenty millions, while her annual diſburſements, which muſt every year increaſe, amount to one hundred and ſixty millions. Is it poſſible for any country to bear ſuch a waſte of treaſure? Her revolutionary committees, by which ſhe compelled the acceptance of aſſignats at par, and the ſale of every marketable commodity at a fixed price, and extorted the forced loan, coſt her yearly twenty-ſix milllions, a ſum nearly equalling the whole of Britain's annual expenditure. Can you believe it practicable for her to recur to the ſame expedient a ſecond time with ſucceſs, when her riches, before the revolution, did not equal the wealth of the Britiſh empire? Her whole income at that period amounted only to eighteen millions, and her

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expenditure to twenty-ſeven. Taxation extended beyond this limit proved unproductive, and gave riſe to the new ſyſtem.

"How then, you will aſk, has ſhe anſwered the demands of the war? By aſſignats, which, as the ſyſtem of terror is relaxed, and the country inundated with forged aſſignats, that cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the true, are now worth nothing. Were your navy-debentures, your Exchequer-bills, and Bank-notes, thus depreciated, would you not think yourſelves undone? Why then do you not hold your enemies equally ruined?

"Perhaps you imagine that her conqueſts give her additional ſtrength and vigour. Is this, then, the firſt time that Frenchmen have overwhelmed Germany with their hords? To ſay nothing of Louis the Fourteenth's ſudden invaſion and precipitate relinquiſhment of Holland, nor of his conqueſt, in 1688, of all places on the left, and of many on the right bank of the Rhine, and of his quick expulſion from them all by the duke of Lorraine, was not Vienna open to the incurſions of the French after the firſt battle of Hockſtet, gained by Villars? And was not the emperor's retreat from his capital the ſubject of deliberation in the Auſtrian cabinet? Yet Marlborough, by the ſecond battle at Blenheim, fought in the next year, turned the tide of ſucceſs, and made France ultimately tremble for the ſafety of Paris. In the ſecond war for the ſucceſſion, the French generals took Prague, the metropolis of Bohemia, and the French miniſters oſtentatiouſly gave away the Imperial dignity; but perſevering efforts and repeated checks compelled them at laſt to repaſs the Rhine, and to renounce all ideas of conqueſt. What could be more dreary than the proſpect at the commencement of the war undertaken to diſ-

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member the Pruſſian dominions? Yet fortitude and ſpirit made all France's ambitious projects vaniſh like air-built caſtles.

"Upon the whole, ſince the propoſed negociation would be humiliating, impolitick, and fruitleſs to Britain, faithleſs and baſe to her allies, dangerous to the preſent generation, and ruinous to poſterity, let us imitate the magnanimity and perſeverance of our anceſtors, and preſs upon our enemies till they ſink nerveleſs and exhauſted beneath our blows."

The proſecution of the war being in conſequence of theſe arguments ſanctioned by a vaſt majority in both Houſes, the means of carrying it on with effect became a neceſſary ſubject of conſideration, and drew the following ſtatement from the miniſter. A hundred thouſand ſeamen, that were voted, with the ordinaries and extraordinaries of the navy, ſaid he, will require 6,315,523. The troops under the head of guards and garriſons, and conſiſting of a hundred and nineteen thouſand men; the troops in the plantations, amounting to thirty-five thouſand; the militia, to fifty-ſix thouſand; the troops in Ireland, to four thouſand; and the expence of emigrant forces, of fencible regiments, and bodies of volunteers, of Chelſea Hoſpital, and the ſubſidy to Sardinia, will coſt 11,241,000. The ordnance, with ſeveral miſcellaneous ſervices, will call for 2,687,043; and the annual addition of 2,000,000l. to the ſinking-fund, the deficiency of grants 745,000, the deficiency of the tax on land and malt 350,000, and 6,000,000 of Exchequer-bills for 7,295,000, in all 27,578,566 pounds.

To balance this vaſt expenditure, ſtand on the other ſide of the account the growing produce of the ſinking-fund, taken at an average of four

years for 2,235,000, the taxes on land and malt for 2,750,000, impreſs-monies payable 160,000, debt owed by the Eaſt India Company 500,000, Exchequer-bills 3,500,000, and a loan of eighteen millions, negociated at an intereſt under five per cent. making in the whole the groſs ſum of 27,145,000, and falling ſhort of the ſupply almoſt half a million.

Pitt, therefore, to provide for this deficiency, and for the probable non-payment of the Eaſt India Company's debt, propoſed that nineteen inſtead of eighteen millions ſhould be conſidered as the loan, and adequate taxes levied accordingly. And here it is worthy of notice, that, as a compenſation to the lenders for the ſmall profit derived from the loan, they had the benefit of an Imperial loan of 4,600,000, at what amounted to an intereſt of ſix per cent. guaranteed by Britain, and payable at the Bank of England.

As an act of parliament had by the miniſter's ſuggeſtion been paſſed, ordaining the eſtabliſhment of a redeeming-fund of one per cent. on every hundred pounds borrowed, it became neceſſary to raiſe annually, for the intereſt and redemption of the whole loan, 1,107,750, for the intereſt of deficiencies 61,590, of the navy-debt 160,000, of unforeſeen expences 307,000; in all 1,637,000, of which large ſum 357,000 were deſigned not for the current ſervice of the year, but for the gradual extinction of the new debt.

The taxes propoſed for raiſing this great addition to the national revenue were ſo judiciouſly laid, that they fell chiefly on articles of luxury, and excited no clamour. A new duty on wine was eſtimated at 500,000, on foreign and Britiſh ſpirits at 259,000, on tea at 180,000, on coffee and cocoa at 40,000, on inſurances at 160,000, on raiſins

raiſins and lemons at 97,000, on deals and fir-timber at 110,000, on affidavits and writs at 68,000, on powdered heads at 210,000, a reſtriction on franking letters, in which abuſes had been carried, particularly by Sir B. Hammet, to an enormous exceſs, at 40,000, and the whole at 1,644,000.

The favourable terms, on which the loan had been procured, aroſe, according to the miniſter, from the flouriſhing ſtate and conſequent high credit of the country. The taxes impoſed in 1793 and 1794 had been productive beyond the example of any former war; the million granted annually for the redemption of the national debt had now ſwelled to 1,800,000l. and with the additional 200,000l. appropriated to the ſame purpoſe, amounted to two millions. Was it not natural that in ſuch circumſtances our funds ſhould fetch a high price, and the exchange be in our favour; eſpecially when it was conſidered that the value of our trade in 1794 not only exceeded what had been the average of former years of war, but even what had been it's amount in the brighteſt periods of tranquillity, the total of the exports in 1792, the moſt proſperous year of peace, being valued in the Cuſtom-houſe books at 24,905,000l. and that of 1794 at 25,169,000l?

As evil could not be excluded even from the works of nature, it could not be expected that any political regulation, much leſs a financial plan, ſhould be unobjectionable. The croaking ravens of oppoſition therefore continued their uſual ill-omened notes. "The loan ought to have been open, not cloſe, that competition might have full ſcope for lowering the market; the national credit ought not to have been ſold to the emperor, ſince his fruitleſs efforts to borrow mo-

ney evinced that he had no credit of his own; or, if it was ſold, it ought to have been ſold at the ſame price at which it fetched us money; as the ſecurity to the lender was the ſame, and we were likely to be ultimately the pay-maſters. The taxes would not be productive, particularly the tax on hair-powder, which muſt vary with varying faſhion, and check the vanity of people who delighted in the parade of ſpruce and idle footmen."

Norfolk and other peers, whoſe wealth aroſe principally from ancient grants of publick property, and who ought, for that reaſon, to have been the firſt to refund in ſupport of the conſtitution, endeavoured by their example to turn the tide of faſhion, and in lieu of their footmen powdered their horſes, cropping their own hair, as if they meant to reſemble French blackguards. Such was either the meanneſs of their avarice, or the virulence of their animoſity againſt the government. But theſe pitiful artifices did not ſhake the patriotiſm of the people, who ſaw that no undue advantage had been taken of the emperor, ſince he gave exactly the intereſt which he had offered in vain before the interference of Britain; and that the ſubſcribers were the only ſufferers by the cloſeneſs of the loan, as their profits were inferior to what they might have obtained in the other funds. Theſe prophets of ill, therefore, never had more reaſon to be diſſatisfied with their ſiniſtrous auguries; for the event of the next year proved that the taxes had at no time been ſo productive, nor the revenues ſo abundant.

To form a juſt eſtimate of the Britiſh reſources, it is neceſſary to take a collateral view of the Indian, and a retroſpective glance at the Iriſh revenue;

venue; as India and Ireland form two great members of the empire. From authentick documents ſubmitted to the inſpection of parliament and of the whole nation, it appeared that, in the preceding year, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay yielded, in permanent and growing revenue, between eight and nine millions ſterling; that the neat revenue exceeded two millions, and that the affairs of the Company had in one year, notwithſtanding the war, improved about a million and a half. The permanent revenue of Ireland, in 1793, yielded 1,295,285; and in 1794, 1,381,792; and in 1795, about a million and a half. But, as Ireland contains more than twice as many inhabitants as Scotland, which without any oppreſſion to any claſs furniſhes a revenue of a million, it is evident that the Iriſh revenue may, without the leaſt hardſhip to the people, be raiſed to two millions. The ſupply for 1795 was, accordingly, two millions two hundred and nineteen thouſand pounds, of which one million ſix hundred and thirty-eight thouſand were borrowed at an intereſt of eighty thouſand pounds, four hundred and ſeventy thouſand in Ireland, and the reſt in England. The principal tax neceſſary for this financial operation was a ſmall additional duty on tobacco. Thus, without reckoning the contributions of the colonies in the Weſt Indies, in America, and other places, the money raiſed in the Britiſh iſles and Britiſh Indoſtan, for the ſervice of the year 1795, amounted to thirty-eight millions ninety-one thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-five pounds, excluſive of eleven or twelve millions paid as intereſt for the national debt. The Iriſh militia was augmented, by adding ſeventeen privates to each company, to twenty-two thouſand ſeven hundred.

Cloſely connected with the ways and means of the year, was a large addition to the eſtabliſhment thought neceſſary for George Prince of Wales, who with the approbation of the king and parliament eſpouſed, in the courſe of the winter, Catharine Princeſs of Brunſwick. The preceding princes of the Brunſwick line had been allowed fifty thouſand pounds out of the civil liſt, till they became encumbered with families; and then, after making their peace with miniſters, had an appointment of one hundred thouſand pounds out of the ſame fund. The preſent heir apparent received at firſt but fifty thouſand from the conſolidated fund; but in 1787, when his debts, amounting to two hundred and nineteen thouſand pounds, were paid, he procured ſixty thouſand, beſides thirteen thouſand from the dutchy of Cornwall, and ſolemnly engaged to confine his expences to his income. But, notwithſtanding this ſacred pledge, his debts were now found to be little ſhort of ſix hundred and forty thouſand pounds; and the ſums in which he was bound, as ſecurity for his brothers, to be very large. To relieve him from theſe diſagreeable embarraſſments, Pitt propoſed that the publick ſhould allow him annually one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, with the revenue of Cornwall, which would make the whole one hundred and thirty-eight thouſand pounds. Of this large ſum, which, it was ſaid, the preſent mode of living, and the advanced price of every article either of neceſſity or convenience, rendered indiſpenſible for maintaining the dignity and ſplendor of the monarchy, ſixty-five thouſand pounds were allotted to the ſupport of a reduced eſtabliſhment, as a tax on his imprudence, and ſeventy-three thouſand pounds to the liquidation of

of his debts, to the expences of the nuptial ceremony, amounting to twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds, and to the completion of Carlton-houſe, eſtimated at twenty-five thouſand. The houſe itſelf was veſted in the crown, and the furniture declared to follow it, as an heir-loom. Should the princeſs ſurvive her huſband, the parliament, according to the uſual practice for ſome reigns, fixed her jointure at fifty thouſand pounds a year. To prevent the poſſibility of any future accumulation of debt, an act paſſed exempting the prince from all claims, and appointing commiſſioners reſponſible for the quarterly payment of every juſt demand; and, to compel creditors to be punctual in preſenting their bills, the act contained a clauſe declaring every debt lapſed which was not claimed within a limited time.

That the publick might not be burdened with any new taxes, nor the ſinking-fund diminiſhed for the relief of his royal highneſs, Huſſey, a reſpectable member, propoſed the ſale of the royal foreſts, as likely to yield a ſufficient fund, though now almoſt totally unproductive; but the propoſal being thought too ſlow in it's operation, and likewiſe to affect the influence of the crown, was rejected. As a ſuccedaneum, Fox ſuggeſted the propriety of expoſing the dutchy to ſale, and contended that it would fetch eight hundred thouſand pounds; but, for the ſame reaſons, the plan proved abortive. Fox, however, was not diſcouraged; but, returning to the charge, affirmed "that the profits of the dutchy during the prince's minority, valued at compound intereſt, were fully adequate to the payment of his debts, and that therefore we were, under the pretence of conferring a favour, actually withholding a right;

ſince the heir apparent had from his birth a legal title to all it's emoluments."

Pitt and the lawyers anſwered, "that the dutchy is the king's property till the birth of a ſon, and that then he retains it at diſcretion, apportioning what he deems neceſſary for the prince's education, and appropriating the reſt to his own uſe, till the actual livery takes place; and that, for any practical uſe, the determination of the prince's title was of little conſequence to him, or to the publick; ſince, were the validity of his claim allowed, the ſums paid by the nation for the diſcharge of his debts, and for the maintenance of his eſtabliſhment, would greatly overbalance the Corniſh revenue, which had been applied in aid of the civil liſt."

During the diſcuſſion of theſe arrangements, Grey, Lambton, Fox, and other conſpicuous members, made a number of obſervations, from which a wiſe prince might derive much wholeſome inſtruction. "However much we muſt be attached to the monarchy, as an indiſpenſable branch of the conſtitution, we muſt be ſtill more attached, as repreſentatives of the people, to the democracy, the broad baſis of the whole fabrick. Can we then view with indifference ſo enormous a ſum diverted from the publick ſervice to the purpoſes of pomp and parade? If the prince is the pupil of the nation, they ought to train him to the practice of frugality and economy; and if the proviſion made for him be ample, it's intention is to make thouſands bleſs his bounty and munificence, not curſe his profuſion and extravagance. Thoſe are his worſt enemies, and the vileſt ſycophants, who would poiſon his ear with the idea that the nation is bound to gratify his

his appetite for prodigality. Theſe are times which demand plain language; and the miniſter ought not, for the ſake of increaſing the influence of the crown, and of procuring the ſupport of the prince and of his houſehold, to be ſo extravagantly laviſh of the national treaſure. The preſſure of the war, the dearth of proviſions, and the weight of accumulated taxes, oblige the people to retrench. When the publick wealth thus becomes daily a decreaſing quantity, why ſhould the Prince of Wales's appointments be an increaſing ſeries? Show and ſplendor are now ſo common that they have loſt their faſcination, and dignified ſimplicity commands more reſpect. Who now would be ſo vulgar as to wear lace, except a muſician, a mountebank, or tragick king? If the royal family muſt have lords and ladies of the bedchamber, why do not theſe titled perſonages reſt ſatisfied with the honour of being ſo near the throne, and perform the office gratis? Men of exalted rank and large property are degraded by the acceptance of ſinecure places, and by the name of menial ſervants. A long train of attendants, and it's neceſſary conſequence, an expenſive table, excite indignation rather than eſteem; as the meaneſt ploughman cannot be ſo dull of apprehenſion, as not to perceive that they are ſupported by the labour of his hand, and the ſweat of his brow. Do you imagine that Frederick the Great was leſs eſteemed by his ſubjects, becauſe the daily expence of his table did not exceed five guineas, and that his wardrobe contained only three or four threadbare ſuits, and a few jack-boots? Or do you ſuppoſe that Waſhington, the preſident or elective king of America, is leſs reverenced, becauſe his appointment is only four thouſand pounds, which he does

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not accept? It is by ſuch inſtances of frugality and ſelf-denial that rulers ſecure the veneration and affection of the people, and not by an idle diſplay of waſteful grandeur and oppreſſive magnificence. The Prince of Wales has no publick character to ſuſtain, and therefore is without any expenſive retinue ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from other peers by his guard of light dragoons. If his majeſty thinks a cumbrous train of coſtly followers neceſſary for the ſupport of his dignity, why does not he, who has certainly the means, offer a handſome yearly contribution? How come thoſe paternal feelings, which are ſo much vaunted, to throw his eldeſt ſon entirely upon the charity of the nation? Had the king been well adviſed, he would, like Queen Anne and George the Second, have advanced out of his large civil liſt a hundred thouſand pounds for proſecuting the war of kings, and not thrown the whole weight on the ſhoulders of his ſubjects, when his allowance exceeds that of his predeceſſors by two hundred thouſand pounds, and his privy purſe is ſwelled from thirty-ſix to ſixty thouſand pounds. Is not this a debt of gratitude that he owes to his diſtreſſed ſubjects, who for the payment of his debts, at various times, advanced ſums that would have now ſwelled to ſeven millions ſterling, and who for his ſon's appanage are to be burdened with a load almoſt equal to the whole expence of the American government? Why might not the queen ſpare five thouſand pounds a year out of her large allowance of fifty thouſand, for an object ſo dear to monarchy as ſplendor?"

Dundas replied, "that he, who had an opportunity of being as well acquainted with the king's pecuniary affairs as any man, knew that the propoſed

poſed aſſiſtance was not within his reach; that the payment of the king's debts three times, and the ſplendid eſtabliſhment granted to the dukes of York and Clarence, proved the parliament's conviction of the truth of his aſſertion; that the mention of the queen, who had proviſion to make for ſo many daughters, was indecent and diſgraceful to a gentleman's taſte and feelings; that, if the king could command any ſurplus, it ought to be reſerved for the numerous and unprovided branches of his family; and that the revenue of Hanover was required for the maintenance of it's own eſtabliſhments."

Great as the diſburſements and preparations already enumerated were, and greater no eſtabliſhed government in Europe had ever been able to make, they did not wholly fill up the meaſure of Britain's exertions. When Holland had through puſillanimity in ſome, and the prevalence of republican principles in others, become an appendage to France, it was foreſeen that the Britiſh navy muſt be conſiderably augmented, both for internal defence and external annoyance; and the national ſpirit, impregnated by the miniſter's magnanimity, inſtead of ſinking, roſe by the preſſure of difficulties. And ſince the ſecurity of the trade and commerce of the iſland muſt ever engroſs the principal attention of the navy, it was thought reaſonable, that the chief burden of manning it ſhould fall proportionably upon the mercantile intereſt.

Accordingly, in order to furniſh a ſpeedy ſupply of men, without recurring to the hardſhip of preſſing, a general embargo took place upon every ſhip exceeding thirty-five tons of burden, whether bound to a foreign or domeſtic port, till ſhe furniſhed one landman, if ſhe carried fifty tons,

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one ſeamen or two landmen, if ſhe carried from ſeventy to one hundred and forty; and after this tonnage, one landman progreſſively for each quotient of fifty tons. All the mercantile tonnage of the iſland, in 1793, amounted to one million four hundred thouſand, and the mercantile ſeamen to one hundred thouſand, making one man for fourteen tons; ſo that the whole body of ſeamen thus collected made an addition of more than twenty thouſand.

In aid of this plan, the ten thouſand pariſhes in both kingdoms were obliged each to furniſh one man at an average, for the marine ſervice, and the juſtices of the peace empowered to preſs idle and diſorderly perſons, in their ſeveral diſtricts.

The act paſſed for the preceding purpoſe ſubjected pariſhes, that ſhould be found defaulters on this occaſion, to a larger penalty than the ſum paid to volunteers; and therefore this meaſure, which had ſome reſemblance to a Gallic requiſition, was in reality a tax upon the taxed houſeholders and ſhip-owners, and, as twenty pounds were then paid at a medium for each volunteer, the whole ſum could not be leſs than ſix hundred thouſand pounds, for the thirty thouſand volunteers thus collected. At firſt, the miniſter propoſed to extend this requiſition to the inland navigation, and to make the barges contribute their quota to the publick ſervice; but the number of men procured by the preceding regulations ſuperſeded it's neceſſity; and the taxation of placemen and penſioners, according to their incomes, and the project of preſſing, in favour of the female ſex, men-milliners, haberdaſhers, hair-dreſſers and footmen, which Robinſon and Jolliffe ſuggeſted as auxiliary reſources, met with the oppoſition of laughter, but not of argument.

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The minority, though foiled in every attempt, did not deſpair, but animated by the hopes of ultimate though diſtant ſucceſs, perſevered in their cenſure of every miniſterial meaſure; and of theſe, none drew from them ſeverer or more acrimonious animadverſions, than the renewal of the act for empowering his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons ſuſpected of conſpiring againſt his perſon and government. But, as it is evident, that the acquittal of the perſons detained and tried, upon ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices, muſt have raiſed the ſpirits and increaſed the audacity of republicaniſm, and it will be found in the ſequel, that the powers now veſted in the hands of government were inſufficient to check the daring machinations of faction; we ſhall ſpare the patience of the reader, and poſtpone a minute detail, till the whole can be exhibited in one ſimultaneous view.

The next ſubject of clamour was the navy, to which the miniſters did not pay ſufficient attention. "Why were our ſhips upon a worſe conſtruction and worſe ſailors than the French? Why did not a board of ſcientifick men, like the French academy of ſciences, examine every propoſed model of a ſhip, and ſtamp it with their approbation, before it was adopted? Though the workmanſhip of our veſſels, as well as the ſkill and courage of our ſailors, ſhould be allowed a ſuperiority, was it not neceſſary firſt to be capable of overtaking an enemy, before he could be captured or deſtroyed? The neglect of miniſters in this department could only be equalled by their miſ-management of the army, which was filled with old men and boys, and officered by lads taken prematurely from ſchool. Why were not men of long ſervice and experience

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at the head of our regiments, inſtead of raw ſtriplings, who came recommended only by money, or by parliamentary intereſt? The mode of recruiting the army by independent companies not only ruined it's diſcipline and accumulated expence, but alſo injured the naval ſervice, by increaſing the ſcarcity of landſmen."

The anſwer was, "that every poſſible attention had been, and would be paid to the navy, and that it's exploits ſufficiently proved the falſity of the minority's allegations; that the ſame obſervation was applicable to the army, as it had been at no period more diſtinguiſhed for brilliant atchievements; that the neceſſity of ſpeedily augmenting the army had rendered independent companies unavoidable, as men of money and influence, in the various parts of the Britiſh iſles, would not make the requiſite exertions, without the grant of adequate rank to their relations and friends; that raw lads would ſoon grow confirmed men, and that by drilling and draughting, every inconvenience had been hitherto prevented; that a great navy, without a proportionate army, would prove inefficient, either for domeſtick ſecurity or foreign invaſion."

The Imperial loan was reprobated as imprudent and impolitick. "For how was it poſſible to compel payment, or the performance of the ſtipulated ſervices? The emperor, however willing, was unable to perform his engagements, his finances being exhauſted, and his dominions drained of men. Beſides, was he not a deſpot, and therefore faithleſs? Did he not boaſt of his deſcent from that inhoſpitable, mercenary, and baſe duke of Auſtria, who impriſoned the gallant Richard the Firſt, for the expreſs purpoſe of extorting a large ranſom? Of the honour of one deſpot,

deſpot, the king of Pruſſia, we have had already ſufficient experience; for he had fulfilled the conditions of the ſubſidiary treaty, as he had paid the Sileſian loan, and employed our money in ſubjugating Poland. What reaſon had we to believe, that an unſhackled deſpot, who had ſimilar views on Poland, ſhould be more tenacious of his engagements than another deſpot, who, as his family roſe to eminence by ſubſidies, might be ſuppoſed more ſcrupulous in maintaining the character of good faith? The king of Pruſſia pleaded the fear of a revolt in his army, if placed under the command of an Engliſh general, as an excuſe for not adhering to his promiſe. After the known antipathy ſubſiſting ever ſince the battle of Tournay, between the Britiſh and Auſtrian troops, what hopes can there be of a cordial cooperation on the ſide of the emperor? Reſerve therefore your finances and credit for the probable contingencies of a prolonged war, and for the imperious demands of naval operations on your own element. With half the ſum, raiſe the wages of your ſeamen, and relieve the diſtreſſes of the poor, and you will, by producing ſatisfaction at home, acquire abroad quadruple the ſtrength derivable from this continental connection."

"You forget," ſaid the miniſtry, that the money, of which for the purpoſe of exciting diſcontent you recommend ſuch a benevolent diſtribution, is not your own, and that, for the ſake of the cooperation of 200,000 men, you are only a collateral ſecurity for the payment of the intereſt to the lenders. Could double that number of troops be procured, double the ſum upon the ſame terms would be a prudent bargain. Do you not recollect, that in the moſt glorious periods of our hiſtory continental alliances were cheriſhed by

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our greateſt ſtateſmen, by the Duke of Marlborough and by Lord Chatham? Chatham's memorable ſaying, "that America was conquered in Germany," is to this day a political axiom as juſt, as it is ſtriking, in every ſchoolboy's mouth. Remove the preſſure even of the confederacy's wrecks on the continent from the neck of France, and ſhe will certainly feel herſelf proportionably light and active for continuing the ſtruggle with Britain on the ocean. When France with a population now hardly amounting to 23 millions can furniſh ſuch immenſe armies, what may not be expected from the aſſiſtance of a monarchy containing 20 millions of hardy and robuſt people inveterately hoſtile to the Gallick name? But ſuppoſe, what cannot eaſily be granted, that the emperor and his ſubjects are not enraged to madneſs againſt the French for their various enormities, and particularly for daring to execute on a ſcaffold the daughter of Maria Thereſa, will they not remain faithful to their engagements from a ſenſe of intereſt? For where on the continent can you find a nation that has ſo much to gain by victory, and ſo much to loſe by defeat? Accordingly the preparations for the next campaign through the whole extent of the emperor's dominions indicate the moſt ſerious intentions of proſecuting the war with effect. Can that prince then by a failure in this engagement derange the whole pecuniary ſyſtem of the bank of Vienna? Such conduct would not only be impolicy but madneſs, as it would prove totally ruinous to any future plan of finance. Beſides, where can you ſhew a ſtate whoſe honour is more immaculate than Auſtria's? If Auſtria was precipitate in concluding the peace of Utrecht, ſo was Britain; if Auſtria reduced the intereſt of the publick

funds,

funds, ſo did Britain. But the emperor is a deſpot, and therefore not to be truſted. Are lawful ſovereigns then, who muſt now be ſtyled deſpots, the only perſons chargeable with want of faith? The deſpot of Pruſſia has publickly advertiſed the payment of the Sileſian loan; and therefore the argument drawn from his example loſes all it's weight. The fact is that, if any credit is due to hiſtory, commonwealths, and particularly democracies, are more faithleſs than monarchies. Could any ſtate diſplay more treachery and rapacity than the Athenian democracy in the reduction of the Ægean iſles, and in the invaſion of Syracuſe? Could Punick faith exceed Roman iniquity in the violation of treaties at the commencement of the three Carthaginian wars? The monſtrous democracy of France is a freſh inſtance pregnant with duplicity, fraud, and violence. Look at the miſerable ſtate of your late ally, Holland. Under the faith of republican promiſes and the proffer of negotiation ſhe lies proſtrate under the claws of this monſter, and now deplores in vain her credulity and want of vigour. Princes are often actuated by a ſenſe of honour, and by a ſpark of the chivalrous ſpirit; but a multitude of plebeian ſovereigns generally by the debaſing principle of intereſt, or the momentary impulſe of paſſion: for, with the hero in Pope's Homer, they are apt to think

That ſhame divided is no ſhame at all.

The high character of Britain for adherence to her engagements ariſes leſs from the virtue of democracy, than from the honour of ariſtocracy and monarchy. Let not groundleſs doubts then and uncandid ſurmiſes tarniſh the fair reputation of the Auſtrian family. Becauſe one ſolitary indi-

vidual of that illuſtrious line, in a barbarous age, carried retaliation for a real or an imaginary affront too far, it does not follow, any more than that a branch of the Conqueror's race ſhould now imitate King John or Henry VIII. that in cultivated times an enlightened deſcendant will deviate from the numerous and bright examples of faith and honour ſet him by his anceſtors. Even the wiſhes that might ariſe in his breaſt to puniſh the temerity of thoſe who, blinded by ambition and regardleſs of patriotiſm, ſtart theſe revolting and infamous ſuſpicions, cannot betray him into ſuch turpitude."

Acts for the more eaſy and expeditious payment of certain officers in the navy, and for enabling boatſwains, gunners, carpenters, and other ſeamen, to allot by letter of attorney a ſum not exceeding half their pay for the maintenance of their families, met with the concurrence of all parties; but an act to make allowances in certain caſes to ſubaltern officers of the militia in time of peace was cenſured "as an attempt unconſtitutionally to aſſimilate the militia and the army by the grant of half-pay to the former, though never expoſed, like the latter, to the danger of real ſervice, either in the field of battle or in unhealthy climates."

The miniſters anſwered, "that upon inveſtigation it would be found that to every century of men there was but an officer and a half, and that without ſome additional encouragement it would be impoſſible to procure a ſufficient number of ſubalterns; as men of property refuſed to ſerve in that capacity, and perſons of another deſcription were deterred by the unavoidable expence of meſſing with their ſuperiors, and of moving out of their proper ſphere."

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Few meaſures excited a greater outcry among the minority than an allowance of bread and meat beſtowed for a month in quarters upon the ſoldiery without the previous conſent of parliament, which happened to be at the time aſſembled.

"Though an account of the probable expence could not in the preſſing emergency be exhibited by miniſters, why was not the intention communicated to that body of men who muſt ultimately provide for their diſburſements? Was this boon to the army meant as an Imperial donative to debauch their minds, and to attach them to the ſovereign in oppoſition to the parliament? Here the conduct of miniſters was clearly unconſtitutional, and as liable to ſuſpicion as the introduction of the Heſſians and other foreign troops into the Britiſh dominions without the ſanction of the legiſlature."

"The preſſure of the moment," ſaid the miniſters, "ſufficiently juſtifies this irregularity, which was ſubmitted to the examination of the two Houſes, as ſoon as an eſtimate of the expence could be adjuſted. A mutiny occaſioned among ſome troops by the high price of proviſions had rendered prompt meaſures neceſſary. Accordingly, upon the reduction of the mutineers to obedience, their diſtreſſes were relieved, but not by an Imperial donative. For to what does the boon amount? Merely to an allowance for a month in quarters, to which by the uſual courſe of the ſervice they are always entitled in the field. This then is the mighty infringement of the conſtitution, of which miniſters have been guilty! Knowing at the time, and now avowing, the irregularity, they cannot for a moment doubt that the abſolute neceſ-

ſity under which they acted, as well as the propriety and juſtice of the meaſure, will enſure parliamentary approbation."

Even an act for the ſupport of commercial credit, by lending to the Weſt-India planters a million and a half on certain ſecurities and pledges, could not paſs without oppoſition from Fox, Taylor, St. John, and Robinſon, "who ſaw the influence which it would procure to the miniſter pregnant with danger."

"For fear, then," ſaid Dundas, "of a little popularity or influence, which may accrue to the miniſter from a good and wiſe meaſure, you would hazard the deſtruction of the Weſt India merchants, and with them the downfall of the reſt, in the general ruin. The beneficial effects of the bill paſſed two years ago for the maintenance of commercial credit ought for your own ſakes to have taught you more prudence, if patriotiſm has loſt it's force."

But what raiſed a clamour of the moſt formidable nature was the removal of Earl Fitzwilliam from the viceroyalty of Ireland, a ſituation which at this juncture required firmneſs and intrepidity, accompanied by temper and moderation, to reconcile the jarring intereſts of the two predominant parties, the Proteſtants and Catholicks. Unfortunately this is not the character of Fitzwilliam, who, though a man of extenſive influence, unblemiſhed reputation, and good intentions, ſeems by his conduct to be as much diſtinguiſhed for irreſolution and timidity in action, as he is for heſitation and repetition in ſpeech. Having, from his apprehenſion of the republican principles already adopted in France, and now rapidly pervading the Britiſh dominions, joined adminiſtration with the heads of his party, he

he had been ſelected in preference to others for this exalted ſituation, partly on account of his great property, and partly for his numerous connections in a country which called for every conciliatory art; as the ferment excited by the American war had not yet entirely ſubſided. Though this iſland, when it became in the eleventh century an appendage to the crown of England, profeſſed the Chriſtian religion as taught by St. Patrick in the fifth; yet the Celtic language, which prevailed in all parts, except a few ſea-ports, where the Danes and Norwegians had introduced a dialect nearly allied to the Engliſh, prevented aſſimilation, and at the Reformation rendered the diffuſion of the Proteſtant faith impracticable. The Bible, indeed, was by the zeal of Boyle tranſlated into Iriſh, but the natives could not read it; and, if they could, their prieſts, by claiming the excluſive right of interpretation, made the power uſeleſs. Accordingly no publications in Iriſh iſſued from the preſs to enlighten the minds of the people; and yet the Engliſh hierarchy, with all it's train of archbiſhops, biſhops, and dignitaries, was eſtabliſhed. Tithes and oblations were not forgotten, and though three to one of the people were ſtill Catholicks, and ſtill ſupport clergymen of their own perſuaſion, the law compels them to pay all eccleſiaſtical dues like Proteſtants. Hence it is computed by Grattan, a ſenator equally renowned for deep reſearch and brilliant oratory, that the tithes, with the expence of collection, amount annually to one-ſixth of the iſland's whole produce, and that conſequently nine hundred men out of three millions have every ſixth year the whole rental of the kingdom. From the clamour and reſiſtance of a few Quakers and other

ſectaries in England againſt the injuſtice of tithes, we may eaſily conceive with what repugnance they are paid in Ireland by ſuch a vaſt majority of the people. Yet, as if this grievance were not in it's ſimpleſt form ſufficiently oppreſſive, it received additional weight in the province of Munſter by illegal exactions; for, beſides the payment of the tithes uſually demanded in the three other provinces, enormous tithes were there extorted for potatoes, flax, turf, and even furze; and a ſurcharge of two ſhillings in the pound was made by the collector for his trouble.

Theſe heavy impoſts and galling vexations had, notwithſtanding the entire ſubjugation of the Catholicks by the Proteſtants under Cromwell, been always productive of complaints, murmurs, law-ſuits, and bloodſhed; but had never excited a general inſurrection till the Iriſh parliament's plan of independence on the Britiſh legiſlature put arms into the hands of great numbers of Catholicks, that were enrolled among the forty thouſand volunteers, who, while they ſecured their country from the threatened invaſion of France and Spain, extorted by terror from Britain a regular acknowledgment of this eſſential right, and of an appellant juriſdiction veſted in their Houſe of Peers. The Catholicks, emboldened by their numbers, which they ſwelled in their publications to three millions and a half, and by the experience in arms which they acquired during the performance of eſſential ſervices to government at ſo alarming a conjuncture, talked loudly of emancipation, and ſet up a claim of equal rights. The peaſants of Munſter, inflamed by the conteſt, became ungovernable; and in 1787 commenced, under the names of Whiteboys and Defenders, an open inſurrection, which occaſioned much devaſtation of property, and coſt

coſt ſome lives, eſpecially of clergymen and tithe-proctors, the immediate authors and engines of oppreſſion. When by the application of military force the tumult ſubſided, Grattan endeavoured in vain to cure the evil by an effectual remedy, by eſtabliſhing a modus and an uniformity of titheable articles over the whole kingdom; for the Proteſtant aſcendency in parliament prevailed, though the diſpleaſure, if not the hoſtility, of the Diſſenters as well as of the Catholicks was thus incurred.

Diſappointed, but not diſheartened, the Iriſh Catholicks had direct recourſe to the throne, and humbly ſolicited relief from all diſqualifications at his majeſty's feet. Pitt, knowing the inſuperable objections of the Iriſh legiſlature to the plan, and acting with that wiſdom which marks his character, adviſed the ſovereign not to reject the popularity of a compliance with their requeſt; and accordingly a bill replete with ample conceſſions was tranſmitted from the Privy Council to the Iriſh parliament. But ſtill the Proteſtant aſcendency muſt be maintained; and, as the meaſure was not enforced as an act of government, the ſpirit of the bill was ſo rectified in the alembick of exceptions, that in the opinion of the petitioners it came forth not a refined but a dead maſs. The mighty boon conferred on the Catholicks extended only to the right of intermarrying with Proteſtants, of taking apprentices, of pleading as barriſters, and of keeping ſchools. Not a ſyllable was introduced into the act concerning the two grand and eſſential points, the elective franchiſe and a fair trial by jury, which are abſolutely neceſſary to give men buoyancy in the element of freedom.

The chagrin and animoſity excited in the

breaſts of the Catholicks and Diſſenters by theſe repeated diſappointments may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed: Ireland from ſhore to ſhore was in a ſtate of fermentation, and in the opinion of many threatened every day the Britiſh empire with a convulſion, when Fitzwilliam accepted the direction of the political helm. From the printed correſpondence it appears that his inſtructions were not to precipitate matters, but to temporiſe, and to poſtpone till another ſeſſion the diſcuſſion of ſo delicate a queſtion as the emancipation of the Iriſh Catholicks, that there might be full time for mutual explanation, for the adjuſtment of differences, and for the reconciliation of the minds of the alarmed Proteſtants to ſo important an alteration in the form of the conſtitution. Fitzwilliam, led by two daring and ambitious ſpirits, whoſe honour was by their preceding declarations in parliament pledged to ſupport the meaſure, could not reſiſt their preſſing ſolicitations, nor venture to meet the ſtorm, which they pictured to his fancy as pregnant with danger. As a prelude to this grand plan a new arrangement took place in the miniſterial departments. Beresford, the miniſter, and Wolfe and Toler, the attorney and ſolicitor general, were at a vaſt expence to the publick removed to make room for Ponſonby, Curran, and others, whom the viceroy meant to employ as confidential agents, and on his reſignation to reward with ſimilar munificence. While the viceroy by this precipitate ſtep irritated the old and tried ſupporters of the Britiſh miniſter, and by the projected meaſure alarmed the predominant intereſt in parliament, the Engliſh cabinet ſounded the intentions of the Iriſh Proteſtants, and finding them not ſimply adverſe,

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but irreconcileably hoſtile to the claim of the Catholicks, reſolved not to ſacrifice old to new friends, and recalled Earl Fitzwilliam. This reſolution, which had now become indiſpenſable, as he had, without waiting for poſitive directions, declared that he would in a limited time ſanction the introduction of the Catholick claim into the Lower Houſe, raiſed a violent outcry among the minority on both ſides of the water.

"Why," ſaid they, "was ſuch a favourite miniſter removed at ſo critical a juncture, when the intereſt of both iſlands dictated the moſt perfect unanimity, and required his extenſive and conciliating influence? Ireland was already convulſed by the contentions of adverſe religioniſts. Why then was oil thrown upon the fire to make the flame burn fiercer? Somewhere there muſt be blame, and even criminality; and as miniſters diſclaim all guilt as well as the viceroy, an inquiry is abſolutely neceſſary."

"The mere removal of a miniſter, a power always veſted in the crown," ſaid the oppoſite party, "is not a ſufficient ground of inquiry, nor is Ireland in a ſituation that calls for ſuch a meaſure. No blame, much leſs guilt, is here imputed on either ſide. A difference of opinion only has taken place among the ſervants of the crown, and one of them has in conſequence been diſplaced. What is there new or extraordinary in ſuch an event? Is it a novelty for men to differ in opinion, or for the crown to diſmiſs a miniſter? Theſe are matters of daily occurrence; and the preſent removal will in the reſult be found to prevent in Ireland the convulſion which is ſo much deprecated."

In a few months this prediction was fulfilled; for Earl Camden, a man who inherits the candour,

dour, the wiſdom, and mild virtues of his father, ſoon threw duſt upon the contending ſwarms, and ſilenced their threatening murmurs. Grattan's motion for granting relief to the Catholicks was negatived by a great majority of the Iriſh Commons, to whom addreſſes, ſtrongly reprobating the meaſure, came from the grand juries of various counties and cities. The Proteſtants, knowing that the Catholicks have adopted the policy of the Spaniards, who, in hopes of one day recovering poſſeſſion, ſtill preſerve maps of the eſtates which they once called their own in Jamaica, trembled at the communication of equal rights to ſuch an overwhelming ſuperiority of numbers. However much they might wiſh, for the ſake of additional ſtrength, and in the ſpirit of toleration and liberality, to aſſimilate the people, and to melt them down into one uniform and homogeneous maſs, they durſt not hazard the experiment; as they ſuſpected that the ultimate object of the great body of the Catholicks, who are unenlightened bigots, was the total ſubverſion of landed property, and the reſtoration of the Catholick aſcendency. This oppoſition of religious prejudices and temporal intereſts is an evil which has palſied the two arms of Ireland, and will for ever prevent the whole body of the realm from making one unanimous effort, till the race of her ancient kings, and of her ouſted proprietors of lands, become through the lapſe of time extinct or unknown; for experience has evinced that the labours of the Proteſtant ſchools will not in any reaſonable period of years effect an uniformity of ſentiments. Hence it is eaſy to conceive that the latent ſeeds of ſedition, treaſon, inſurrection, and rebellion, are in that iſland conſtantly germinating, and that in every ſtruggle with

with foreign enemies their ſecret correſpondence ought to be narrowly watched. Upon this occaſion the vigilance of the government detected many of the French agents, and their proſecutions ended in a conviction of treaſon. From the trial of Jackſon, and many others, it appeared that the object of numerous correſponding ſocieties eſtabliſhed throughout the iſland, and bound by the ſanction of a ſecret oath, was to invite an invaſion, for the expreſs purpoſe of effecting a revolution, and of reſtoring the Catholick aſcendency.

But, though the French republicans failed in their project of fraternizing with Ireland, they ſucceeded completely in Holland. When the Dutch had, in 1794, inſtead of riſing in a maſs at the requiſition of the Stadhtholder, and of opening the ſluices for inundations, ſent deputies to Paris to ſolicit a peace, and the commencement of an unprecedented froſt had encouraged the French to violate their engagements with the States General, the French army, with much regularity, and ſtrict diſcipline, overran the whole country, and, with the aſſiſtance of the Batavian levellers, ſaw the tree of liberty every where erected, and the ceremony ſolemnized by a declaration of liberty, equality, and fraternity. A proviſionary aſſembly, choſen by the maſs of the people, ſuſpended the ancient conſtitution, furniſhed the French troops with proviſions free of duty, and ordered all the Dutch fortreſſes to ſurrender at diſcretion without delay. One million ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds were proviſionally demanded as an indemnification for the expence of the republick in delivering the country from Britiſh thraldom, and the whole ſum finally amounted to more than four millions

millions ſterling, excluſively of plunder, and other incalculable emoluments. For, as ſhopkeepers were commanded to take aſſignats at nine ſous to the amount of ten livres every day from every French private, and in proportion from each officer, it is evident that the aſſignats having become ultimately worth nothing, render the ſtate that guaranteed the municipal receipts, for which they were exchanged, an enormous loſer. Since, beſides all this expence, twenty-five thouſand French received pay from Holland, while the national troops, which upon the preceding eſtabliſhment could not be truſted, were aſſimilated to the new ſyſtem, the ſums levied upon the Dutch muſt have been prodigious, and proved a very ſeaſonable relief to the exhauſted finances of France.

The preceding, however great, were not the only loſſes of Holland. Numbers of the rich emigrated, having previouſly remitted their wealth to England; and, as the French ſeized all the Britiſh ſhips locked up by the froſt in the Dutch ports, the Engliſh retaliated by detaining all the Dutch veſſels found in their harbours and ſeas; and when commiſſioners arrived in London to reclaim them, the anſwer was, "that they ſhould be reſtored as ſoon as the Dutch made reſtitution of the Britiſh property previouſly ſeized on their territory. For the States General were either ſovereigns, and could make reſtitution, or ſubjects of France, and could not be held voluntary agents. In the latter caſe the ſeizure, according to the conſtant rules of war, muſt be deemed legal." The diſpoſal, however, of Dutch property was not concluſively ſettled, till it could be aſcertained what would be the final reſult of the new ſyſtem in Holland; and commiſſioners were

were therefore appointed to manage it's pecuniary intereſt in the Britiſh funds. The aggregate of what thus became for a time dead ſtock, or will utimately be a total loſs to the Dutch, amounted to many millions.

As ſome conſolation to the deluded people under the preſſure of theſe heavy burdens, the Stadhtholder's property was confiſcated; but the immenſity of his debts, and the exportation of all his moveable effects, made this act of rapacity of little utility to the publick. The delicate ſituation, too, of the provinces, as commercial aſſociations, rendered it impolitick to adopt, as in France, the ſyſtem of equality in it's full extent, and to confiſcate the eſtates of the emigrants and nobles. But, though property was ſecured, nobility and all feudal diſtinctions were aboliſhed, as well as hereditary offices and hereditary dignities; and, all men being declared equal as to rights, univerſal ſuffrage and univerſal eligibility to offices took place, without any motives to preference but virtue and capacity. Notwithſtanding all theſe regulations in favour of the inferior claſſes, the great diſburſements of the ſtate, and the neceſſity under which Amſterdam found itſelf of raiſing by loan eight millions of guilders, to defray it's ordinary expences, ſhook the credit of the Bank; but, after due inveſtigation, it was found ſolvent; not indeed in ſpecie, but by obligations or bonds lodged in it by the Dutch Eaſt India Company, by the city of Amſterdam, by the province of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, and by a multitude of reſponſible individuals.

The only compenſation to the Dutch for theſe incalculable loſſes was a National Convention, that voted the expence of any religious eſtabliſhment uſeleſs, and concluded with France an offenſive

fenſive and defenſive treaty, by which they reſigned, till the concluſion of a general peace, to their new ally, all Dutch Flanders, and the right ſide of the Hondt, with Maeſtricht, Venlo, and their dependencies, as indemnities; engaged to put half their land-forces, and a navy of twelve ſhips of the line and eighteen frigates, under French commanders, and agreed that Fluſhing ſhould be a common port to both republicks, but be always garriſoned by France. Thus, with a prodigious expenditure, the Batavian leveſſers purchaſed to their country ſlavery inſtead of freedom, and inſured, it is to be hoped from the wiſdom of our preſent councils, the final loſs of all it's vaſt property in the Britiſh funds, if it's emancipation ſhould not be ſtipulated by the definitive treaty of peace between the belligerent powers.

The reſources derived from Holland, though great, were by no means ſufficient to fill up the vaſt gulf of republican voracity. The total derangement of the French finances, and the complete ſtagnation of trade, having reduced crowds of publick annuitants and multitudes of induſtrious mechanicks to beggary, the legiſlature was obliged, for the prevention of a general inſurrection, to maintain the Pariſian populace, like the Roman plebeians, by a weekly dole. This gratuitous diſtribution of daily bread and meat naturally attracted the neceſſitous from the other departments to the capital; ſo that, notwithſtanding the general depopulation of the kingdom, Paris, upon inveſtigation, found it's inhabitants more numerous by a hundred and fifty thouſand than in the moſt fortunate year of peace. The demands upon the treaſury in conſequence of this drain conſtantly increaſed, and now amounting annually

annually to three millions and a half ſterling, became ſo alarming, that the reduction of the expence was attempted. But the dread of an univerſal commotion, and the menaces of hungry multitudes, made every remedy hopeleſs. Therefore, to fill the mouths of the clamorous million, and to maintain two hundred and fifty thouſand civil officers, and the armies, which in 1794 amounted to one million one hundred thouſand men, and were not eſſentially reduced in 1795, the revolutionary ſyſtem was introduced, in all it's rigour, into Belgium, and all the country between the Meuſe and the Rhine. The forced circulation of aſſignats, the requiſition of all neceſſaries at a fixed price, of all horſes for pleaſure, and every twentieth horſe uſed for other purpoſes, took place; and pictures, ſtatues, vaſt quantities of metals, and whole magazines of ſtores and proviſions, were conveyed into the interior of France. Oſtend alone, upon the evacuation of it's warehouſes, yielded a ſupply worth ten millions of livres; and thirty-ſix millions in ſpecie actually received, with forty-ſeven more expected, half in aſſignats and half in money, from Belgium, in the month of February, conſtituted a prodigious maſs of wealth. Add to all this ſum four hundred millions of livres per decad, or fifty millions a year, ariſing from Belgium in taxes, the domains liable to confiſcation eſtimated at three thouſand millions, the ſale of the moveable property of emigrants, and woods and forefts, the ſupport of the armies for eight months at the expence of theſe countries, the contributions extorted from the diſtricts between the Meuſe and the Rhine, and the forced loan exacted from every inhabitant of the republick, in proportion to his yearly income; and you will readily ſee that the whole

whole maſs of plunder, collected in France and in the conquered countries, now divided into departments and annexed to the republick, was prodigious. Yet, prodigious as it was, it could not maintain the credit of the republick; for the value of it's aſſignats and other promiſſory notes diminiſhed with ſuch rapidity, that towards the end of this year, (1795,) they became nearly waſte-paper, the diſcount upon a hundred livres exceeding ninety nine, and the gain hardly paying for the fabrication. Nor was this depreciation a matter of ſurpriſe to any rational obſerver; ſince, after the emiſſion of ten milliards or of four hundred millions ſterling, of theſe bills in the preceding years of the revolution, they iſſued in 1795 twenty milliards, or eight hundred millions ſterling, in paper of various denominations.

But in ſpite of the many difficulties likely to ariſe from this failure of credit, in ſpite of the diſcontent, diſorganiſation, and deſertion, juſtly to be apprehended in the armies, from the want of payment in ſpecie, the Convention encouraged by the defection of Pruſſia, by the languor or apathy of the Germanick empire, and by the ſubmiſſion of Spain, reſolved to proceed in it's uſual career, and hazard the event of another campaign. This reſolution the demagogues adopted the more readily, that, though labour in the country had, through the ſcarcity of hands and of ſpecie, riſen ſo enormouſly in value, that one buſhel in four was paid for threſhing, it's price in towns had ſunk three-fourths, and compelled the artiſans and mechanicks, the principal authors of the revolution, who now were reduced to the economy of drinking only water, to flock to the armies for the ſake of eſcaping famine by

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pay and plunder, or of ending a miſerable exiſtence by diſeaſe or battle.

Having by blockade reduced Luxemburg, the only fortreſs which had not ſubmitted on the left bank of the Rhine, and divided the whole of the conquered territory into thirteen departments, the republicans thought that, upon croſſing the Rhine, they might ſupport their armies in Germany by depredation, as they had done in Belgium. Accordingly in Auguſt, Jourdan, by perfidiouſly violating, as it is ſaid, the line of demarcation ſettled in the treaty with Pruſſia, paſſed the river by ſurpriſe in the neighbourhood of Duſſeldorf with a countleſs multitude, while Pichegru, with another immenſe hord, availing himſelf of the derangement produced in the Auſtrian poſts, by this Gallick ſtratagem eaſily penetrated to the right ſide at Manheim, of which he took immediate poſſeſſion, without any reſiſtance from the timid and effeminate elector.

Jourdan in the mean time purſued his career, and, after taking and garriſoning Duſſeldorf, forced with great loſs the Auſtrian poſts on the rivers Sieg, Lahn, and Mayne. Frankfort was taken, and Mentz being completely inveſted on both ſides of the Rhine, ſeemed irrecoverably gone; as the armies under Clairfait and Wurmſer were now thought incapable of effecting a junction. But here diſciplined valour, and the ſuperiority of the Auſtrian cavalry, ſupplied the place of numbers. Pichegru having left a ſtrong garriſon in Manheim, advanced to prevent a communication between the Auſtrian armies, and being encountered by Wurmſer, ſuſtained a total defeat; and Clairfait, retaliating on the French for their perfidy, in tranſgreſſing the line of neutrality, fell upon Jourdan's rear, and captured a

great part of his artillery. Both the French armies retreated with great loſs, the one to Duſſeldorf, and the other acroſs the Rhine at Manheim, where it left a body of ten thouſand men, that ſoon fell into the hands of the Auſtrians as priſoners of war. After the purſuit of the haraſſed republicans ceaſed, Clairfait collected a numerous body, and paſſing the Rhine in two diviſions, attacked and carried the entrenched camp, which blockaded Mentz on the left ſide, and then purſuing his advantages, over-ran the Palatinate, and occupied a large extent of country between the Rhine and the Moſelle. The republicans indeed, being ſtrengthened by freſh troops from Holland, and the inland parts of France, endeavoured to ſtraiten his quarters, but with little effect. The ſeverity of winter, however, and the hardſhips already endured, made it neceſſary for both parties at length to conclude an armiſtice, to laſt for three months, and not to be then violated without a previous notice of ten days. This agreement many deemed impolitick on the ſide of the emperor, as it furniſhed his enemies with time for bringing into action the numerous forces hitherto employed againſt the Vendeans and Chouans, inſurgents in Poitou and Brittany.

The ſyſtem of requiſition, the abolition of royalty, and of the eſtabliſhed religion, affected ſo many intereſts at once, that we need not wonder at the enſuing convulſions. But, though the baneful effects of theſe ſudden innovations were felt in all the departments, in none did they produce ſuch terrible devaſtation as on the left and right banks of the Loire, where the Vendeans and Chouans reſide. The Vendeans, alarmed by treaſon, outraged by tyranny, and ſhocked by irreligion, flocked at the inſtigation of their prieſts to

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the white ſtandard, when diſplayed at the head of the Royal and Catholick army; and ſo great was their enthuſiaſm, that ſome, upon recovering, after being ſtunned in battle, exclaimed, as if tranſlated according to the promiſe of their ghoſtly directors into paradiſe, "My God! what pangs I felt in dying!"

Turreau, commander in chief of the republicans, tells us, that the country inhabited by theſe men was before the war one of the richeſt and moſt populous in France, and that it is diviſible into two diſtricts, one on the ſea-coaſt, low and marſhy, interſected with canals and ditches, having narrow roads fit only for the paſſage of two carts, and expoſing an army, in caſe of defeat, to the inevitable loſs of it's baggage and artillery; and the other more inland, full of hedged incloſures, of hills, vales, copſes, ravins, and rivulets, now fordable, now torrents, and both of them ſwarming with men, that ſeemed to ſpring ſuddenly out of the water and the earth, and that wanted nothing but humanity to merit the appellation of herdes. When threatened with danger, the Vendeans were collected by the ringing of bells and the ſails of windmils, which ſerved as ſignals. Heated by the diſcourſes of their prieſts, who repreſented the Catholick generals as the ſaviours of religion and royalty, and commiſſioned by God himſelf to direct his people, and to protect his worſhip, they iſſued from their churches in multitudes, to merit by their undaunted courage either the crown of victory or the palm of martyrdom. At the eve of an engagement miracles never failed to be announced by their apoſtles, holding for the purpoſe of abſolving God's people a communion-cup in one hand, and a loaded piſtol for deſtroying his enemies in the other.

Here the Virgin had appeared in perſon to ſanctify a proviſional altar in the woods; there the Son of God had himſelf deſcended from heaven for the benediction of their ſtandards, on the red ſide of which flamed a biſhop in his pontificals, and on the white the Virgin, with the infant Jeſus at her breaſt. The angels, too, lent their aſſiſtance, and came adorned with golden wings and effulgent glories to promiſe victories to the defenders of the altar and the throne. Nor were theſe the only aids which they derived from religion. Among many holy relicks, that aſſured them of ſucceſs, were two vials of the Bleſſed Virgin's milk, a ſhred of her robe, a piece of the infant Jeſus's frock, a fragment of the true croſs, the gridiron on which St. Lawrence was roaſted alive, a bit of St. Guignelot's hairy ſcalp, and a tooth of St. Vincent's lower jaw.

The Vendean captains, encouraged and actually ſtrengthened by theſe religious auxiliaries, as much as ancient generals were by their images of fortune, their white harts, and their ſacred chicken, led out their enthuſiaſtick hoſts, armed each man at firſt with clubs, forks, and ſcythes, and at laſt, after the capture of ſome caſtles and municipal armouries, with a firelock and ſabre. Ladies, too, counting their beads, and children carrying roſaries, joined in the throng, which was augmented by their wives and miſtreſſes, who partook the glories of the cruſade, and by their exploits revived the memory of chivalry and Amazonian heroiſm. Such was the fury inſpired into every age by the union of fanaticiſm and patriotiſm, that while the younger children acted as ſpies, boys twelve or thirteen years old fought with obſtinacy in the firſt ranks, and viragoes, armed only with knives, ruſhed fearleſsly upon the

the battalions of the republicans, and ripped open their bowels. But, to their diſgrace, not ſatisfied with ſimple death, they often deſtroyed their priſoners by horrid mutilation, by lingering tortures, by roaſting them alive at a ſlow fire, by ſhooting them for their amuſement, as they hung ſuſpended by the feet from trees, or by interring them alive. But it is but juſtice to remark, that the tale is told by their enemies, and that their friends affirm all their cruelties to have been confined to mere acts of retaliation, for ſhocking enormities committed by notorious cut-throats in Santerre's battalions of Pariſian Septembriſers, and the affirmation ſeems juſtified by the deliverance of nine thouſand priſoners, upon their terrible defeats at Cholet and Savenay.

For the firſt ſix months they were uniformly victorious againſt the armies on the coaſts and the national guards of the neighbouring departments; and the fame of their exploits drew to their ſtandards, from all points of the republick, malcontents of every deſcription, prieſts, nobles, French and foreign deſerters, diſplaced clerks, game-keepers, ſmugglers, unemployed ſervants, and all the neceſſitous dependents of emigrants. Enthuſiaſtick, hardy, and deſperate, they ſoon bore down, with the weight of ſuperior numbers, the new levies of undiſciplined and inexperienced republicans, as well as the maſſes of the departments, who in their flight left the field of battle and the roads ſtrewed with their artillery, their firelocks, their baggage, their ammunition, and their wooden ſhoes. Furniſhed thus with every neceſſary, they eſtabliſhed a military cheſt, a mint, and a General Council for the ſupreme management of their affairs, and, elated by proſperity, diſdained all foreign aſſiſtance and con-

nection. Indeed had they been diſpoſed to derive aid from England, they wanted the means; as they neglected during their ſucceſſes to procure heavy Engliſh ordnance, and as the flying artillery and light field-pieces taken from their enemies did not enable them to ſeize any ſtrong ſea-port, and they were forced, after great loſſes, to relinquiſh their attempts upon Rochelle, Sables, and Nantes.

During the ſunſhine of their fortune their army was ſtyled Catholick and Royal, and managed, as one compact body, by the General Council, in the name of Louis XVII. But proſperity and ambition ſoon produced diviſions and animoſities among the leaders, who all aimed at ſuperior commands, and diſdained mutual ſubordination. Had the Count of Artois been at their head, as he or ſome diſtinguiſhed branch of the royal family ought, this diſaſter might have been prevented. Delbee, however, a man of conſiderable talents, was choſen generaliſſimo; but the choice had the moſt fatal conſequences, jealouſy, diſunion, and operations without concert, which ended at laſt in a ſchiſm. Charette, with fifty-two thouſand men, denominated the army of Jeſus, and headed by his adherents, acted in Lower Poitou; and Delbee, Bonchamp, Talmont, and other chiefs, continued to direct the motions of the main body, or Catholick and Royal army.

While the affairs of the Vendeans were thus circumſtanced, the Convention, finding general after general defeated or ſlain, and army after army routed or ſlaughtered, thought it full time to take effectual meaſures for extinguiſhing ſo dangerous a flame. Accordingly the veteran garriſons of Mentz and Valenciennes, of which policy dictated the retention, as priſoners of war, were

were for the ſake of expedition conveyed in waggons and other carriages to Vendee and Brittany; and theſe proving inſufficient, though joined by Santerre, with bodies of regimented Pariſian Sanſculottes, the neighbouring departments were ordered to riſe in a maſs, and to exterminate the Vendeans before the end of October. (1794.) Thus an immenſe multitude, amounting to four or five hundred thouſand, was collected, and turned their own engine againſt the Vendeans, who ſet the firſt example of riſing in a maſs. Yet ſuch was the condenſed ſtate of the Vendean population, that, notwithſtanding the prodigious preſſure of theſe immenſe bodies, they reſiſted with ſuch elaſtick force, as to tear in pieces many of the incumbent maſſes. Had Charette, inſtead of remaining inactive, or of acting but feebly, fallen, as he ought, upon their rear, while the Catholick army received them in front, this violent ſtorm might have been weathered; but, vain and ignorant as he was, Charette neglected this obvious policy, hoping that the junction of the Catholick army, as it's ultimate reſource, would render him the ſole director of the confederacy. In this expectation he found himſelf diſappointed, as well as in his attempts upon Sables and Luçon, and regretted, when it was too late, his want of co-operation. The Catholick army, after ſeeing itſelf worſted in ten general actions, and in more than ſixty murderous engagements of inferior note, retired, with the loſs of Delbee, Bonchamp, and moſt of it's other experienced generals, and of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, acroſs the Loire, into Brittany. The whole body, that took this route, did not exceed fifty thouſand, and of theſe thirty thouſand were women and

children. The remainder of the Vendeans retired, in ſcattered parties, to their woods and faſtneſſes, and endeavoured, but in vain, by the purſuits of induſtry and agricultural labour, to convince their perſecutors of their innocence. Neither innocence, nor age, nor ſex, was now ſpared. The ſanguinary Turreau, conformably to the decree of the Convention, entering the country in twelve directions, pillaged and deſtroyed every thing by fire and ſword, even to the woods and copſes; and collecting, by a promiſe of pardon, the peaſants found cultivating their fields, ſhot them without mercy. The ſame barbarian, after ordering the cattle and grain to the rear of his army, and ſending, by requiſition, all the waggons, carts, and carriages, to a great diſtance, commanded the municipalities to convey them to a ſpecified place, and ſhot them for not performing what his order had rendered impoſſible. The ferocious ſoldiers, who had been trained to murder in the revolutionary army, ſeconding the bloody mandates of their inhuman general, bore children two or three years old, as trophies, on the points of their bayonets.

Nor was the commiſſioner Carrier inferior to the general in barbarity. Eight hundred of the wretched inhabitants, to whom an amneſty had been granted, were ſhot under his eye; and the ſame fate attended many of the municipality, who came to Mortaigne to lay down their arms. By his direction fifty-eight prieſts, ſet adrift in a boat at Nantes, found, through a hole made in it's bottom, a watery grave. Soldiers, after raviſhing and murdering the mother, brought two children, three or four years of age, to this monſter, and aſked how they ſhould be treated. After due

due reflection, he anſwered, "Theſe are two ſerpents, who will remember the fate of their parent; let them ſhare her deſtiny."

By theſe ſhocking enormities Turreau and Carrier, the two exterminating angels of the Convention, reduced Vendée, in their own words, to a profound ſolitude, where, except a few republican towns, not a cottage was to be ſeen ſtanding, the whole face of the country for thirteen leagues being mere aſhes, ſoaking in blood, and in many places covered with heaps of carcaſes ten or twelve in height, and the few ſurvivors having nothing left them but eyes to weep.

This account, however, ſeems to be an exaggeration of Carrier, and to be true only of certain diſtricts; ſince, upon the diſperſion of the maſs for want of proviſions, the war ſtill continued with various ſucceſs, not only in Poitou, where Charette, Sapineau, and Stofflet, collected the wrecks of the army of Jeſus, but alſo in Brittany, where Puiſaye and other chiefs endeavoured to organize the ſcattered bands of the Chouans, or Owls, and to incorporate them with the remains of the Catholick army, that had croſſed the Loire. But no event ſufficiently memorable to deſerve the notice of the hiſtorian appears to have occurred till the beginning of this year, when the Vendeans, at the inſtigation of Charette, agreed, upon promiſe of peace and protection, to the following terms: "That eighty millions ſhould be paid by the republick to the Vendeans as an indemnification for their loſſes by fire, one half at the ſignature of the treaty; that ten millions ſhould be depoſited by the republick as a ſecurity for the payment of all bonds underwritten by the Vendean generals; that Charette ſhould command two thouſand men, paid by the republick,

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in Vendée; that there ſhould be no requiſitions for five years; that the free exerciſe of the Catholick religion ſhould be permitted, and that prieſts, nonjurors, and exiles, ſhould have leave to return, and to repoſſeſs their patrimonial eſtates."

Theſe ſtipulations clearly demonſtrate that the Vendean captains acted here as conquerors and dictators; and that it is hardly problematical whether the republicans ſecretly pledged, according to Charette's proclamation, their promiſe to reſtore monarchy. Some leaders of the Chouans, influenced by ſimilar promiſes, ſuſpended hoſtilities, and engaged to ſubmit to the new order of things; but, as neither all the Vendean nor Chouan chieftains acted in concert, this armiſtice, for it did not deſerve the name of peace, was but partial. Jealouſy and diſtruſt prevailed on both ſides; and, as the commiſſioners acted either without authority from the Convention, or by compact inveigled the Vendeans into a ſnare, the ſmothered flames of war burſt out again in the ſpring, when the Count of Artois, under the wings of England, diſplayed the white flag upon the coaſt of Brittany. Puiſaye, Sombreuil, and many other French nobles, who had taken refuge in Britain, and commanded a body of ten or twelve thouſand emigrants, regimented and paid by England, were eager to try their fortune in their own country, and to revive the royal party in Brittany and Poitou. The Britiſh miniſtry was accordingly teazed into the adoption of this meaſure, which promiſed a powerful diverſion in favour of the Auſtrian armies on the Rhine. The Convention, foreſeeing the approach of the ſtorm, and regardleſs of character, which they had long forfeited, arreſted ſome Vendean generals, and executed

executed others. This breach of faith, which was coloured with a charge of treaſon againſt the ſufferers, produced from Charette a proclamation denouncing a renewal of the war, which, he ſaid, had coſt the republicans three hundred thouſand lives, and an addreſs to his Britannick majeſty, ſoliciting aſſiſtance for the reſtoration of monarchy in France, and announcing ſeveral important victories already obtained over the common enemy. The Britiſh fleet, therefore, with the emigrants, and the Duke of Artois at their head, ſailed to the coaſt of Poitou, but they could not land with ſafety, as no ſtrong ſea-port could be ſecured for a place of arms. At the earneſt requeſt of Puiſaye, and other officers, who expected, in conſequence of intelligence procured by their emiſſaries, to be joined by ſtrong bodies of Chouans, a diſembarkation took place near a narrow neck of land in Quiberon bay, where, after the capture of a village and fort containing ſix hundred men, entrenchments were thrown up, and artillery and ſtores of all ſorts accumulated.

Quantities of arms being diſtributed among the Chouans, who poured into the camp from different quarters, attempts were made by D'Hervilly, an enterpriſing emigrant, to penetrate with them into the country; but finding them incapable of ſteady reſiſtance, and prepared, like banditti, to attack only inferior numbers by ſurpriſe, he retired within the line of defence on the peninſula. The republicans, emboldened by this retrograde motion, conſtructed on the heights oppoſite to the encampment of the emigrants three tiers of redoubts, which entirely cut off all communication with the main land. To remove this inconvenience, five thouſand men attacked the enemy

enemy in the night, and carried the two firſt camps; but being in their advance to the third flanked by a maſked battery with grape-ſhot, were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. The enterpriſe would have proved infinitely more fatal, had not the career of the purſuers been ſtopped by the fire of the Britiſh ſhips in the bay. This diſaſter naturally produced mutual recrimination among the officers, and deſertion and treachery among a maſs of privates conſiſting of ſuch heterogeneous ingredients, Chouans, emigrants, and republicans, inveigled out of the Engliſh priſons by nobles eager for preferment, which was to depend on the number of their recruits, and the ſpeed with which they were raiſed. The conſequence of this diſunion was, that nothing done in the emigrant camp remained a ſecret to Hoche, the hoſtile general, who, having procured the watch-word, and employed deſerters acquainted with all the defences as guides, took the opportunity of a rainy, dark, and ſtormy night, to ſurpriſe the invading troops in the fort and camp. The republicans, finding the artillerymen in the fort aſleep, extinguiſhed their matches, ſpoiled their powder, and prevented the lantern intended as a ſignal to the Engliſh fleet from being elevated; ſo that through want of knowledge it could give no aſſiſtance. All was, therefore, in a few minutes, noiſe, confuſion, and diſmay. Puiſaye, who had deſired Sombreuil, in a certain poſt, to wait his orders, ſkulked on board a ſhip. The regiments of Hervilly and Dreſnay, after maſſacring their officers, laid down their arms. Sombreuil, however, with the troops, whom he had brought in the laſt reinforcement, maintained ſuch a doubtful conflict, that Hoche was glad to accept his ſubmiſſion, upon condition

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that he and his men ſhould be priſoners of war, if the Convention ſhould ſanction the agreement. When the Convention, influenced by Tallien, who now worthily filled the place of the juſtly beheaded Carrier, paſſed, after application on this head, to the order of the day, Charette threatened that, if the capitulation ſhould be violated, he would retaliate upon his priſoners; and, after learning that the gallant Count Sombreuil, the Archbiſhop of Dol, with eight hundred emigrants, were condemned by Tallien's revolutionary commiſſions, and ſacrificed in cold blood, he actually executed his threats, and diſpatched a hundred and thirty-ſix republican priſoners.

The unfortunate iſſue of the expedition at Quiberon did not diſconcert the plan of the Britiſh miniſtry, whoſe principal object was to cauſe a diverſion in favour of the Auſtrian armies on the Rhine, which by their manœuvres gained the aſcendant. Accordingly the Britiſh ſquadrons hovered on the coaſt, and, after alarming the iſlands Noirmouſtier and Belleiſle, took and fortified Iſle Dieu, whence the fear of an auxiliary force to Charette retained numerous and expenſive hoſts on the ſhores of the ocean. "Why is not this ſpecies of warfare, which is dictated by our inſular ſituation, and our vaſt ſuperiority at ſea, continued? Why are not the names of a hundred thouſand volunteers inſerted in a muſter-roll, and ready to pour upon theſe gaſconading braggarts? To us it belongs to talk of invaſion, and to chaſtiſe a nation of hair-dreſſers, toymen, and haberdaſhers, who never dare to meet us either at ſea or on land with equal numbers, and prey upon other countries like Egyptian vermin." Such was at this time the language extorted from indignation

indignation at the wild ſchemes and empty menaces of France.

But though the Engliſh ſquadrons domineered in every ſea, they could not command the winds. Hence, at a favourable moment, Richery, with ſix ſhips of the line, ſlipped out of Toulon, and paſſing the ſtrait of Gibraltar, captured a conſiderable number of ſhips bound for London. Admiral Mann, with an equal number of veſſels, purſued him; but, impeded by adverſe gales, could only confine him with his prizes to Cadiz, till the opportunity was loſt of co-operating with the Dutch fleet deſtined for the recapture of the Cape of Good Hope, which was this year wreſted, with great gallantry and perſeverance, from the Dutch, by General Craig, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet under Admiral Elphinſtone, and a reinforcement of land forces, under General Alured Clarke. The iſland of Ceylon, too, famous for various oriental productions, and particularly for cinnamon, became, through the meritorious exertions of Colonel Stewart and Major Agnew, a valuable acceſſion to the Britiſh empire, and promiſes greatly to ſwell the amount of ſales at the India-houſe. Nor did the Batavian ſettlements in the ſtraits of Malacca eſcape; they, as well as all their poſſeſſions in the Weſt-Indies and America, except Surinam, fell a prey to the Britiſh fleets and armies, adding immenſely to the Britiſh commerce and revenue for the preſent, and promiſing incalculable advantages in future.

Theſe ſplendid treaſures, however, did not come pure and unalloyed. The peſtilence of the Weſt Indies, called the yellow fever, which generally kills in three days, made terrible ravages among the Engliſh ſoldiery, and left the Engliſh

iſlands

iſlands almoſt defenceleſs. Hence the French, ſetting looſe all buccaneers, of all colours and deſcriptions, deſolated the Grenades and St. Vincent, and actually obliged the Engliſh to evacuate St. Lucia; for very few of an immenſe armament fitted out in Britain could this year reach their deſtination. The major part, after ſtruggling for ſix weeks with ſtorms and tempeſts, were forced to return, with the general and admiral, into port. So favourable were the elements to the republican giants, who threatened to build a new tower, whoſe top ſhould reach the heaven, and to dethrone God and his angels. Abercromby indeed reſumed his operations in the ſpring, reduced St. Lucia, and reſtored tranquillity to St. Vincent and the Grenades; but could not, from the advanced ſtate of the ſeaſon, attempt the recapture of Guadaloupe, whoſe privateers greatly annoyed our trade, in ſpite of all the vigilance and activity of our numerous cruiſers. Nor could any effectual ſteps be taken for the reduction of Hiſpaniola, where the Weſt-India plague deſtroyed the Europeans almoſt upon their arrival, and confined the operations on both ſides almoſt to the predatory incurſions of Blacks and Mulattors.

On the continent of America, indeed, where the elements had for ſome time threatened a ſtorm, the proſpect ſuddenly cleared up, and exhibited perfect ſerenity and ſunſhine. Citizen Geneſt, the French plenipotentiary to the Congreſs, flattered by the reception with which he met from certain democratical malcontents, and exaſperated at the ſyſtem of neutrality adopted by Waſhington, attempted the introduction of a revolutionary government into America, and proceeded from extravagance to extravagance, till

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he denied the President's power of disowning a consul guilty of violating the law of nations, threatened to appeal from the President's to the people's decision, and gave the lie in print to the Chief Justice Jay, and to another great personage, who conjointly laid this crime to his charge.

The animosity and spirit of disobedience excited among the people by this contest, weakened the authority of the government to such a degree, that when a duty of excise was imposed on distilled spirits, an insurrection in several counties took place, and rendered it necessary to levy fifteen thousand troops. Washington at their head penetrated into the country of the rebels, and meeting with no resistance, advised the Congress to grant them, upon promise of obedience, a general pardon.

The insurgents having at the beginning of the commotions threatened to beg the protection of Britain, had excited American suspicion. Nor was this the only cause of jealousy at the conduct of this country. By the treaty of peace between Britain and the American States, it was stipulated that debts justly due to British subjects before the peace might be claimed by a process at law in the American courts of justice, and payment obtained by the ordinary modes of compulsion, when a verdict or decree in favour of the claimant could be pleaded. Various legal impediments, in the different States, prevented the execution of this article; and as the aggregate of the debts amounted to a large sum, the British government insisted upon their removal previously to the relinquishment of certain forts on the lakes, which constituted the frontiers of the two powers. To counterbalance the demands of the British merchants,

merchants, reciprocal claims, and particularly of negroes illegally retained by officers at the evacuation of New York, were made by the Americans; who, as they had hitherto found the energy of their executive power too weak to compel payment, now exerted every nerve to elude the purſuit of their creditors, by rekindling the flames of war. What rendered irritation on the American ſide more eaſy was the war, which their own encroachments on the hunting-grounds of the Six Nations, and of other Indians, had already excited, and which they attributed to the ill offices of Dorcheſter, the Britiſh governor, and his agents. Complaints of ſimilar grievances from the Creeks and Cherokees, and the apprehenſions of an univerſal confederacy of the Indians, cauſed a general alarm, of which the odium fell entirely on Britain. To fill up the meaſure of Britiſh iniquity in the minds of Americans, many of their ſhips, accuſed of carrying on an illicit trade in the Weſt-Indies, and of violating the laws of nations, by contraband trade on the coaſts of France, were ſeized or detained by the Engliſh cruizers; and though the French adopted the ſame plan, and the Americans themſelves were guilty of ſhameful partiality, and of glaring infractions of the treaty of peace, their jaundiced eyes could only ſee injuſtice on one ſide. Nay, the piratical depredations of the corſairs from the coaſts of Barbary were attributed to the artifices of the Engliſh.

Fortunately for the peace and proſperity of both countries, General Waſhington, an aged ſtateſman, who had experienced the calamities of war, and knew the danger of a rupture with Britain, preſided in the American councils; and the Indian war had been checkered with adverſe

as well as proſperous events. His ſingle vote in the ſenate turned the ſcale; when, after an embargo had been laid on all ſhipping, taxes were impoſed, and propoſals made for raiſing eighty thouſand militia-men, and for building twelve frigates. The reſult was a treaty of peace with the Indians, and a treaty of trade and navigation with Britain. By the former, goods to the amount of ten thouſand dollars were preſented as a peace-offering to the Indians, and four thouſand five hundred dollars are to be expended annually in the ſame manner for their benefit. Could the Algerine or Tuniſian pirates extort more favourable terms? The only reciprocal advantages ſtipulated in favour of the Americans are, the privilege of making a waggon-road through the Indian country, and the right of unmoleſted trade from river to river, and from poſt to poſt.

The arrangements made with Britain furniſh a perfect model of a commercial treaty, and are truly characteriſtick of the wiſdom to be expected from the exalted perſonages by whom it was framed. Doubts having ariſen concerning the boundary, chalked out in the original treaty of peace, commiſſioners nominated on both ſides are, after a proper ſurvey, to determine it upon oath; the reciprocal claims of merchants are to be adjuſted in the ſame way, and, where compenſation rendered formerly impracticable by law cannot now be made by individuals, the reſpective ſtates muſt ſupply their places. Perfect liberty of trade to both parties in all their territories is ſtipulated, every contraband article enumerated, and the rate of duty and tonnage ſpecified. American veſſels of ſeventy tons may trade to the Britiſh Weſt-Indian iſles, till the expiration of two years after the concluſion of the preſent war,

and

and export and import the commodities of America and the Weſt-Indies, between both countries, upon the ſame terms as Britiſh veſſels; and in the Eaſt-Indies they are excluded only from the coaſting trade, and from prohibited articles, as military or naval ſtores, and rice in time of war. In caſe of a war, the property of individuals is to be ſacred, and debts are to be recoverable, as uſual, at law. No countenance muſt be given to privateers, much leſs to pirates, forgers, or murderers, nor to an enemy's ſhips of war, but when forced into port by ſtreſs of weather.

Theſe, with many other wiſe regulations contained in the treaty, gave a new ſpring to the trade of both countries, and the reſult to Britain has been the exportation of commodities valued at thirty ſix millions of dollars, or nine millions ſterling, from all her various territories. America has been equally a gainer, as her revenue, which in 1793 amounted to 1,259,510 pounds, has ſince that period riſen in proportion to her trade, and her population has increaſed nearly to five millions by marriage and emigration. The cheapneſs, indeed, of the Britiſh manufactures, and the long credit given by the Britiſh merchants, and the high price of labour, retard, and will long retard, the progreſs of her own manufactures. But is this an evil? By no means. Agriculture, which her ſituation not only recommends but enforces, is, in the opinion of all politicians and ſtateſmen, the moſt valuable of all manufactures, being the moſt permanent and the moſt neceſſary.

But neither ſucceſs in arms nor in negociations abroad could maintain good-humour or tranquillity at home. The levelling ſocieties, emboldened by the late eſcape of thoſe denominated by go-

vernment acquitted felons, and reanimated by the unexpected releaſe of ſome culprits recently accuſed of intending the death of the king with an air-gun, aſſembled in vaſt multitudes near the metropolis, and, after hearing from ſeveral ſtages inflammatory ſpeeches, ſigned daring remonſtrances, little ſhort of open rebellion. The events, however, of theſe trials, though powerful ſtimulatives to the audacity of the ſwiniſh multitude, were not the only cauſes which exaſperated it's malignity. From the general failure of the crops of corn, which had in the preceding year been but ſcanty, and had in this fallen ſhort of the uſual quantity by at leaſt one-fifth, the price of bread gradually roſe to the double of it's uſual ſtandard. This dearth, which the ſale of almoſt twice as much foreign as Engliſh wheat in the market of London, during the preſent year, proved to be too real, the hired induſtry of Conventional emiſſaries, and the ambitious zeal of Jacobin newſmongers, attributed ſolely to what they called the unjuſt and impolitick war undertaken by the king and his miniſters againſt French liberty and the rights of man.

During this ferment of the popular mind, the parliament was convened at the end of October, and on the eve of it's meeting the Correſponding Societies aſſembled in fields near Copenhagen-Houſe, to the number, as it is exaggerated by their own favourite gazette, of three hundred thouſand. As the king proceeded next day to the Houſe of Peers, with the uſual pomp and parade of feudal times, a mob amounting to forty or fifty perſons accompanied his carriage, hooting, hiſſing, groaning, and crying "No war! "no king! no George! down with George!" Accordingly, in the narrow paſs from Palace-Yard

Yard to the Houſe of Lords, a ſtone from a hand, or bullet from an air-gun, paſſed through the ſtate-coach, leaving behind it, in the ſhut-window, a round hole, and a ſtarry impreſſion. On his return, the ſame cohort did not fail to greet the ſovereign with the ſame ſalutation, nor to deface the carriage with ſtones and miſſile weapons after he had retired to the palace. Nay, as he rode in his private coach from St. James's to the queen's palace, a renewal of the outrage took place; but the intervention of the horſe guards prevented miſchief.

In conſequence of theſe daring acts of violence offered to the perſon of the ſupreme magiſtrate, and of a joint addreſs from both houſes of parliament, a proclamation, holding out a reward of a thouſand pounds for the diſcovery of the authors, actors, and abettors of them, was iſſued by the Privy Council; and one or two met, in due time, with condign puniſhment. But miniſters, not ſatisfied with the terrors of the exiſting laws, framed a bill declaring it high treaſon, during the king's natural life, and till the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament after a demiſe of the crown, in any perſon to commit, by deed or by words, ſpoken, written, or printed, or in any other open manner, any act tending to the impriſonment, depoſition, or death, of him or of his heirs and ſucceſſors, or to levy war in order to overawe the parliament and to effect a change of counſels, or to inſtigate any foreigner or ſtranger by force to invade any of the king's dominions. By the ſame bill, during the term of three years, and till the end of the next ſeſſion, to excite diſlike or hatred to the perſon of the king, or to the perſons of his heirs and ſucceſſors, or to the government and conſtitution of this realm, as by

law eſtabliſhed, by deed, by adviſed ſpeech, or by words written or printed, is for the firſt offence rendered liable to the penalties incurred by the commiſſion of a high miſdemeanor, and, for the ſecond, to the uſual puniſhments preſcribed by law, or to tranſportation for not more than ſeven years, at the diſcretion of the court. For the ſecond, as well as the firſt offence, a perſon cannot be convicted without two witneſſes. Though a clauſe exempting the members of both Houſes from the operation of this bill in their debates, was, for avoiding the odium of an invidious diſtinction between them and the people, cancelled, it is well underſtood among themſelves, that every former privilege may be exerciſed in it's utmoſt latitude.

This bill, which now ſwells the enormous volumes of the ſtatutes, was introduced to publick notice by William Windham, ſecretary of ſtate in the foreign department, a peer of diſtinguiſhed merit as a ſtateſman and an orator. A manly and graceful figure ſecures at firſt riſing the approbation of the eyes, and an ample fund of legal and conſtitutional knowledge, evinced in a regular chain of well-connected arguments, arreſts the attention of the ears, not only by the fluency, eaſe, and elegance of the delivery, but alſo by the harmonious cadences of a ſonorous voice. Though conſtantly teaſed with captious queſtions, and peſtered with bitter invectives, he never loſes his temper, nor retaliates by ſevere recrimination; but, ſatisfied with ſelf-defence, looks down from his height unconcerned on his antagoniſts, as if they bayed the moon. Poſſeſſed as he is of the two cardinal virtues prudence and fortitude, equal to buſineſs and not above it, he ſeems admirably calculated for ſwaying the deliberations

berations of the cabinet and legiſlature, as an auxiliary to Pitt.

The legal branch of the legiſlature being thus ſecured, and the licentiouſneſs of the preſs cruſhed, the next object of miniſterial precaution was to ſuppreſs ſeditious aſſemblies of the populace. For this purpoſe all aſſemblies exceeding fifty in number, and not already recogniſed by law, if convened for addreſſing the king or parliament, or with the view, or on the pretext, of conſidering grievances, or of procuring the alteration of matters in church or ſtate, were declared unlawful, and liable to diſperſion by a magiſtrate, after reading a ſpecifick proclamation; except the aſſembly was collected by a publick advertiſement ſigned by ſeven reſident houſeholders, and a true copy of it, ſigned by them, was left with the publiſher, who, under a penalty of fifty pounds, muſt deliver it to any juſtice of the peace by whom it ſhould be demanded. Diſobedience for more than one hour to the magiſtrate's order to diſperſe, ſubjects any individual of a number above twelve to the puniſhment of death; and even an aſſembly held by regular advertiſement may in the ſame manner, and with the ſame riſk to the diſobedient, be diſperſed, if any meaſure ſubverſive of the conſtitution, or tending to incite the people to hatred, or diſlike, or contempt of the royal family, or of the parliament, be propoſed. To prevent certain political lecturers from gaining a livelihood by preaching ſedition, a houſe opened for any political diſcuſſion without a licence now incurs a penalty of a hundred pounds.

Theſe are the prominent features of this famous act, of which the minute prolixity borrowed from the barbarous verboſity of preceding ſtatutes,

that are penned with all the tautological ambiguities of a mercenary attorney's brief in the court of King's Bench, or the ſerpentine tortuoſities of a rapacious ſolicitor's bill in Chancery, renders it obſcure, and therefore enſnaring, is, if we did not miſunderſtand Lord Thurlow's words, the production of Alexander Wedderburne, Lord Loughborough and Chancellor, a man of rare talents, both natural and acquired. Bred to the Scotch bar, he became at once the rival of Lockhart, at that time the moſt diſtinguiſhed advocate of the whole faculty; and being provoked by his airs of ſuperiority to uſe ſome harſh expreſſions, and among them, "If tears could move your lordſhips, even tears would not be wanting," he was ſentenced by the court to make an apology. Thinking himſelf aggrieved, he refuſed to ſubmit; and being in conſequence threatened with the loſs of his gown, he threw it contemptuouſly over the bar to their lordſhips, and croſſed the Tweed to ſtudy and practiſe Engliſh juriſprudence. With juſtly proportioned limbs, an aquiline noſe, a keen black eye, a clear, muſical, and forcible voice, he has upon the whole an intereſting perſon, and by his firſt notes prepoſſeſſes the hearer. His elevated ſtation proves that no man has made a more dexterous uſe of fortune, and of his talents. The natural conſequence is, that courted, like other men of great powers, by different parties, and occaſionally changing ſides, he is accuſed, though ſteady in his oppoſition to the deciſion of the Commons in the Middleſex election, of verſatility in his attachments, and inconſiſtency in his politicks during the American conteſt. The famous Lord Clive, however, he never deſerted; and, though nobody is at a loſs for the cauſe, thoſe,

thoſe, who know him beſt, contend, that his object, like that of every great mind, is power, not pelf. Having been trained under the renowned Adam Smith, he may be well ſuppoſed to have a mind richly adorned with the reſources of literary knowledge. Accordingly his ſpeeches, which are methodically arranged, and properly digeſted, diſplay the depth of philoſophy and the liberality of ſcience; and though addreſſed more to the underſtanding than to the heart, yet in their phraſeology and ſpirit riſe above the tone of the bar. Indeed, as Speaker, he is by his ſituation compelled to be mild, conciliatory, and impartial, and reſtrained from that ſatirical keenneſs which, in conjunction with ſome expreſſions that inadvertently dropped from his brother, made ſome credulous people imagine that he was the author of Junius's Letters. The petulance and flippancy of an envious countryman has not made him ſwerve, in any inſtance, from his natural candour and impartiality; and the legal profeſſion muſt acknowledge that, though he is better calculated for the Chancery, where more latitude is allowed for the uſe of liberal reaſoning than in the courts below, where genius is fettered by technical forms, Pitt could not have made a more happy choice of a Chancellor, who ought always to be a man thoroughly acquainted with the laws of both realms.

Theſe two peers, aided by Lord Mansfield, a man of great legal and diplomatick knowledge, but of tedious and fatiguing eloquence, were the principal ſupporters of the bills in the Upper Houſe; for the Duke of Portland and Earl Spencer, the other two cabinet counſellors, though great additional weights in the miniſterial ſcale of the political balance, became ſo, much leſs from

from their eloquence and parliamentary abilities, than from their blameleſs lives, their ample fortunes, and extenſive connections. If the influence of the former has contributed to the tranquillity of Ireland, it is perhaps the only publick merit which he can plead, being in other reſpects a kind of neutral character, liable indeed to no cenſure, but entitled to little praiſe. The latter, who ſpeaks, as he lives, in a plain unaffected manner, commands reſpect in the ſenate by his unimpeachable integrity and known honour, as well as by his induſtry and ſkill in protecting the Britiſh commerce, and in deſtroying the French trade and marine. A valuable Mediterranean fleet, indeed, has been loſt during his adminiſtration, and the fiſhery at Newfoundland deeply injured; but, as the one was owing to the accident of unfavourable winds, and the other to the treachery of Spain, on whom, it is to be hoped, he will ſoon be revenged, his character has not materially ſuffered; and the enemy has given him no opportunity of equalling the ſplendid naval triumphs of his traduced predeceſſor in office.

Theſe advocates for the bills had for their chief antagoniſts, Lauderdale, Guildford, Bedford, and Landſdowne. Lauderdale, qualified as he has been already deſcribed, has, from his deſtination to the bar, acquired much induſtry, more ambition, and ſufficient powers of face, and is warm, animated, and overbearing, like his anceſtor in Charles's reign. Guildford has all his father's rotundity of mouth, and perſon, but cannot yet boaſt of his knowledge, much leſs of his wit. Bedford—but why ſhould I attempt to give a ſketch of a character, which is ſo graphically portrayed by Burke? William Petty, Marquis of Landſdowne, in a green and vigo-

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rous old age, which, from his boldneſs in venturing, not many years ago, upon a young wife, he ſeems to feel, has a ſtrong athletick perſon, and is fit to contend with the late chancellor in tremendouſneſs of brow. In ſpite of all his labours, and of the broken torrents of invective, which he occaſionally pours out againſt miniſters, his lungs remain ſound and untouched. Accordingly his voice never ſeems to fail him, when after ſix months ſtudy and preparation, he opens, like his late dependent, Colonel Barré, his turgid budget of foreign correſpondence, of private anecdotes and familiar letters, and travels over the four quarters of the globe, marking in every region the diſaſters of the war, diminiſhing it's ſucceſſes and magnifying it's loſſes, and attributing to the miniſters all the follies, and all the crimes, of all the allies, with the eager and vindictive tone of diſappointed ambition. For, though he derives almoſt all his credit with the publick from ſerving in a reſponſible department under the preſent miniſter's father, he cannot forgive his ingratitude in not calling him to the firſt ſeat at the treaſury, nor his preſumption in ſtepping over his head, as he introduced him to office, though not to notice. Forgetting that, as in imitation of Fox, none likes the man, he muſt remain an inſulated individual, without attachment, without truſt, and may ſafely, and without moleſtation, indulge his predilection for that dignified retirement, which, in his own words, the unhandſomeneſs of forcing his ſervices upon an unwilling ſovereign, and the diſdain of contending with ſtriplings recommend. Such conduct undoubtedly becomes a gentleman; and, according to Dean Tucker, the marquis is not only a gentleman, but alſo a courtier, for he knows how to make

make oblique promiſes to expectants. Let us not be ſuppoſed to aver that he is a courtier likewiſe in the performance of his promiſes, or that, while he had the articles of the laſt peace in his pocket, he laid the foundation for diſcharging vaſt incumbrances upon his eſtates. Such a ſuſpicion is as groundleſs as his friend Goldſmith's bull—"My lord, I have often wondered why you are always deſignated in pamphlets and newſpapers, by the name of Malagrida; for Malagrida was an honeſt man."

Fox, the leader of the minority, having in the Lower Houſe aſſerted that every ſupporter of theſe bills was a traitor to his country, and that, if they ſhould paſs into laws, reſiſtance to the legiſlature would, in the people, become a queſtion not of morality, or of duty, but of prudence; and being joined in that aſſertion by Lambton, Grey, and Sheridan, literary men, who were to be affected by the former, and the Correſponding Societies, who would be ſilenced by the latter, caught the flame, and ſpread an alarm throughout the kingdom by newſpapers, pamphlets, ſpeeches, and reſolutions. The Duke of Bedford, and other unpowdered patriots, harangued the gaping multitude under cover, and in the open air, and monopolized gratuitouſly the trade of field-preaching. By theſe artifices, remonſtrance upon remonſtrance poured in upon parliament from all quarters, and ſtopped the progreſs of the bills, till counter-remonſtrances were procured, and the people ſeemed to be converted into petitioners and addreſſers, as they were in Charles the Second's days, into petitioners and abhorrers. In numbers the petitioners greatly preponderated, but in reſpectability and weight of metal, the addreſſers had infinitely

finitely the advantage. Hence the legiſlature acted ſecurely, as if no ſuch conteſt had exiſted, and the bills became legiſlative acts ſanctioned by the ſovereign. The principal arguments againſt the bills were theſe:

"Our preſent king, though a good, mild, and virtuous prince, and therefore entitled to all due protection, cannot be ſaid to exceed in merit every ſovereign ſince the days of Edward the Third. Such acts were not deemed neceſſary ſafeguards to the perſon of William the Third, though expoſed to the danger of direct aſſaſſination; nor to the ſecurity of the preſent royal family, when the ſtandard of rebellion was diſplayed in the heart of the iſland. Why then ſhould the laws of treaſon, which have in barbarous times proved a ſufficient ſafeguard to the perſons of ſo many monarchs, not be able, in this enlightened age, to ſhield George the Third from danger? If you wiſh the king to reign in the hearts of his ſubjects, adopt lenity and not ſeverity: cruel laws beget ferocious manners, and brutalize the people, whoſe welfare, as all governments were chiefly made for them, ought to be conſulted, at leaſt as much as the intereſt of the ſupreme magiſtrate, or of any claſs in the community, and who ought not to be puniſhed in a maſs for the crime of an individual. Tumults, riots, and inſurrections, are no ſymptoms of a good reign; and, as an extenſion of the laws of treaſon will be no recommendation of his majeſty's government, ſo it cannot ſecure his perſon from revenge, inſanity, or enthuſiaſm. Nor are theſe meaſures greatly favoured by the precedents quoted from the reigns of Elizabeth, and Charles the Second. Elizabeth, an arbitrary princeſs, who impriſoned ſome members for

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freedom of ſpeech, forbad her crouching Commons to interfere in the myſteries of ſtate, as matters above their ſphere; and Charles had a parliament no leſs infamous for it's obſequious devotion. But what ill-omened bird croaked out the precedents in the days of Richard and James the Second, of whom the former loſt his life, and the latter his crown? God forbid that the compariſon ſhould have been dictated by the ſpirit of prophecy. The nearer the condition of a prince is to deſpotiſm, the farther from ſtability is his throne. Did the ſanguinary laws forced upon the ſenate make the lives of the Roman emperors more ſecure? The virtuous, as well as the vicious, generally fell victims to aſſaſſination or poiſon. The laws of France, under Louis the XVIth. and Robeſpierre, were ſufficiently bloody; and yet they periſhed by an inſurrection of the multitude, as the late King of Sweden did, through the revenge of an individual. Nor is there any reaſon to boaſt of the tranquillity or ſafety procured by the operation of ſuch bills as the preſent, to the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles the Second: for, beſides pretended plots, they were both infamous for real conſpiracies. But what other effect could be expected from their tyrannical laws? By a clauſe in the act ſanctioned by Charles, it was high-treaſon to ſay that the king was a papiſt, becauſe he was a papiſt; as it is declared, by one of theſe acts, a miſdemeanour to accuſe the Commons of corruption, becauſe they are corrupt. Muſt not ſuch tyranny produce indignation, and indignation reſiſtance? Hence it is evident, that it is not the protection of the ſovereign, but of his miniſters, that is here the object. Having outraged the people beyond all ſufferance, they dread the natural conſequence,

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an inſurrection; and, inſtead of removing the grievance, apply coercion as a remedy. A new ſpecies of treaſon is created, as a check to the riſing ſpirit of freedom, and as an engine of vengeance. Were the act merely declaratory of the ancient law, it would have been made permanent, and not temporary; for a temporary act, explanatory of a permanent law, is a contradiction in terms. Since the event of the late oppreſſive trials has proved that juries will not adopt the ideas of lawyers relative to conſtructive treaſon, nor hold an overt act, that was only evidence of high treaſon, to be a ſubſtantive and direct treaſon; you here copy the infamous laws of Scotland, where a judge, who ought to be marked out for the execration of mankind, declared that no puniſhment was too great for ſedition; and that tranſportation was too mild a ſentence for Muir, who deſerved to be expoſed to wild beaſts. Under judges of ſuch vindictive and arbitrary diſpoſitions, will not this, as well as the old act, ſerve as a foundation for new conſtructive treaſons? Thus, if we are ſtill to be here indulged with freedom of ſpeech, we ſhall only be the prattling repreſentatives of a dumb nation; for elſewhere we ſhall be, like them, left at the mercy of the miniſtry. A private letter dropping accidentally out of our pocket, or unguarded expreſſions at table, reported by a malevolent ſervant, may become the foundation for a charge of high treaſon. Henceforward what can there be enviable in the condition of a Briton, when he is thus expoſed to the malignant rapacity of ſpies and informers? All private confidence and friendſhip will be deſtroyed, and replaced by ſuſpicion and diſtruſt. Adieu to the familiarities of converſation, to the innocent gaieties of ſocial intercourſe,

courſe, to the generous effuſions of the ſoul, and to the unbounded communication of thought. The preſs is ſtopped, the pen is wreſted from our hand, and our mouth is ſhut. Even hiſtorians muſt now become mutes through fear, or flatterers from hope. Such is the degraded ſituation to which the firſt bill has reduced Britons, as individuals; and their condition they will find, as collective bodies, rendered by the ſecond ſtill worſe. When the act that ſecures perſonal freedom was ſuſpended, much previous inquiry took place, and many voluminous documents were laid upon the tables of both Houſes, to juſtify the meaſure; not only models of pikes, and drawings of caltrops, but real, not aeriform daggers were produced: but now it is expected that a complying parliament will adopt a much harſher proceeding without requiring a ſingle proof of it's neceſſity. As the outrage offered to the ſovereign is ſaid to have originated in the Correſponding Societies, why do you not inſtitute an inquiry, and trace the fact to it's ſource? Upon inveſtigation it may perhaps be found that, if hand-bills were circulated, they were circulated by the ſpies of government; if there are plots, they are miniſterial plots, calculated to raiſe an alarm, and to precipitate the legiſlature into acts hoſtile to national freedom, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution. The bills, indeed, are ſaid to be meant as ſupports to the conſtitution; but they are ſuch ſupports to it as the axe, the wheel, and the ſtake, are to religion. For by theſe acts what do miniſters ſay to the people? "Venture not to murmur, much leſs to bite, or we will muzzle you; preſume not in anger to ſhake your galling chains, or we will ſend you to Botany Bay, or hang you up for high treaſon."

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If the terror of perſecution makes martyrs, it alſo makes converts; and, as the Inquiſition made more proſelytes than Luther or Calvin, theſe bills will procure to the reforming ſocieties more recruits than Paine or Barlow. It is contended that the malcontents conſiſt of two claſſes, of enemies to the corruption of the repreſentative body, and of enemies to the whole ſyſtem of our mixed government. Why then is not the repreſentative aſſembly purged, and the democratical party thus rendered impotent? But though the miniſters have inflicted deep wounds, they diſdain to apply anodynes, and by perſevering in the career of tyranny exaſperate the diſeaſe. Ought they not to take warning from the fate of Charles the Firſt, and from the iſſue of the American war? In both caſes the injudicious application of inadequate preventives occaſioned all the ſubſequent evils. Is it conceivable that, though the nation is aſleep, it is ſo dead to all feeling as to ſuffer itſelf to be deprived of the right to petition parliament, a right paramount to all others, and by the maintenance of which on oath the king holds his crown? Petitions are the only means left to the inferior claſſes for influencing the legiſlature. Will you thus wreſt out of their hands a privilege to which they are entitled by the Bill of Rights? Will you ſhut your door againſt the cries of ſo numerous and uſeful a body, and refuſe to hear their grievances? The truth is, that a regular conſpiracy ſeems to have been formed for the overthrow of the conſtitution; not indeed by the aſſembly at Copenhagen-Houſe, with whom it is more honourable to be connected than with the preſent cabinet, but by the miniſter; who now is ready ungratefully to kick down the ladder by which he

aſcended to power. But let him beware. The whole tenour of our hiſtory demonſtrates that the reign of all who have in a phrenzy adopted ſuch deſpotick meaſures has not been long. Can he imagine that under theſe ſevere laws, in which the puniſhments are not commenſurate to the crimes, juries will convict? The minds of Engliſh juries cannot ſo eaſily be reconciled to the ſanguinary and vindictive ſpirit of theſe Scotch laws; and they will therefore allow the culprits to eſcape. What will be the reſult? The ſame exultation and triumph that were diſplayed at the acquittal of the ſeven biſhops, and of the late objects of miniſterial perſecution. The people, who have ſeen their liberty conſtantly narrowed during the preſent reign, will never conſent to reſign the right of ſpeaking, on which all their other envied privileges are founded. If Britain ſubmit to this indignity, ſhe will reſemble a tree that is injured at the root, and has been ſuddenly ſtripped of it's bark; it's branches may for ſome time exhibit pale bloſſoms and wrinkled leaves, but, deſtitute of the genuine vegetative principle, will ſoon decay and periſh. By theſe laws the people may indeed aſſemble, but they muſt not ſpeak till they have obtained a licence from juſtices, and other miniſterial dependents. Can any regulation in the hiſtory of tyranny equal this ſtretch of power? Our's is confeſſedly a limited monarchy; and limitation implies in extreme caſes the right of reſiſtance, a right which Britons certainly poſſeſs; and this is a doctrine applicable to theſe infamous bills."

The miniſter's talents for debate are, according to Grattan, his inveterate enemy, at all times ſtupendous, but never appeared more ſtupendous than upon this occaſion, when he and his adherents

herents made a reply, of which the following is an imperfect abſtract. "That the fountains of juſtice are allowed, by a deſperate faction, to have never been purer than during the mild and benign reign of his preſent majeſty, who is conſpicuous for his publick and private virtues, is no ſmall triumph to his miniſters, as they know not how to ſeparate the publick cauſe from their own. Being aſked why they ſuffered the ſuſpenſion of the act for ſecuring perſonal liberty to expire, they anſwer, that, from a review of the ſcenes exhibited in France, they thought innovators had been deterred from proſecuting their viſionary ſchemes of reform, and would be ſatisfied with the ancient ſyſtem, which time and experience had ſanctioned. Dire neceſſity alone could induce the king's councils to trench upon a ſingle particle of the people's franchiſes for a time, and that merely for the purpoſe of ſecuring the whole for ever. What is the foundation of ſociety, but a ſeries of reſtrictions upon natural rights? and to argue againſt all encroachments on the latter, is equivalent to a renunciation of the former. Indeed the attempt to render the parliament of Copenhagen Houſe paramount to the *five hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen in St. Stephen's Chapel, who may*, according to them, and to their Correſponding friends among the Commons, *go about their buſineſs*, aims directly at the diſſolution of the ſyſtem, which has been held ſacred for ages. What was the object of the aſſemblage of houſeholders, or rather of the Correſponding Society, in Palace-Yard, but to overawe the legiſlature? Was not every orator applauded in proportion to the virulence of his invectives againſt both houſes of parliament? But let thoſe demagogues know that their inflam-

matory language and daring inſolence ſerve only as additional motives for enacting laws to curb ſedition and treaſon in every rank and ſtation. If any credit is due to the ſages of the law, to Hale, Foſter, and other ornaments of the long robe, the firſt of theſe bills creates no new treaſon, but renders clear and diſtinct what has through the chicanery or ingenuity of counſel confounded the underſtandings of unlearned juries. Hence perſpicuity and certainty will for the future ſecure the adminiſtration of the laws of treaſon from clamour among the people, and from contentions between courts and juries. After the event of the late trials, in which the verdicts of the juries differed ſo widely from the opinion of the privy council, of the legiſlature, of grand juries, and of the ſoundeſt lawyers, is not this a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed? Thus we ſhall hear no more of acquitted felons. The firſt of theſe bills is nearly a tranſcript of acts paſſed under Elizabeth and Charles the Second. Is it then likely that they will not now, as then, prove effectual, when Elizabeth having a paſſive, and Charles an obſequious parliament, muſt have taken the moſt efficacious ſteps for their own ſecurity? Nor are the precedents objectionable; ſince the firſt was ſanctioned by Clarendon, a miniſter to whom no man needs be aſhamed of being compared, and the ſecond framed by the venerable Serjeant Maynard, who in every viciſſitude adhered ſteadily to the principles of liberty. All the novelty introduced into the law by the act framed for the greater ſecurity of the king's perſon is, that a conſpiracy to levy war is made direct treaſon, and that the treaſon muſt be charged in a different manner in the indictment; and even this alteration, out of tenderneſs to general liberty, is made

made temporary, to anſwer a temporary purpoſe, the counteraction of levelling principles, which, it is hoped, will not be permanent. Miſdemeanours, which by this act muſt be ſubſtantiated by two witneſſes, inſtead of one, as formerly, are of various deſcriptions, and not eaſily reduced to a graduated ſcale, for the infliction of proportionate puniſhments. In the diſtribution of juſtice, therefore, much muſt be neceſſarily left to the diſcretion of judges and juries. Till the ſecond offence, the law remains unaltered; and even then the king may interfere, and remit the puniſhment of tranſportation, a ſpecies of puniſhment by no means borrowed from Scotland, but long known in our code of juriſprudence; for it is inflicted on perjury, on an aſſault with intent to rob, and on other delinquencies, after the ſecond offence. That tranſportation in the company of felons, and other abandoned convicts, is to a man of liberal education, and in comfortable circumſtances in life, a degrading ſeverity, cannot be denied. But wanting the temptation to err, he wants alſo the apology for the offence; ſince he can plead neither ignorance nor diſtreſs. Suppoſe the law, as it ſtood, equal to the puniſhment of the perſon who threw the ſtone at his majeſty, was it alſo equal to the puniſhment of a thouſand inſtigators? The former law was applicable only to individuals, not to multitudes. Nor is it certain that the offender, if apprehended, would have been convicted; ſince his council might have pleaded that his intention was not to hurt his majeſty, but merely to expreſs, in common with thouſands, his diſapprobation of the war; and he might thus have eſcaped by ſubterfuge and evaſion. The law of treaſon, being made clear and preciſe, will prove

equally ſalutary to the ſovereign and the ſubject. But as a foundation to the act intended for the prevention of ſeditious meetings, it is alledged that the late daring attack upon the king ought to be proved to have originated in the aſſemblies convened at Copenhagen-Houſe. Without regarding the Britiſh Convention at Edinburgh, in which it was decreed, by a ſecret article, to reſiſt in due time the legiſlature, or the meditated Convention in England, which, as a ſubſidiary reſerve, threatened ſtill more deciſive meaſures, we need only attend, for this purpoſe, to their reſolutions, declarations, writings, and publications. Is it not one of their reſolutions that "the moſt powerful but ſolitary argument in favour of the conſtitution is the virtue of the prince, which they had not found?" Have they not, upon the eſcape of their friends, the acquitted felons, "declared that they had experienced a ſtorm; that their veſſel had been in danger, but had now put again to ſea; that their ſtandard was again diſplayed, and volunteers repaired to their drum-head at the rate of a hundred and fifty a week, and ſometimes of ſeventy and eighty a day?" Does not their own gazette boaſt that their numbers at Copenhagen-Houſe were three hundred thouſand? And is not their language to the multitude, "How long, fooliſh countrymen, will you call upon Hercules? It is time to put your own ſhoulders to the wheel; which is not to be extricated by riot, but by another engine, which will compel the legiſlature to accede to your demands." We have it in proof that at their meeting were ſold two pamphlets, one entitled, "King-killing," and another, "The Reign of George the Laſt." Their own bookſeller, Citizen Lee, has circulated publications defining "the

"the guillotine an inſtrument of rare invention, calculated for great malefactors, ſuch as kings, biſhops, and miniſters; and extolling Ravaillac, Damien, Guy Fawkes, and Ankerſtrom." Is not this a tiſſue of treaſon? not Engliſh treaſon, indeed, but French, and of the deepeſt dye. To accelerate the effect of theſe treaſonable writings, an orator of the Correſponding Society, who thought "it was natural to repair to Copenhagen-Houſe, as they found ſomething rotten in the ſtate of Denmark," told the multitude, "that, as the king was to meet his parliament on Thurſday, he hoped they would give him a warm reception." Are not theſe words as intelligible as Thelwall's, when, in his inflammatory harangue to this rabble of mechanicks, he wiſhed for the lungs of Stentor, to anathematiſe the wretched French ſtateſmen who had aboliſhed univerſal ſuffrage? Is it not upon record, in their own words, that theſe ſocieties hold "all monarchy an uſurpation upon the rights of the ſovereign people, and the Bill of Rights a bill of wrongs, and a ſcandalous compact between the king and a proud ariſtocracy," till theſe coercive acts came to be agitated? Then indeed they turned round upon their heel, and began, in conjunction with the Friends of the People, when they found them talking of their favourite object, reſiſtance, to exclaim againſt the violation of the conſtitution, and, in imitation of their leaders in parliament, to debate in their clubs, "whether, if theſe bills became laws, the people ought not to reſiſt." After reviewing all theſe publications, ſpeeches, and actions, can any man, laying his hand upon his heart, conſcientiouſly ſay that there is not here damning evidence of guilt? That the chain of circumſtances here enumerated intimately connects the outrage upon his ma-

jeſty with the affiliated ſocieties, will be denied by none that is not capable of perjury, and worthy of having his ears nailed to the pillory. Since it then appears that, though the pretext of theſe aſſemblies is reform, their real object is firſt anarchy, and then plunder, is government puſillanimouſly to abdicate it's authority, and to ſurrender at diſcretion? No, ſay the Friends of the People; you muſt conciliate, by making conceſſions. But how is conciliation poſſible, where there is nothing to concede but the conſtitution; where knowledge, wiſdom, and experience, are to bow the knee to ignorance, folly, and raſhneſs; where the order of nature is to be reverſed, and the fable of Menenius to be realiſed? Such irregular aſſemblies were never permitted in the Roman republick, nor are they in the American ſtates; and both muſt be allowed a tolerable acquaintance with the nature of liberty. Why then ſhould we now deviate from their practice, and that of our anceſtors, who never heard of ſuch meetings, but under Wat Tyler and Jack Cade? The bill, which is ſo much reprobated, is a regulation of a right, not an innovation; it lays no reſtraint upon legal meetings, but ſubjects aſſemblies not recogniſed by the conſtitution to the inſpection and controul of a reſpectable claſs of independent magiſtrates, who are the pride of the country, as the diſpenſers of gratuitous juſtice, and unparalleled in any other kingdom. Have not even your favourites, the French republicans, been at laſt obliged to renounce univerſal ſuffrage as a chimera, to diſſolve clubs, and to confine the right of preſenting a petition to a ſingle individual? Why then ſhould not reſponſible magiſtrates, to whom their office is no great boon from the ſovereign, be allowed that power of

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diſperſion, which you contend they already poſſeſs by the Riot Act, and the Act of Edward the Sixth? The Reformation was ſecured by the prohibition of aſſemblies collected by means of hand-bills, and the ſound of trumpets; and the Conſtitution, which is of no leſs value, ought to be protected by methods equally efficacious. The bill is clearly intended for making the people look up to parliament alone for the redreſs of grievances, and for preventing menaces from reaching the legiſlative powers in the ſhape of petitions. And is not this precaution neceſſary, when a diſtinguiſhed ſenator, who in diſcuſſing the merits of the famous Middleſex election affirmed that the voice of the nation could be collected no where but in the Houſe of Commons, now looks for it abroad, in Palace-Yard, and at Copenhagen-Houſe? Is it not neceſſary when, with the words of peace in their mouths, certain perſons make open attempts to excite reſiſtance againſt the king, acting with the advice and concurrence of his legiſlative council, and to impel the populace to draw the ſword of civil diſcord? Our anceſtors looked for the ſafeguard of liberty in the wiſdom and energy of parliament, and not from the irregular ſallies of a diſorderly mob; and the reſiſtance to Charles the Firſt was provoked by proceedings contrary to the ſenſe of parliament. Legal meetings of the people have, it is true, been of notable ſervice; they procured the repeal of the Exciſe Act, and ſtopped the progreſs of Fox's Eaſt-India Bill; but tumultuary aſſemblies of all deſcriptions have ever, as in 1780, been productive of miſchief. What then can be the view of thirty or forty ſenators who, though ſome of their leaders are bankrupts and ſome mendicants, dare to accuſe the parliament of corruption,

corruption, in patroniſing promiſcuous, and therefore riotous, aſſemblages of rude and untutored mechanicks? To reaſon and experience their object cannot be problematical. The audacity and deſperation, therefore, of a pitiful minority muſt be oppoſed by firmneſs and vigour in a reſpectable majority, that muſt laugh at the paradox which aſcribes the danger now incurred by the conſtitution to the reſiſtance and not to the attack. Seeing the conſtitution ſapped upon it's own principles, and endangered by doctrines tranſplanted from the French into the Engliſh ſoil, we muſt at leaſt regulate the proceedings of ſocieties who doubt Engliſh courage, and vilify the unparalleled exploits of our fleets and armies, while they extol French heroiſm to the ſkies. Though Swift's picture of the Yahoos is as juſt a repreſentation of human nature as their caricature of the conſtitution, and may therefore be thought to miſs it's object by it's extravagance, yet the conſtant expoſition of the foul inſtead of the fair ſide to vulgar eyes muſt gradually breed contempt and hatred; and incendiaries muſt not be allowed to derive pecuniary advantages from the propagation of ſedition. As the theatres are laid under reſtrictions, ſo ſhould individuals. The clauſe, indeed, which renders it neceſſary to advertiſe meetings, would perhaps be ſuperfluous, were it not for the peculiar conſtruction of the Correſponding Society, which by it's diviſions and ſubdiviſions is ſo well calculated for eaſy communication and prompt execution. By the pathetick lamentations over the reſtraints laid on ſocial intercourſe and mutual confidence, one would be apt to ſuſpect that the familiar converſations of ſome people conſiſt ſolely of ſedition, and that they are never ſo jovial over their bottle

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as when talking treaſon. The bill checks no lawful converſation, no lawful meeting. The taylors, the ſhoe-makers, aye, and the chimney-ſweepers, may aſſemble in any numbers about their private affairs. Why then have we a petition upon the preſent occaſion from the weavers? Becauſe much induſtry has been exerted to miſrepreſent the bill to them as well as to other bodies of men. The ſame induſtry is employed in propagating a ridiculous tale that the ſeditious hand-bills and inflammatory publications are the manufacture of miniſterial agents. They might as well be accuſed of having provoked the aſſault upon his majeſty. The Friends of the People have in that way kindly ſaved them all trouble; for under their foſtering wing the brood of ſedition has been hatched ſo faſt, that the attorney general has found two hydras ſpring up from every monſter's head that he cut off, till his arms at laſt dropped down nerveleſs and impotent, and forced him to call upon the legiſlature for aſſiſtance."

During theſe diſcuſſions, that formed the principal features of the ſeſſion, the parliament at intervals took into conſideration the high price of corn, which the failure of the harveſt and other circumſtances had raiſed to double the ordinary ſtandard, forcing the bakers to ſell at fifteen pence the ſame weight of bread which uſually coſt only ſeven pence halfpenny, and inſtigating the benevolence of the wealthy in the different pariſhes to relieve the diſtreſs of the indigent by donations, and to reduce for them the neceſſaries of life to a moderate rate by ſubſcriptions. The firſt meaſure adopted by the legiſlature in this exigence was the immediate and total ſtoppage of the diſtilleries, which conſume

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ſuch vaſt quantities of grain; the next a parliamentary aſſociation, as a precedent for others, to uſe bread containing only three-fourths of wheaten flour; and the laſt the appropriation of a million ſterling to the payment of a bounty on imported wheat. Such was the civic privation to which the Britiſh ſenate ſubmitted, and ſuch the tax which it impoſed on the rich for the ſupport of the poor, who, till chargeable, were declared no longer removeable by compulſion from pariſh to pariſh, and whoſe wages for labour Pitt propoſed, and ſtill means by law to render ſubject, like other articles, to a riſe or fall according to the demand of the market. What other country can boaſt of ſo wiſe, ſo equitable, and benevolent a government?

The army, with ten thouſand men paid by the Eaſt-India Company, amounted this year to two hundred and ſeven thouſand men, being twenty-eight thouſand leſs than in the preceding; and the complement of men for the navy was fixed by vote at a hundred and ten thouſand. The Iriſh militia was raiſed to twenty-two thouſand five hundred, and with the regulars made a body not greatly ſhort of fifty thouſand. The Eaſt-India Company's military eſtabliſhment remained, as uſual, at ſeventy thouſand.

The expence of the Britiſh army, with the foreign troops, the Sardinian ſubſidy, ordnance, extraordinaries, and miſcellaneous ſervices, did not fall much ſhort of twelve millions, nor the navy, with it's ordnance and extraordinaries, of ſeven millions and one hundred thouſand pounds. To theſe groſs ſums add a vote of credit for 2,500,000, 3,500,000 of Exchequer-bills, 200,000 as an addition to the annual million for the extinction of the national debt, 2,683,000 for the ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed deficiencies of grants, and of the taxes on land and malt, and you will find the whole ſupply to exceed 27,600,000.

The different articles of the ways and means for defraying this expenditure were the duties on land and malt, taken at 2,750,000, the growing produce of the ſinking-fund, eſtimated at 2,395,000, 1,200,000 of money ſuppoſed to ariſe from Dutch prizes and the impreſs ſervice, 3,5000,000 of Exchequer-bills, and a loan of eighteen millions. All theſe ſums, after a deduction of 360,000 for half a year's intereſt on the new ſtock, till the freſh taxes commenced, made, as nearly as could be computed, an aggregate equal to the ſupply.

Beſides the intereſt of the loan, which, with one per cent. for the extinction of the capital, amounted to 1,111,500, proviſion was to be made for one million allotted for paying the bounty on imported corn, and for four millions of debt incurred for the navy in conſequence of the heavy charges of the tranſport-ſervice for the Weſt-Indies, of the purchaſe and equipment of ſo many Eaſt-India ſhips, and other extraordinary exertions at the commencement of the rupture with Holland. The taxes levied for paying this annuity were an increaſe of ten per cent. on the aſſeſſed taxes, making 140,000, an addition to the tax on horſes for pleaſure 116,000, on all horſes 100,000, a duty of two-pence on every pound of tobacco 170,000, of two-pence on every yard of printed cottons 135,000, a retention of ſums paid for diſcount and waſte of ſalt carried coaſtways 32,000, a diminution on the drawbacks on ſugar 180,000. Theſe ſums, with a ſum of nearly 300,000, propoſed to be raiſed by a tax of three per cent. on collateral ſucceſſions, would have made

made a total of 1,200,000. But, though this mode of raiſing money had been long practiſed in Holland, and was in this very year adopted in America without a murmur, and though the war might be ſaid to hinge upon property and ariſtocracy, ſo many difficulties were ſtarted, and ſo many obſtacles oppoſed by the landed intereſt and peerage, that the plan failed. To ſupply it's place, the miniſter was adviſed to lay hold of the Sardinian ſubſidy, which the events of war had now made likely to ceaſe.

But, oppoſed as every article of the miniſter's ſcheme of finance was by ſome claſs or other, as it's intereſt happened to be affected, none met with ſuch determined oppoſition, and acrimonious animadverſion, as the cloſe mode in which he borrowed the eighteen millions. "Why," it was ſaid, "did he not leave the market open for competition? Why did he grant ſuch extravagant terms that the lenders now got ten or twelve, or even fourteen per cent. of premium?" The fact was that the miniſter attempted an open loan, but found himſelf precluded by an implied agreement with Boyd, Benfield, Goldſmidt, and others, to raiſe no money but through them, till the laſt payment on the preceding loan took place. The intereſt granted to the ſubſcribers for every hundred pounds amounted exactly to 4l. 13s. 6d. How then came ſuch a clamour to be raiſed againſt ſuch moderate terms? A meſſage from his majeſty, relative to peace, ſuddenly raiſed the ſtocks to ſuch a height, that every moneyed man wiſhed for a participation, and produced a general irritation. No blame, however, ſeems to attach to any individuals, but to the principal ſubſcribers, who in a mercenary and rapacious manner refuſed to the ſubordinate holders of the former

former loan that proportion of the preſent to which they were entitled as much as themſelves by the laſt year's bargain with the miniſter. Were it not for the injury ſuſtained by the publick, the principles of diſtributive juſtice might have tempted the aggrieved to rejoice at the diſtreſs of theſe harpies by the ſubſequent fall of the publick funds, at the burſting of the pacifick bubble.

Though theſe taxes in ſome degree clouded the political horizon, the flouriſhing ſtate of the national trade and commerce checkered it with glimpſes of ſunſhine. Excluſively of the articles ſent abroad in the king's tranſports, which take no clearances from the Cuſtom-houſe, the value of Britiſh exports for 1795, which in the inſpector-general's books is always ſtated below their real worth, roſe to the enormous ſum of twenty-ſeven millions, being nearly double their amount at the end of the American war; and the imports preſerved nearly the ſame proportion, the balance in favour of the iſland under this head exceeding five millions. This vaſt commerce was carried on by 10,174 ſhips inwards, and by 10,133 outwards, of which the tonnage was for the former 1,262,568, and for the latter 1,164,910; and the whole number of ſhips belonging to the Britiſh empire in 1794 was nearly ſeventeen thouſand. The Eaſt-Indies exhibited a proſpect equally pleaſing; the territorial revenue of the different ſettlements having yielded a neat ſurplus of 2,600,000, and trade a profit of more than a million. Nor did Ireland, the ſecond member of the empire in importance, promiſe leſs in proportion; her gallant and high-ſpirited ſons, with their uſual generoſity,

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granted this year, for the current ſervices, 2,774,762 pounds, of which 470,000 were borrowed in Ireland, and 1,168,000 in England, at an intereſt of five per cent. nearly. The principal part of this annuity was to be paid by an additional duty on tobacco, producing fifty-three thouſand pounds, and the reſt by regulations in the duties levied on imported paper, on malt and home-made ſpirits, on Eaſt-India ſugars, and ſtamps, and exportation bonds, and by the abolition of portage allowed to ſhip-owners for tide-waiting. If to the twenty-ſeven millions raiſed by Britain for the exigencies of the year we add the intereſt of the national debt, taken out of the permanent taxes conſtituting the conſolidated fund, the Iriſh ſupply, and the Indian territorial revenue, we ſhall, without including the profits of the Engliſh lottery, find the aggregate of all the articles raiſed for the year 1796, in the empire, to exceed fifty millions. Yet in all this mighty effort not a ſhilling of the capital was touched; it's operations were wholly confined to the annual income; ſo immenſe were the reſources furniſhed by it's induſtry, exerted in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

In the courſe of every ſeſſion during the continuance of this parliament, the Commons proſecuted the impeachment of Warren Haſtings, of whoſe defence we now preſent a brief ſtatement to the reader. "My lords, my life in it's decline, and with many warnings of it's ſpeedy cloſe, has been embittered by a ſtate of ſuſpence and anxiety ever ſince June 1785; for ſo long have I been accuſed in parliament as a publick delinquent, and an enormous criminal. In May,

1787,

1787, I was formally arraigned at your bar, and obliged, with patience and reſignation, to hear myſelf calumniated and abuſed with all the virulence of determined enmity and malice. The managers, inſtead of adhering to ſtrict evidence and ſober reaſoning, indulged their tongues with every ſpecies of licence, loading my character with the heavy charges of peculation, rape, and murder. Though conſcious of my own innocence and of the falſhood of theſe accuſations, though certain that, refuted as they were by their own evidence, they would rather favour than prejudice my cauſe, I leave you to judge whether my feelings muſt not have been deeply wounded, when I ſaw myſelf eyed with looks of contempt and execration by the mingled throngs of both ſexes, that crouded to the ſpectacle, as to the execution of a notorious convict, and being deceived themſelves, deceived the circle of their acquaintance, and through them the generality of the nation. Burthened by this proſecution with a heavy expence, which amounts daily to a grievous fine, I cannot be ſuppoſed, as the managers unjuſtly alledge, to have been ſtudious of delay. Had it not been the advice of my counſel, and indeed the opinion of the beſt legal authorities in this court, that juſtice previouſly required the production of the whole maſs of evidence upon all the charges before I began my defence, I would have conſulted the eaſe of my own mind, by an immediate anſwer to every ſeparate article. Could I have conceived that in duration the trial would have exceeded the ſiege of Troy, that in the teeth of all precedent, and all equity, it would have laſted ſo long as to render, according to an Indian maxim, ſpeedy injuſtice preferable to ſuch tardy juſtice, I believe I ſhould

have taken my own counſel, and effaced every ſtain upon my character as it aroſe.

" Since the commencement of this trial, many of my judges have gone where I muſt ſoon go; and many, who can have but a very partial knowledge of the caſe, have ſtarted up by creation or ſucceſſion. But of this hardſhip I muſt not complain, as it is an accidental defect in the conſtitution, which is at preſent irremediable; but I muſt complain of the tardineſs of the proceſs, as I have, through it, loſt by death, or by diſperſion in unknown parts of the three kingdoms, or of Europe, many of the thirty-four witneſſes that I meant to call for my juſtification. What evidence of equal weight and authenticity can I ſubſtitute for Colonel Eaton's, who was an ocular witneſs of the treaſon and rebellion of Chyte Sing, Rajah of Benares? This loſs, with many others of a ſimilar kind, I would have ſtill greater reaſon to deplore, were not the evidence of every criminal allegation advanced by the managers, refuted, as it has been, either by the replies of their own oral witneſſes, or by the documents or their contexts added by the vigilance and fidelity of my counſel to their partial and mutilated extracts. Wherever the evidence of their witneſſes reaches my caſe, it acquits me in every inſtance, and where it falls ſhort, it cannot convict me.

" In anſwer to the general charges of depopulating the countries entruſted to my care, of violating treaties, and bringing diſgrace upon the Britiſh name in India, of oppreſſing the natives by illegally extorting money, of waſting the publick treaſure by profuſion, and of diſobeying the ord ers of the Company, I need only ſay, that under my adminiſtration the revenues roſe from three to five millions, and that the

Indian

Indian miniſter's ſtatements announcing an increaſed, and annually increaſing revenue, are irrefragable proofs of a good government, and a multiplication of inhabitants; that the letters of the native ſovereigns, of every deſcription, expreſſing to my ſucceſſors their ſentiments of my juſtice and good faith, in a ſtrain far beyond the ordinary courſe of compliments, demonſtrate my religious adherence to treaties, and my zeal for the honour of the Britiſh character; that it is very rare for mankind to be grateful enough to do even common juſtice to a fallen miniſter, much leſs to riſe up voluntarily, as you learn from Cornwallis, as one man, as the Indians have done in my caſe, to vindicate the character of a diſtant and perſecuted oppreſſor; that the expences, civil and military, during my government were far inferior to the expenditure under the management of my ſucceſſor; that in general I have followed the directions of my ſuperiors, and that where I have deviated from their directions, I have expediency and ſtrong neceſſity to plead in my excuſe, as well as the thanks of the Directors and Proprietors for the prudent exerciſe of a diſcretionary power, with which the legiſlature has ſince found it neceſſary to inveſt the Governor General of India.

"But though not only acquitted, but thanked by my employers, and acknowledged by many of my accuſers to have been the ſaviour of India, I cannot expect, even after this unanſwerable refutation of the general charges, that the performance of a thouſand meritorious actions ſhould procure me credit for perfect irreprehenſibility and innocence in every inſtance, without adequate evidence and proof. Permit me then briefly to repel the firſt ſpecific charge, which accuſes me of violating a

treaty made with an independent prince, by unjuſtly compelling him to pay ſixty thouſand pounds annually for three years, of cauſing his perſon to be arreſted, and of intending to impoſe upon him an enormous fine for imputed delinquency, of expelling him from his country, and of appointing a ſucceſſor, who ſtipulated to pay to the Company an advanced rent of two hundred and four thouſand pounds, and in all four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds.

"That Chyte Sing, the alledged ſufferer, was not an independent prince, is proved not only by the beſt oral evidence, but alſo by written documents. The very grant, by which he held his territory from the Company, to whom it was ceded by the Nabob of Oude, clearly demonſtrates that he could only be deemed a zemindar or vaſſal, like his father and grand-father, and therefore in caſes of danger and neceſſity muſt, as every other ſubject and renter, be liable to additional taxes for the ſupport of the ſupreme government. However diſcordant the opinions, and inaccurate the expreſſions in the minutes of the council may be, certain it is that the council had neither right nor authority to inveſt him with independence, or to abſolve him from his allegiance to the ſovereign power, which, like every other, having a right to claim aid, had alſo a right to enforce it's claim. It was enforced, and followed by his arreſt, his reſcue, his rebellion, his expulſion or rather flight. Here the opinion of the king's prime miniſter coincides with mine, and is diametrically oppoſite to the doctrine of the manager Charles Fox. How can an impeachment be juſtly founded on ſo doubtful a caſe? Let who will be in the right, it ſeems that I muſt always be in the wrong, and caught on one horn of a dilemna.

"There

"There now remains only one material queſtion to be ſolved, "Did a real neceſſity for requiring an extraordinary aid exiſt?" The requiſition for ſixty thouſand pounds did not take place till the war with the Marattas had commenced, and a French invaſion was apprehended. With an empty treaſury, and at ſuch a criſis, could the demand be premature? But here I am told that it was exorbitant. What! upon a prince, who upon retiring into voluntary exile loaded all his camels, elephants, and bullocks with gold, jewels, and other precious moveables, and ſtill left behind him conſiderable treaſures! Nor can his arreſt, a practice not unfrequent to much more elevated perſons in his ſituation, be reckoned cruel or diſgraceful; for though confeſſedly diſaffected, and guilty of treaſon and open rebellion, he was treated with the utmoſt mildneſs, and confined merely to his own houſe, without being fined or impriſoned, as has been lately done to a prince of a higher caſt by Lord Cornwallis. Would the lenity thus ſhewn to ſo great a criminal in my deſpotic adminiſtration, have been extended to a rebel under the boaſted government of England? No; his property would have been confiſcated, his body hanged, drawn and quartered, his blood attainted, and his ſin viſited upon his children to the remoteſt generation.

"But I meant to ſubject him to an enormous fine as a puniſhment. Never before, I believe, has a caſual expreſſion, indicating an unexecuted and commendable intention, been imputed as a crime; for my ſole object was to relieve the neceſſities of the Company by an act which I thought right and juſt. But whether the act would have been right or wrong, there can be no crime in an unexecuted intention, an intention which the

Rajah knows not to this hour, and which I might have poſſibly altered upon his ſubmiſſion and promiſe of loyalty.

"The appointment of a ſucceſſor needs no apology, ſince upon Chyte Sing's flight there was no alternative, and in the choice which was made, I followed the laws of conſanguinity and of lineal ſucceſſion, and ſettled the revenues in a manner which experience proves every year to have been wiſe and equitable.

"The next charge is, that after the ſupreme council had guaranteed to the Begum the poſſeſſion of the treaſures left in her cuſtody by her huſband, I permitted the Nabob, her ſon, to reſume them by force, and with circumſtances of the moſt atrocious barbarity. From the evidence of the moſt honourable men, you have learned that the latter part of the charge is falſe, and that no cruelties were committed as the articles alledge, and that, if they had been committed, no blame could attach to me, nor to any perſon acting under the Britiſh government. That I not only permitted, but even adviſed the Nabob to reſume the treaſures, I allow. And why? Becauſe in an agreement both parties are bound to adhere to it's terms, and when one violates them, the other is no longer ſhackled. Irreſiſtible evidence has been offered to prove that the Begum not only diſcovered diſaffection, but alſo gave aſſiſtance through her miniſters to Chyte Sing in his rebellion. Could I then conſider the guarantee as ſtill valid? I could not be ſo ſenſeleſs as to think myſelf bound to protect an enemy. On the contrary I adviſed and even preſſed the Nabob to wreſt from an unjuſt and avaricious mother, property which was his legal right; ſince by the Mahometan, as by all other laws, an inteſtate's

effects

effects are chargeable with his debts, in preference to any diſtribution among his kindred. Nor was I here actuated by any corrupt motive, but by the intereſt of the Company, to whom the Nabob owed above ſix hundred thouſand pounds; for here corruption might have found it's account in forbearance, but not in exaction. As little was I guilty of cruelty by inſtigating the ſon to an unnatural robbery of his mother; for it was the mother that was unnatural in leaving her ſon for ſo many years in diſtreſs, by ſelfiſhly and illegally clinching money for which ſhe could have no uſe. Nor did I diſobey the orders of the directors to enforce the reſtoration of the treaſure, for no ſuch orders ever reached India. It was not only my opinion, but likewiſe the opinion of Sir John Macpherſon, that the language of the directory's general letter would bear no ſuch conſtruction; and if the orders for that purpoſe had been ever ſo preciſe and imperative, it would have been madneſs to obey them, when a perfect reconciliation had taken place, when all differences had been adjuſted, and no arguments could have convinced the Nabob of the propriety of repaying whatever was in ſtrict juſtice his own.

"The third charge is founded on the acceptance of concealed and avowed preſents. Of the former there is no evidence produced but my own admiſſion, and therefore I might paſs them in ſilence; but as they conſiſted of money for entertainments beſtowed from time immemorial in the Eaſt, by the viſited on the viſitor, were antecedent to the prohibitory act of parliament, and never equalled the preſents made to the Nabob at every viſit to the Preſidency, and in their amount fell ſhort of what I muſt have charged to the Com-

pany, the tongue of malice, however eager to calumniate, muſt be dumb.

"In accuſing me of criminality in accepting the avowed preſents, the managers have aſſailed me with a two-edged ſword, contending that having received them with a corrupt intention, I was forced to a diſcloſure through fear, and that the receipt of preſents even for the uſe of the Company is a violation of the ſtatute. For the firſt allegation they have no evidence but their own ſuſpicions, and their inward feelings. Had I been really guilty, would I have ordered diligent ſearch to be made for the bonds in the India Houſe, to which I had ordered them to be tranſmitted by my attorney, Larkins; and when they were not there diſcovered, would I have directed him to uſe equal diligence at Calcutta for their diſcovery? Guilt is not ſo zealous for it's own conviction. Being without written documents, I own that I committed an error with reſpect to time and place, and none could be more aſtoniſhed at it, when detected, than myſelf; but of any fraud or evil intention I ſpurn the very idea; and ſo would the voucher of my innocence, Larkins, as conſcientious and honourable a man as any in Europe. Nor is this my ſingle aſſertion, but the uniform language of eleven letters between Cornwallis, the Court of Directors, and the Board of Controul. At any rate this is an affair known only to God and my own conſcience; and I ſolemnly affirm upon my honour, that I never harboured a thought, even for an inſtant, of applying theſe bonds to my own uſe. Ever ſince the origin of the arduous conteſt, in which I was engaged, my mind felt too much anxiety to preſerve India from the graſp of France, to beſtow

beſtow a ſingle thought upon my own private fortune. In that reſpect I truſted to the gratitude and generoſity of my country.

"That the act prohibiting the acceptance of preſents extended to the Company, was never underſtood in India; and, if I have erred in it's conſtruction, I have erred in common, I believe, with all the Company's ſervants. Should our interpretation differ from the opinions of the long robe in England, where is the infallible judge to decide between us? Being of this opinion, I joyfully ſnatched the opportunity preſented by fortune to repleniſh our treaſury in a moment of the moſt preſſing exigency.

"The fourth charge conſiſts of accuſations for improper contracts and allowances, under five heads, in a government of thirteen years. The firſt head accuſes me of giving a very lucrative contract for opium to Sulivan, without putting it up to auction according to the Company's order. That Sulivan ſold the contract at a very advanced price, I have learned ſince my arrival in England, but he continued during the whole period of his agreement the perſon reſponſible to the Company. But why was not the contract put up to auction? Becauſe opium is ſo liable to frauds and adulteration, that it muſt remain in the hands of a man of credit, honour, and property, for fear it ſhould be debaſed in quality to prevent loſs. For this reaſon it had been always adjudged to the loweſt bidder; and youth could be no valid objection to Sulivan, more than to Mackenzie, his predeceſſor, and Francis's friend, or to any newly arrived member of the council.

"The next ſub-diviſion of this charge accuſes me of corruption in the rates of contracts for bullocks, and in the exceſs of their numbers. In anſwer

anſwer to this article of alledged malverſation, I remark that you have it atteſted upon oath, that without including a deduction for outſtanding debts, the profits did not exceed fifteen per cent. which is but a reaſonable agency in a country where the intereſt of money was twelve per cent. But why, it is urged, did I not, in obedience to poſitive orders, give the contracts to the loweſt bidders at a public auction? Becauſe by a ſeries of ſucceſſive auctions for ſeveral years, the rates had been reduced ſo low, as to be unequal to the exigencies of the ſervice; and the contractor finding that, as the flames of war ſpread and our enemies multiplied, he could not fulfill his engagements, appealed to the equity of the Supreme Council for relief. Accordingly the terms being reviſed were amended, and additional allowances made. While the loweſt bidder was thus rejected, and the expediency of granting him better terms admitted, would it not have been abſurd to advertiſe an auction, or to think of executing an impracticable order? The rates were then adjuſted with the advice of the moſt experienced and beſt informed officers: yet no ſooner had Goddard's army croſſed the Jumna, than the contractor diſcovering his allowances ſtill inadequate to the ſervice, had recourſe again to the juſtice of the Board, and prayed to be releaſed from his agreement, and to be ſuperſeded by a ſucceſſor; and his prayer was granted. But it is contended that the number of bullocks employed was exceſſive. No allegation can be worſe founded, for only ſix thouſand ſeven hundred were attached to thirty-five thouſand men, while a detachment of two thouſand men from Bombay had nineteen thouſand; and an army of eighteen thouſand, now in the field, reckons twenty-three thouſand

thouſand head of cattle. In a word, no Indian army prepared for actual ſervice, ever moved without proving that the numbers ſettled by the contract in queſtion were, inſtead of being too great, by far too ſmall.

" Under the next head I ſtand accuſed of granting extravagant allowances to the commander in chief, Sir Eyre Coote, after they had been prohibited by the directors. The allowance made to the commander in chief, Sir John Clavering thought inſufficient, and therefore remonſtrated, but without ſucceſs. The conſequence of his failure was, that he never viſited the diſtant ſtations of the army, and never took the field. Sir Eyre Coote, to remedy this neglect, early ſignified his intention of reviewing all the diviſions of the army, however diſtant, and was therefore allowed a determinate ſum during his abſence from Calcutta. While the general performed this ſervice in Oude, the Vizier readily agreed to defray the extraordinary expence. Nor was this charge upon the Vizier any infraction of the treaty of Lucknow, as this article pretends; becauſe, at his own expreſs requiſition, his dominions were now protected by a freſh ſubſidiary body of troops, for which he paid annually an additional but indefinite ſum. The Vizier, ſenſible that his intereſt was as much at ſtake in the war as the Company's, continued this allowance to Sir Eyre on the coaſt; and it would be ſtrange indeed, that while all the other military ſervants received double allowances out of our own provinces, the Generaliſſimo ſhould be the only exception. Beſides, it was impoſſible for Sir Eyre's allowance, as ſettled at home, to be ſufficient in the field, if the ſame ſum was not too much for General Clavering in Calcutta, or if a much greater ſum was not too large

large for General Stibbert in garriſon, or in cantonments. So fully did I feel the neceſſity of Sir Eyre's preſence on the coaſt, in order to reſtore, by his character for ſkill and courage, the diſcipline and confidence of our diſpirited and almoſt deſpairing armies, that I could hardly refuſe him any boon that he could aſk. For had he reſigned, as he might have done, in diſguſt, what could I augur but the loſs of the Carnatick for ever? A ſtateſman's conduct muſt vary with varying circumſtances; but I may truely ſay that in the ſame ſituation I would again act the ſame part. So far was I from being influenced by corrupt or any ſiniſter motives, that had it been neceſſary, and his honour could have accepted the offer, I would, in order to ſecure his exertions at ſuch a critical juncture, have abridged my own to increaſe his allowances.

"But the rate of agency granted to Auriol is accuſed of extravagance. Conſider the ſtate of the Carnatick at this period, a large detachment almoſt equal to one wing of the army cut to pieces, the main body purſued with loſs to the walls of Madras, Arcot beſieged and obliged to ſurrender for want of ſuccours, a hundred thouſand horſe deſolating the country, ſacking the towns, and burning the villages, and the enemy's fleets for two ſeaſons domineering in the bay, and on the coaſt, while our ſquadron was laid up at Bombay. What contractor could in ſuch circumſtances anſwer our purpoſes, when the ruinous expence prevented all inſurance, when the treaſury could not with certainty perform it's ſtipulations, and when the agent was forced to employ his own credit in aid of government? The only contractor employed on this occaſion by way of experiment failed, though the rate exceeded the

average

average of the agent's charges with commiſſion included. What other reſource then but agency remained to government, ſince the coaſt muſt be ſupplied with rice from Bengal for the army and the people? This reſource was tried, and procured to the Preſidency an article of the firſt neceſſity, at half the price which private adventurers ſold it by compulſion to government for bills upon Bengal. What can be more concluſive for my exculpation than this whole body of evidence, which evinces demonſtratively that agency was the only effectual, as well as the moſt frugal mode of procuring to Madras the neceſſary ſupply of grain?

"The commiſſion granted to Belli, at an allowance of 30 per cent. for his trouble, for charges and loſs by waſtage and decay, and for keeping in conſtant good condition the ſtores neceſſary for the defence of Fort William in the event of a ſiege, is the next article of crimination. When this plan, which did not originate with me, was adopted by the Board, merchants being conſulted, declared that 20 per cent. was the leaſt ſum that could be allowed. But when the accounts of a preceding commiſſion of a ſimilar kind under the government of my predeceſſor were examined, it appeared that the Company had ſuſtained a loſs of 90 per cent. upon the reſale of the ſtores. Could it then be extravagant to make the agent an allowance of one-third of what the Company muſt have otherways paid? Since my return Belli's integrity and honour have been atteſted in the ſtrongeſt manner, both by Cornwallis and the Directory. Beſides, Belli is now in England, and ready to verify his accounts either in the Engliſh or Indian mode, upon oath or upon honour, as your lordſhips ſhall judge moſt binding.

"Having

" Having refuted every charge ſeverally, I muſt now beg permiſſion to make ſome miſcellaneous obſervations. You have irreſiſtible evidence before you, that Deby Sing, though not quite innocent, is not the enormous monſter that he was repreſented, and that, if he had, I am not in the leaſt implicated in his fate. Nay, it is in proof that the moſt horrible of his horrible crimes were never committed. Theſe facts were perfectly well known to the principal manager; elſe, when challenged, he would not have declined to frame his imputations into a charge. Have I not a right then to complain of him as a calumniator? Does he not richly merit that contempt and execration which the higheſt ſingle authority in this Houſe announced as the certain portion of the man who could, without damning proof, abuſe the authority of the Commons ſo far as to accuſe another not only of murders, but of maſſacres? But his calumny does not ſtop at my character. If in exculpation I plead the multiplied thanks of the Company, the repeated approbation of the miniſtry, and the reiterated ſanction of the legiſlature, by my appointment to the high office of Governor General, he tells you that the firſt deſcription was intereſted, the ſecond corrupt, and the third ignorant. If I appeal to the unſolicited teſtimonials of the Indoos, they are poor, mean, puſillanimous ſlaves, who neither underſtand their own intereſts, nor feel their own grievances, half ſo well as the recluſe viſionary Edmund Burke, who never ſet foot on Indian ground, does in his cloſet. If I call to my aid the recorded atteſtations of the Company's civil and military ſervants, I am in a ſtill worſe predicament; for they are a rapacious gang of unprincipled banditti, who unite, like thieves, to ſcreen the captain-

tain-general of iniquity. Sheridan, another of theſe honourable managers, without a ſhadow of proof, accuſes me of knaviſh colluſion, of fraudulent familiarity, and of procuring ſuborned letters. Adam, a third, and equally honourable, and upon ſimilar grounds, charges me with the blackeſt crimes, from the meaneſt lie to the fouleſt murder. But have not all theſe villanous aſſertions been found ſcandalous falſhoods, and recoiled with diſgrace and infamy upon the confounded aſſertors? Talk not then of corruption in the Eaſt; for there you will meet with nothing but integrity and honour, and great patriotick exertions. Abroad all is fair and honourable; but at home foul and abominable. Every virtuous principle is ſacrificed to power and pelf by a cruel, malicious, and vindictive minority! And his majeſty's miniſters—what! have I not a right to complain of crying injuſtice in his majeſty's miniſters, in voting to impeach me for accepting a delegation to Oude, and making a pecuniary arrangement, which ſtill ſubſiſts, which they have ordered to be a permanent ſource of revenue, and for which, as it is paid with the punctuality of a dividend at the Bank, the Indian miniſter takes credit every year, as a regular ſubſidy? If in the act I was guilty of extortion, is it not infamous in the nation to pocket it's fruits? The truth is, that to this tribute, which was equally beneficial to the Viſier and to the Company, you owe the ſafety of India. In a war originated by you, or others, and not by me; in a war maintained againſt all the powers of India, aided by France and Holland, without a ſhilling from Britain, without taxing, like the Engliſh miniſter, poſterity for the relief of the preſent generation, I ſaved your empire in the Eaſt, while, after doubling the national

tional debt, he loſt your empire in the Weſt. When, as Sir John Macpherſon juſtly obſerved, your Indian treaſury was empty, while the government was in arrears to the armies in Oude, in Malwa, in Guzzerat, and in the Carnatick; when Sir Eyre Coote demanded eighty-four thouſand pounds a month, and every ſort of proviſions and neceſſaries for his troops, from Bengal; when the officers were forced to ſell their plate for ſupplying the ſepoys with ſhoes and other requiſites, what would have become of your poſſeſſions, had I not adopted ſuch ſtrong, and, as I have proved them to be, juſt and equitable meaſures? It is obvious that what high authority has ſtyled it's brighteſt jewel, would have been wrenched out of the Britiſh crown. Theſe meaſures I never concealed, but on the contrary detailed them in publick diſpatches to the directors, and in private letters to the miniſter; and the openneſs of my conduct proves that I thought them right. For moſt of them I have been publickly and privately thanked; and, where that formality fails, their ſilence amounts to a tacit approbation. If my conduct was reprehenſible, why was I not recalled and puniſhed, inſtead of being once virtually, and five times actually, inveſted with freſh power? Had I been ever ſo guilty, that very inveſtiture is a virtual acquittal, and muſt operate to the confuſion of two inconſiſtent, faithleſs, and unprincipled factions; who, foiled in injuring my fame, but too ſucceſsful in ruining my fortune, have burdened the nation with a heavy expence, and entailed upon their own body indelible diſgrace. But is the nation itſelf in this tranſaction free from every ſtain? Does not the Houſe of Commons repreſent the nation? Nothing but an anſwer in the negative can exempt

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it from the foul charge of ingratitude. Others fought your battles, and by their ſkill and courage triumphed over your enemies; but it was I that ſent them properly equipped into the field, and enabled them, by exertions at my own riſk, to maintain their ſuperiority. The plan of deriving a revenue from opium, which yields annually a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, was mine; and, ſince my colleagues refuſed to be reſponſible, I alone ran the hazard. The duty upon ſalt, amounting yearly to eight hundred thouſand pounds, you owe to me. To me you owe the ſyſtem of military defence, and of finance, in Oude, and in Benares, and all the inſtitutions of civil and criminal juriſprudence in Bengal, Benares, and their immediate dependencies, with every diviſion of official buſineſs and internal government. To me you owe the one hundred and thirty-eight lacks drawn without oppreſſion from Oude, and the ſeventy lacks collected with equal eaſe in Benares, in 1781-2, which propped the tottering credit of the Company, and enabled me, by addreſs, by bribes, and well-timed conceſſions, to divide the confederates, and finally to triumph. In a ſeaſon of dreadful famine, which had viſited India for three ſucceſſive years, I ſtopped it's approach to the Britiſh territories, and by adequate regulations prevented the danger of it's return. I raiſed the annual income of the provinces from three to five millions ſterling, the growth not of temporary and forced exaction, but of an eaſy and permanent unoppreſſive collection. But why ſhould I tire your patience with a minuter detail? I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiſcation, meditated diſgrace, and a life of impeachment. What a contraſt between the

gratitude of Britons and Indians! The latter, whom I am ſo falſely accuſed of having oppreſſed and plundered, voluntarily lift up their voice, as one man, to do me juſtice; while the former, except my companions in the Eaſt, who had the beſt means of knowing and appreciating my merits or demerits, join in my perſecution. The unſolicited and warm expreſſions of indignation, at my unjuſt proſecution, extorted from the grateful hearts of the Indoos, by the unmerited treatment of the man whom they truly denominate their protector, their friend, and father, I ſhall never forget. The originals of their benevolent condolence, and of the army's generous applauſe, which are the more honourable to them and to me that they came when my ſun was ſet, I ſhall always preſerve as the beſt teſtimonials of an upright adminiſtration and well-ſpent life, and when I forget the friendly exertions of my Britiſh fellows, or of the natives, in my favour, my heart ſhall forget to beat. Unſeduced as I know your lordſhips to be by vulgar prejudice, and poſſeſſed as you are of evidence ſubverſive of every charge, I cannot for a moment ſuppoſe your correct principles of juſtice, and nice ſenſe of honour, capable of heſitating about giving a verdict in my favour, and therefore I hold myſelf already acquitted; not merely becauſe, in eſtimating my merits and demerits, the former preponderate, upon the whole, in the ſcale, but becauſe they preponderate in every ſingle inſtance."

The reader hardly needs be told that, after ſuch a defence, made almoſt all by himſelf, and fully ſupported by the evidence in every point, the priſoner was honourably acquitted of every branch of every charge diſtinctly and ſeverally, and diſmiſſed from the bar to ruminate upon the

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coſts, which, in contradiction to every principle of juſtice, the exiſting laws, or rather cuſtoms, of England never allow to a publick culprit. This indefenſible practice ſeems to have originated in the deſpotiſm of former princes, who had the diſpoſal of the national purſe; and being extravagant, and therefore needy, clinched whatever they could with a tenacious graſp. This defect in our criminal code the generoſity, or rather gratitude, of the Eaſt India Company undertook to ſupply, and at laſt extorted, after much delay and tergiverſation, the aſſent of the reluctant Board of Controul to the payment of the coſts, which amounted to ſeventy-one thouſand and eighty pounds. But though Cornwallis, for adding a few diſtricts, and thirteen lacks, at moſt, to the Company's territories, received a hundred thouſand pounds, and the garter, and a marquiſate, as rewards, the man who ſaved the whole Indian empire, and increaſed a revenue raiſed by himſelf from three to five millions, by ten times thirteen lacks from Oude and Benares, could not procure the ſanction of the government to an annuity of five thouſand pounds offered him by the proprietors of India ſtock. Though the parliament voted thanks, and the crown laviſhed titles, for very inſignificant ſervices, he retired without thanks, and without titles. But what thanks, from a ſcrambling body of repreſentatives, could equal the general applauſe of a grateful nation? What titles had the king in his power to beſtow ſo ſplendid as the name of Warren Haſtings? That name will deſcend to poſterity with ſuch luſtre, as not to be eclipſed even by that of William Pitt; who by an earldom was, in North's and Cheſterfield's words,

really kicked up ſtairs into the hoſpital of incurables.

The iſſue of this trial left upon the character of the miniſters, who moved and carried a vote of thanks to the managers, a ſtain which they cannot eaſily efface, but which they might have eaſily avoided, had they been guided by the ſage advice of that ornament of the Scotch College of Juſtice Ilay Campbell, now Lord Preſident; who, in a ſpeech replete with argument and eloquence, demonſtrated the injuſtice and cruelty, as well as inexpedience and abſurdity of the proſecution, and predicted that the event would prove ignominious to every party concerned. If, then, the characters of all were hurt, what muſt have been the wounds of the managers, who had gratified their malice by ſuch licentious calumny, who charged Haſtings with being the remote cauſe of the murder of a whole family of children, of the invaſion of the female ſex's hallowed retreats, and of the violation of an innocent prince's wives and daughters, and, for the diſcovery of hidden gold, of ſqueezing a woman's breaſts between wedges? At the tragick recital of theſe enormities, ſome nervous ladies fainted, ſome ſcreamed with horrour, and many with white handkerchiefs wiped warm tears from their bright eyes. Had they been afterwards preſent, when the witneſſes proved that the whole was a mere tragedy of the imagination, that the raviſhed Houries were grandmothers, beldames, and withered hags, and that the children had no exiſtence, but in the fancy of the poetic orator, the ſuppoſed father being an eunuch, what muſt have been their feelings? Thoſe who had before expired in agony muſt have died with laughter, and marked the

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ſlanderer for the finger of ſcorn and ridicule.

But though all the managers were, after loading the nation with a vaſt expence, covered with infamy, the foremoſt and moſt conſpicuous in the groupe was Edmund Burke, a gentleman of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, that they made Samuel Johnſon, in the partiality of friendſhip, declare it to be impoſſible for a perſon to take ſhelter with him from a ſhower for twenty minutes under a ſhed, without diſcovering that he is the greateſt man with whom he ever converſed. Born to a ſmall but not unencumbered eſtate in Ireland, and bred under the Jeſuits at St. Omer's in the Netherlands, he firſt attracted publick notice by literary productions. The celebrity thus acquired excited the curioſity of the great, to whoſe polite circles he found admiſſion the more eaſily that, with a ſweet and pleaſing, though not an expreſſive nor erect Ovidian countenance, and with a modeſt aſſurance, naturally reſulting from a conſciouſneſs of merit, he roſe above the middle ſize, had well-turned limbs, a tolerable addreſs, and, upon the whole, a genteel appearance. Being found by the Marquis of Rockingham and his followers an uſeful literary partizan, he was introduced into parliament, that they might enjoy the benefit of his tongue as well as of his pen; and here, though his voice is not powerful nor harmonious, nor his pronunciation perfectly Engliſh, nor his manner very graceful, he ſoon obtained the character of an eminent ſpeaker. Having read a great deal, written much, and converſed not a little, he had his mind full, and his language apt and ready, upon every topick; ſo that, whatever ſubject occurred in debate, his ſpeech had the appearance of a ſtudied harangue, ſurpriſing by it's novelty, pleaſing by it's variety,

and intereſting from it's importance. Yet, with all theſe brilliancies, which, like dazzling meteors, beſpangled his oratorical effuſions, he did not poſſeſs the art of perſuaſion; becauſe he wanted method, and did not know how to make his arguments bear upon the main queſtion under diſcuſſion, being generally circuitous and digreſſive, and either ſurfeiting, as in his writings, with ſage prefatory maxims, or bewildering with extraneous and incompact matter. Incapable of keeping the ſtrait road, he yielded to the ſeduction of every flower, of which the beauty invited his hand, in the by-paths. But it was in theſe excurſive rambles of the imagination that he pleaſed moſt, often preſenting to the amuſed fancy the moſt delightful pictures, and opening to men of ſounder heads than his own views which terminated in ſcenes of the richeſt culture. Nor was he conſpicuous only for the ſublime and beautiful in deſcription, particularly for his own peculiar ſpecies of them, the obſcure and turgid, but alſo for a fertile vein of wit and ridicule, of which the occaſional vulgarity ſubjected him, like other ſatiriſts, among his antagoniſts, to the imputation of buffoonery. A copious ſtore of appoſite expreſſions and glowing metaphors he had always at command; and if at any time the ſtream of his eloquence flowed muddy, it was ſtill the ſtream of the Tagus, from which you might collect ſome grains of virgin gold. Well then might Fox declare that from him he derived more political inſtruction than from any man living. Lazarus gathered up the crumbs that fell from the great man's table. Fox has a correct judgment; and knew what to ſelect, and what to reject, of the fruits dropping from this prolifick but luxuriant tree. By literary admirers

admirers he is extolled as a poet, and by clerical devotees idolized as a prophet; being often filled with the inſpiration of the former, if not ſwelled with the inſanity of the latter. Being of a ſanguineous temperament, and therefore hot and impetuous, he frequently tranſgreſſed the bounds of moderation, loving with cordiality, and hating with virulence. Hence ſprung his paroxyſms of rage againſt Warren Haſtings; whom he is accuſed, but we hope falſely, of perſecuting for the merited ſuperſeſſion of a kinſman. Whatever truth there may be in this ſtory, it is hardly doubtful that, if our political guide had ten years ago thrown him the large and welcome ſop by which he has been recently lulled, it would have greatly abated the venom of his Cerberean ſlaver. Burke wiſhed for the diſplay of his eloquence to be deemed a Cicero arraigning another Verres. Why then did he not imitate the moderation and temper of Cicero; who, though he had been queſtor in Sicily, and well acquainted with the people, did not ſtep forward unſolicited and a volunteer in accuſation? Why did he not, like that great orator, ſtateſman, and patriot, wait for a requeſt to undertake the ſervice from an humble deputation of the injured, oppreſſed, and plundered Indoos, before he ſounded his war-whoop and wild howl? The truth is, that though genius flaſhes upon the obſerver's eye in his raving fits, as well as in his lucid intervals, this anomalous and non-deſcript being is as much inferior to Cicero in wiſdom and decorum, as in argumentation and chaſtity of compoſition.

As the remainder of this notorious aſſociation, whoſe characters we have not yet delineated, ſtill act in the parliamentary theatre, and we ſhall in a ſubſequent work have abundant room to do them

ample juſtice, we ſhall now haſten on to a rapid ſurvey of France's internal politicks and preparatory arrangements for the enſuing campaign.

When Robeſpiere, with many ſubordinate chiefs of the Jacobins, fell under the axe of nominal moderation, Pichegru, who was either by accident or by deſign then in Paris, ſoon laid the ſtorm, and by his authoritative name and active diligence reſtored tranquillity; and the hypocritical advocates for a mild government, profiting by the ſpirit of the times, ſhut the Jacobin Hall, the nurſery of ſedition, and ſuppreſſed it's plantations, the affiliated or correſponding ſocieties. Nay the Revolutionary Tribunal was, in order to quiet the publick mind, aboliſhed, and it's preſident and the publick accuſer were for their various and indeſcriptible enormities arreſted, impriſoned, tried, condemned, and executed, with little ceremony or formality. The appalled Jacobins, as if ſtruck with a thunderbolt, remained for ſome time in a ſtate of torpor and ſtupefaction; but, after the hurricane reſuming courage from a review of their paſt exploits and diſciplined numbers, they gave vent to their indignation, firſt in murmurs, then in menaces, and at laſt in open ſchemes of holy inſurrection. This conſummation was accelerated by the conteſts for ſuperiority in the Convention, where each faction proportioned it's efforts to predominate not to it's power, but to it's ambition; not to publick utility, but to it's private intereſt. Barrere, Varennes, and Herbois, who had felt the oppreſſive aſcendency of Robeſpiere in the Committee of Publick Safety, and therefore concurred with pleaſure in his overthrow, finding themſelves, as ſuſpected Jacobins, excluded from all authority by the party who had aſſumed the

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maſk of moderation, joined others in a body, as a rallying point to the diſſipated clubs, for the recovery of their common power. Tallien, as infamous for his cruelties on the coaſts of the ocean as Carrier, who, inſtead of being guillotined, ought, in the opinion of ſome, to have been gridironed for his barbarities at Nantes; or as Herbois, who, according to the ſame, ſhould have been flayed alive for his incalculable murders at Lyons, enjoyed at this time the ear of the Convention; and being aided by Thibaudeau, Carnot, and other pretended friends of lenity, procured the arreſt of theſe three deſperadoes, and the reſtoration of the Revolutionary Tribunal for their trial.

This decree became the ſignal of revolt to the Jacobins; who, after many nocturnal meetings and reſolves, collected their ſhirtleſs myrmidons in the ſuburbs, and brought them in an armed body to harangue and coerce the Convention. But the number of their orators, and the length of their ſpeeches, proved their ruin. While they continued to intimidate by words, inſtead of immediately extorting the wiſhed decree by actions, the alarm-bells were rung, and the armed Pariſians, dreading the return of the Jacobinical reign of terror, crouded to the Convention, and formed a rampart of twenty thouſand men for it's guard. The predominant party now explained what it meant by moderation; for, at it's inſtigation, the Convention aſſumed at once the character of accuſer, judge, and jury; and, without the leaſt attention to juridical proceedings, decreed the immediate baniſhment of the three culprits to Guiana; thus improving on the deſpotiſm and tyranny even of Robeſpiere, who always attended to the ſemblance of law, though not to the ſubſtance

ſtance of juſtice. A ſimilar inſurrection took place at Toulon, but it was ſoon quelled, the inſurgents being on their march to Marſeilles encountered by a detachment of the army, and defeated with the loſs of many ſlain, and the capture of 300 men, who, as no farther mention of them is on record, may be juſtly ſuppoſed to have been treated with the uſual humanity.

Theſe popular commotions, in conjunction with the preceding train of ſimilar exploſions, which all originated from ſtruggles for the ſupreme executive power and it's emoluments, at laſt extorted from the Conventional leaders a confeſſion, that the plan of equality and univerſal ſuffrage, the baſis of their political edifice, is a theoretical chimera, requiring the ſubſtitution of a practical ſyſtem, ſanctioned by experience. Accordingly, to remedy, as was pretended, the imbecillity of the conſtitution, and the puſillanimity and indeciſion of the legiſlative aſſemblies, and the tyranny of the decemvirs, that had all involved the Convention in many fatal errors, the conſtitution of 1793, which, by inſtituting ſix thouſand primary aſſemblies, tore millions from the purſuits of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, to deliberate upon laws without the leaſt probability of an accordance of will, which authoriſed a partial inſurrection of powers, independent of the eſtabliſhed magiſtracy, and legalized the reign of plunder and terror, was modified and made ſubſervient to the plan of property, with the eſtabliſhment of which the ſyſtem of nature ends, and that of ſocial order begins.

But, as through fear of mutiny among the ſoldiery, and inſurrection among the populace, any direct contribution ariſing from real or perſonal property, confers in the new conſtitution the

the right of active citizenſhip, it is evident that the qualification for an elector is fixed at too low a rate, and promiſes no ſtability to the conſtitution; eſpecially ſince every man, by ſerving a ſingle campaign, becomes an elector in the primary aſſemblies, whoſe choice is now final. Though ſervants, as not abſolute freemen; mendicants, as burdens to the ſtate; vagabonds, as the children of no country; and perſons unſkilled in reading and writing, or in ſome mechanical art, as ignorant people, are excluded from exerciſing the elective franchiſe; the common ſoldiers upon their return into the boſom of the republick ſeem likely, in conjunction with the unexcluded rabble, to conſtitute by far the majority of the voters, and to threaten the renewal of the depredations formerly committed by the indigent upon the wealthy.

The precipitate and raſh ſteps ſo often taken by a ſingle legiſlative aſſembly at the inſtigation of ſome ambitious demagogue, ſuggeſted the idea of dividing, for the ſake of repeated diſcuſſion, the national repreſentatives into two bodies, one not of legiſlators for life, by birth, or by creation, not a proud ariſtocracy of feudal peers, but an elective ſenate compoſed of the ſame elements with the other more numerous and younger claſs; the latter amounting to five hundred above thirty years of age, the ſource of laws, the ſeat of the imagination and thought of the republick; and the former conſiſting of 250 married men, or widowers forty years old, the abode of it's matured reaſon and wiſdom.

Since an union of powers would be pure deſpotiſm, as had been too fatally experienced in the preceding ſtorms of the revolution, the two legiſlative aſſemblies were deprived of the executive authority, which was entruſted to a directory

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of five perſons, of whom each in his turn ſhould aſſume the preſidentſhip for three months, and one be every year excluded by lot, and ſupplied for the remainder of the term of five years by the legiſlature.

This inſtitution, though likely to bring more wiſdom and energy into action, than a cabinet formed under an hereditary monarch of noble ſycophants and favourite minions, muſt ultimately diſſolve the republick, ſhould it ſurvive the other cauſe of more ſpeedy death already aſſigned; ſince it is the uniform leſſon of hiſtory that the election of the ſupreme magiſtrate, whether the name be archon, king, conſul, emperor, preſident, or directory, will for ever occaſion civil wars, terminating in tyranny and deſpotiſm. America, where the people are leſs numerous, the morals leſs corrupt, and the objects of ambition not ſo conſiderable, has already begun to feel the effects of this maxim. What rational grounds have we then to ſuppoſe that France will long eſcape the evil which ruined the Roman commonwealth? It is the peculiar felicity of Britain to ſteer a middle courſe between the extremes, and to have a cabinet or directory neceſſarily participating the reſpective characters of her three legiſlative branches, the weight and majeſty of the ſovereign, the wealth and dignity of the peers, and the virtue and talents of the commons. If irreconcileable diſcords ariſe in the French directory, where is the power to adjuſt them by interpoſition, or end them by expulſion? Who is to defend the traduced characters, or explain the miſrepreſented conduct of the directors againſt the rancorous declamations of envious demagogues and intriguing factions, ſince they have not, like our miniſters, a ſeat in either council?

The

The judicial power is made dependent only on the people, who are the electors; and various regulations are adopted for the improvement and renovation of the conſtitution, and of every ſubordinate eſtabliſhment. Nor is religion neglected, every man being left at perfect liberty to ſettle his accounts with heaven according to the dictates of his own conſcience, without the intervention of prieſts, and the oppreſſion of involuntary payments. Our limits forbid us to enlarge, and even to give more colouring to this faint ſketch of the French conſtitutional act, ſince a complete picture would exhauſt a volume.

Before this conſtitution was tranſmitted to the primary aſſemblies for their approbation, the Convention, in the true ſpirit of uſurpers, iſſued two decrees, declaring every election void in which two-thirds of the returned deputies were not taken from the members of the exiſting legiſlature, and ordaining that, in caſe of a general failure in this reſpect, the Convention ſhould, as an electoral body, ſupply the deficiency. This glaring violation of all the principles of fair repreſentation, and manifeſt aſſumption of perpetual power, occaſioned an immediate alarm, eſpecially in Paris, where the means of information were at hand. In the diſtant departments no pamphlets nor newſpapers unfavourable to the Convention were ſuffered to circulate. Even letters, that might enlighten the minds of the electors, were ſtopped at the poſt-offices, till their choice was irrevocably made; and by this artifice many aſſemblies miſtaking the two decrees for parts of the conſtitution voted accordingly. The preſident, upon examining the returns, declared that the whole ſyſtem was adopted by the majority of the French nation; but the Pariſian ſections, that

after

after accepting the conſtitution had all, except two, rejected the decrees, denied the aſſertion, and challenged him to the proof by the production of the records. No attention, however, was paid to their ſpeeches, petitions, or remonſtrances. Being accuſtomed to dictate, and ſeeing no probability of redreſs, they liſtened to the inflammatory harangues of intriguing agitators, who repreſented the members of the Convention, what they were, the ſubverters of legal government, the peſts of civil ſociety, firſt the murderers of the Royal Family, then the aſſaſſins of their fellows, and now the parricides of liberty, the ſcourges of France, the deſtroying angels of Europe, and the enemies of the human race.

This violent language operating upon minds juſtly irritated, excited ſuch a ferment, that the Convention ſtationed in various parts guards ſelected from the army, which had been purpoſely picked from the different hords on the frontiers, to overawe the malcontent ſections. Suſpecting the fidelity of theſe troops, whom careſſes and largeſſes were every day reconciling to the cauſe of the citizens, the Convention liberated the Jacobin cut-throats, who had been trained to maſſacre, and ſtill thirſted for blood, and formed them into regular bands, under diſtinct leaders, independent of the generals commanding the veterans, who refuſed to act with ſuch ruffians. Emboldened by the ſupport of theſe auxiliary deſperadoes, the Convention adopted deciſive meaſures without further heſitation, and diſmiſſing Moncey and Menou, who had fought hitherto for the preſervation, not for the deſtruction of their countrymen, nominated to the ſupreme and dictatorial command Barras, a brutal deputy not yet ſufficiently gorged by former proſcriptions with blood.

The

The dictator choſe for his maſter of the horſe, and the leader of the Pariſian cohorts of aſſaſſins, Buonaparte, a ſavage Corſican adventurer, who now in the character of general metamorphoſed his ſtiletto into a ſword. The adjutant of theſe two bravoes was Berruyer, who had in the Vendean maſſacres learned the cruel habits of French civil war.

In conſequence of theſe arrangements, matters ſoon came to a criſis. The ſections finding the atrocities, by which they had overturned the monarchy and two legiſlatures, retaliated by greater atrocities, began to move in all directions towards the Convention; but acting without concert, and without artillery, were repulſed in every quarter. Advancing in vaſt columns on both ſides of the river Seine, they met at every avenue with a briſk cannonade of balls, or with a ſhower of grape ſhot, which rendered the ſtreets impaſſable with dead bodies. When purſued by the inſulting victors through the narrow lanes of that vaſt and dirty city, they commenced from the ſheltering houſes a hot and murderous fire on their enemies. Bricks, tiles, ſcalding water, every inſtrument of deſtruction that fury could furniſh, conſumed for two days and two nights the Conventional aſſaſſins. By degrees, however, the artilleriſts, ſupported by detachments of muſketeers, cleared the ſtreets, and by fetching a compaſs and attacking the inſurgents in rear and in flank, became alſo maſters of the ſquares, and gradually quelled the bloody tumult. What numbers fell in a conflict ſo long, ſo various, and ſo widely diſperſed, it is impoſſible to aſcertain: but we may ſafely affirm, that on the ſide of the ſections great numbers of the beſt citizens became ſacrifices to their zeal for the cauſe of liberty.

The

The concluſion of the whole was, that peace was re-eſtabliſhed, and an amneſty to all but the ringleaders of the conſpiracy, he opponents of the conſtitution, forgers of aſſignats, tranſported prieſts, and emigrants, publiſhed; and that the Convention, thus rendered deſpotick, appointed a committee of five, to conſider what meaſures were neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of the country. The only propoſal made by the committee was to reject the new third elected by the primary aſſemblies, and to make the Convention in it's preſent ſtate a permanent body. Thibaudeau, and ſome other members poſſeſſed of weight and influence in the aſſembly, declared that they would oppoſe this violation of the conſtitution at the riſk of their lives; and the project, for want of ſupport, failed, to the great diſappointment of Tallien, who had been ſecretly concerned in the murders of September, and openly in the maſſacres of Vendee.

At length on the 26th of October, the preſident, in conformity to the conſtitution, announced that the Convention having finally cloſed it's deliberations, became an electoral body for the completion of the two-thirds ſelected out of it's own members, and for proceeding afterwards to the formation of the ſenate, and the Council of Five Hundred. After the adjuſtment of preliminary forms, ſixty-ſeven deputies appointed by the primary aſſemblies were declared ineligible, and one hundred and four members of the Convention ſupplied the deficiencies of the Council of Five Hundred. The council thus conſtituted, ſent to the ſenate a liſt of fifteen deputies, out of which five directors were choſen by ballot, and the legiſlative ſyſtem became complete.

Thus,

Thus, after having cruſhed five conſpiracies intended for it's deſtruction, and diſplayed for three years an energy, elevation, and ferocity, that leaves to France nothing to envy in the virtues of Rome's ancient republicans, or in the exceſſes of her firſt deſpots, ended in name but not in reality the National Convention, a tumultuous aſſemblage of obſcure and needy upſtarts, of literary adventurers, of phyſicians, counſellors, and pettifoggers, that ſhocked Europe with their enormities, and ſurpriſed it with their victories. Suddenly inveſted with power, they became at once profound legiſlators, and bold warriors, full of grand political ſchemes, and of vaſt military projects, that gave a new face to the moral as well as to the phyſical ſtate of ſociety. Having wreſted the ſceptre from the ſucceſſor of a hundred kings, and overturned a throne conſecrated during fourteen centuries, by a religious and enthuſiaſtick veneration, they threw down his head as a defying gauntlet to affrighted kings, and with a boldneſs worthy of William the Conqueror, when he burnt his ſhips on the Britiſh ſhore, intrepidly took their ſtation betwixt victory and death. Without money, without credit, without artillery, without ſaltpetre, without armies, betrayed by Dumourier, diſtracted by factions, torn by internal inſurrections, and by one hundred and fifty thouſand Vendean rebels, ſtripped of Valenciennes and other fortreſſes by Auſtria, of Toulon by England, and nearly of Landau by Pruſſia, they iſſue a decree, and at once all France becomes a forge for arms, a workhouſe for ſaltpetre, and briſtles with a crop of bayonets. Men ſtart up armed as from the fabulous ſerpent's teeth. Fourteen armies compoſed of fourteen hundred thouſand men completely accoutred, are ſet in motion un-

der generals taken from the ranks, who profiting by new inventions, reconnoitre the enemy's poſition in balloons, and imitating ancient commanders, inſtead of cold languid thanks after an action, inflame the courage of their numerous troops before a battle by printed and animated harangues, who with battalions ſinging hymns, and preſenting fixed bayonets, mock the old German tactical ſyſtem, as eaſily as the Convention does the diplomatick. The Pruſſians are defeated at Landau, the Auſtrians forced at Maubeuge, the Engliſh cruſhed at Dunkirk, the Spaniards beaten in Navarre, the Vendeans annihilated at Savenay, and the three-coloured ſtandard floats on the walls of the burning Toulon, and on the banks of the aſtoniſhed Rhine. What Louis XIV. in all his pride could never conceive is atchieved, Holland is conquered during the ſeverities of January, by raw troops, watching, manœuvering, and fighting on plains of ice. To complete the glory of this miraculous aſſembly, it's treaties at Baſle have ſhaken to the foundations that rude and ſhapeleſs, but vaſt and coloſſal monument of Gothick invention, the Germanick conſtitution, which had ſo long braved the ſcythe of time, and ſeen ſo many ages roll over it's impoſing figure. Theſe are the deeds by which the Convention has, in the midſt of ſtorms, of proſcriptions, and ſcaffolds, paved it's way to immortality; theſe are the exploits by which it has proved that, had it not become the ſubject of it's own devouring rage, it might have ravaged the world.

Such is the ſketch which French vanity would impoſe upon mankind as a juſt portrait of this famous aſſembly. But to the experienced eye of a diſcriminating obſerver it's atchievements exhibit nothing marvellous, or even extraordinary;

nary; ſince the Goths, Huns, and other nations, much leſs numerous, and provided with no reſources but their ſwords, effected, upon iſſuing, like the French, in armed maſſes from their retreats, conqueſts infinitely more extenſive and durable. Lords of a rich and fertile country, dictators of a populous and induſtrious tribe, the French undermined the very foundation of ſocial union, property, by arming poverty againſt wealth, and by finally drawing every reſource into the abyſs of their own vortex. Where then is the wonder that with ſuch an engine in their hands they ſhould be able, after deſolating their native land, to overwhelm neighbouring ſtates with pillage and devaſtation? Deſperadoes, who hazard every extremity, diſcover, like maniacks, unexpected vigour; and, when they fall, fall, as the ſtrong man, involved with multitudes in one common ruin.

The new legiſlature having riſen, like a phenix, from the aſhes of the old, and only aſſumed a new form, diſtinguiſhed the commencement of it's career by an attempt to reſtore order and ſtability to the finances. But this labour was ſoon found to be Herculean, and above it's ſtrength. No effort could ſupport the credit of the aſſignats, which ſunk every day in value. What remedy, then, was ſupplied by the wiſdom of the French financiers? As a preliminary ſtep, a forced loan of ſix hundred millions of French livres, or of twenty-four millions ſterling in ſpecie, was announced. The people ſuppoſed capable of contributing to this loan were divided into ſixteen claſſes; of which the higheſt, reckoned worth fifty thouſand pounds, were to pour twenty-five thouſand, or half their capitals, and the others in various proportions, into the publick treaſury.

In aid of this viſionary ſcheme, the national domains, after being completely exhauſted, were again conjured upon the political ſtage, and valued at an immenſe ſum, as a ſecurity to a new emiſſion of aſſignats, amounting to ten milliards, or four hundred millions ſterling. Beyond this enormous maſs, which made the whole equal to one thouſand ſix hundred millions ſterling, and exceeded the value of the fee-ſimple of all the French territories, it was decreed that aſſignats ſhould not be iſſued. Nay, a law paſſed that, when they reached that limit, the plates and all the inſtruments neceſſary in the fabrication ſhould be deſtroyed. But, alas! long before that period the hollow ground, on which their credit reſted, gave way, and ſwallowing them up in the chaſm, left millions of beggared annuitants to deplore their own credulity, and to curſe the ſwindling of the metamorphoſed Convention.

The forced loan and the freſh creation of aſſignats having failed, what ſuccedaneum did the tranſcendent ſkill of theſe innovating ſchemers ſuggeſt? A freſh inundation of paper under the name of mandats, and guaranteed by the ſame ideal ſecurity, the national domains; a ſpecies of food which had been ſo often chewed, digeſted, voided, and chewed again, that it nauſeated the publick.

Truſting to this forlorn hope in the firſt inſtance, and in the ſecond to the pillage of invaded territories, theſe deſperadoes prepared for another campaign; and, availing themſelves of the armiſtice concluded on the banks of the Rhine, detached numbers of their beſt troops to the frontiers of Italy, of which the disjointed members and heterogeneous politicks opened, like Germany, a proſpect of victory and plunder.

Here

Here their army, under the braggart and vainglorious, but adventurous and indefatigable Buonaparte, greatly out-numbered the forces of the emperor and the Sardinian kingling; who, exhauſted by age, and diſpirited by various reverſes, had been ſo far from making vigorous exertions for the recovery of Savoy and Nice that, notwithſtanding his Auſtrian auxiliaries, he had allowed the enemy to occupy ſeveral advantageous poſts, and to make a conſiderable progreſs through the difficult paſſes leading to his capital. Buonaparte advanced with the principal part of his army towards Genoa; as if he meant, by the capture of that neutral city, to ſupply himſelf with money and neceſſaries. Beaulieu, who commanded the allied forces, fell into the ſnare; and, though there victorious, found the moſt eſſential poſts towards the mountains wreſted in the mean time by the ſuperabundance of the enemy from the diſmayed Sardinians, whoſe conſternation terrified their king into proffers of peace. The adjuſtment of the particulars required but little time, as the daſtardly and cowring prince ſubmitted to every demand. The dutchy of Savoy and the county of Nice were for ever relinquiſhed, ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes were reſigned till the end of the war, the French allowed a free paſſage to Lombardy, and his hands, in fact, completely tied till the end of the conteſt. Unworthy of his anceſtor, who ſaw Turin beſieged by the ſame enemy without ſhrinking, he fell unregretted, and covered with ſhame; being, through his puſillanimity and want of perſeverance, a diſgrace to the name of king.

At this critical juncture it was that the Britiſh and Imperial cabinets, in order to ſilence the intereſted clamours of oppoſition, and the mean-

ſpirited ſupplications of the populace in Britain and Germany, offered terms of peace to the five upſtart and bloated kings of France; for certainly they could not entertain any hopes of ſucceſs, as the former were, to ſave their honour, if not to preſerve their popularity, obliged to inſiſt on indemnification; and the latter, by the Diet's mandate, on the integrity of the empire. Both courts ſenſible that, while the decree pronouncing the unity and indiviſibility of the republick ſtood unrepealed, an accommodation was impoſſible, could have no object in view but the ſatisfaction of vulgar impatience, and the animation of all ranks in ſupport of the common cauſe. Accordingly, when the preſumptuous Directory claimed, in conſequence of the forementioned decree, all the territories on the left bank of the Rhine, the negociators ſeparated, and all parties prepared to try the iſſue of arms.

The failure of this treaty, of which weak minds, who readily believe what they wiſh, formed ſuch mighty expectations, induced the Britiſh miniſters to adviſe their ſovereign to collect the ſenſe of his people, upon the preſent ſtate of publick affairs, from a new body of repreſentatives. Accordingly, on the 20th of May he diſſolved the parliament, which, if the rejection of the tax propoſed to be levied on collateral ſucceſſion, and the ſhameful vote of thanks to the managers of the proſecution againſt Haſtings, be excepted, may in moſt of it's meaſures be juſtly denominated wiſe and virtuous. Calm and dignified in the midſt of ſurrounding ſtorms, it was neither tranſported into violent fits of retaliation by the lunatick eccentricities, or ſanguinary enormities, of it's vindictive rival on the continent, nor hurried into precipitate acts of ſeverity by the unnatural conduct

duct of a deſperate faction in it's own boſom. Not alarmed by the treacherous intrigues of levelling conſpirators at home; nor diſmayed by the defection of feeble or faithleſs allies abroad, it maintained internal tranquillity by wholeſome laws, rather than by rigorous military arrangements; and ſupported the external conteſt by generous pecuniary aid, and by a powerful armed force. By it's liberal ſupplies it enabled the executive power, with forces inferior indeed in number, but ſuperior in quality and equipment, to gain on both elements ſplendid victories, which have made the Britiſh fleets and armies the admiration and envy of Europe. Civil liberty, it is true, ſuſtained from it's acts a temporary diminution; but the object was it's perpetual preſervation. If this parliament took much from the people, it gave them more; beſtowing with the impoſition of burdens the ability to bear them. For never, in the brighteſt periods of peace, did agriculture, manufactures, trade, commerce, and navigation, flouriſh to ſuch an extent; never could the empire boaſt ſuch vaſt acceſſions of rich, populous, and productive conqueſts. But where is the wonder, ſince magnanimity, wiſdom, and virtue, preſided in our councils?

Thus I terminate an attempt at a conciſe hiſtory of an eventful period, pregnant with important debates on queſtions of war and peace, of civil and religious liberty, of external regulation and internal policy, diſgraced by diſcord, ſedition, and treaſon, and infamous for a ſanguinary war, novel in it's origin, cruel in it's progreſs, and in it's concluſion threatening as great a change in the religious and political ſyſtem of Europe as was effected by the Reformation, or even by the introduction of Chriſtianity. The

reader has ſeen two monſtrous revolutions in France and Holland completely ſucceſsful, and two others in Poland and Belgium ſwallowed up by a greater monſter, deſpotiſm; fire and ſword render crowded cities deſolate, and populous diſtricts deſerts; and ſavage ferocity ſo outrageous as to make humanity ſhudder, and dread the return of thoſe miſerable times, when the ſcourges of God, and the deſtroyers of nations, the Huns and Scandinavians, ravaged the world. The reader has ſeen three ſovereigns periſh, one by the piſtol of an aſſaſſin, a ſecond by the axe of rebels, and a third by the poiſon of traitors; one prince dethroned and impriſoned, and ſeveral degraded, enthralled, or fugitives; the ſcaffolds polluted with the blood of two innocent princeſſes, and the ſtreets and ſquares diſfigured by the mangled bodies of meritorious nobles, with reſpect to whom confiſcation, exile, flight, and maſſacre, are become matters of ſuch daily occurrence, that they ceaſe to be intereſting. He has ſeen the needy and profligate preying like vermin on the wealthy and induſtrious; a barbarous tenantry exterminating a beneficent nobility, with their abuſed families; ingratitude cutting off the hand by which it was fed; a fair-earned title deemed a reproach, and conſpicuous virtue certain deſtruction; domeſticks through terror aſſaſſinating their maſters, and dependents their protectors, and thoſe who had no enemy ſtabbed by their friends. He has beheld religion derided as ſuperſtition, ſanctity defamed as hypocriſy, temples and altars defiled, and ſuch of their miniſters as eſcaped the murderous daggers of perſecution doomed to indigence and baniſhment. Yet even France, in the midſt of this deplorable corruption, diſplayed examples of virtue. Many

preferred

preferred poverty and exile to the forfeiture of their honour. Prieſts could not be induced by wealth to wound their conſcience; and venerable prelates, to preſerve the lives of their clergy, offered to ſacrifice their own. Wives followed their huſbands into dungeons, and mothers their children into foreign lands. Even females in the agonies of torture could not be induced to accuſe their friends, and men in the laſt extremity exhibited a fortitude not unworthy of Cato.

But, had the age been elſewhere ever ſo degenerate, the conduct of Britain would have redeemed it's character; for on her hoſpitable ſhore every ſpecies of misfortune met with an aſylum. All ſenſations of religious antipathy and ancient enmity were overpowered by the cries of diſtreſs, and wretchedneſs was a ſufficient recommendation to the benevolence of her generous ſons. All deſcriptions joined in the holy act of relieving miſerable ſupplicants; and the publick treaſury ſtill ſupports the fugitive outcaſts with the ſame liberality and perſeverance which it diſplays in maintaining the liberty and independence of Europe.

END OF VOL. IV.

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MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM